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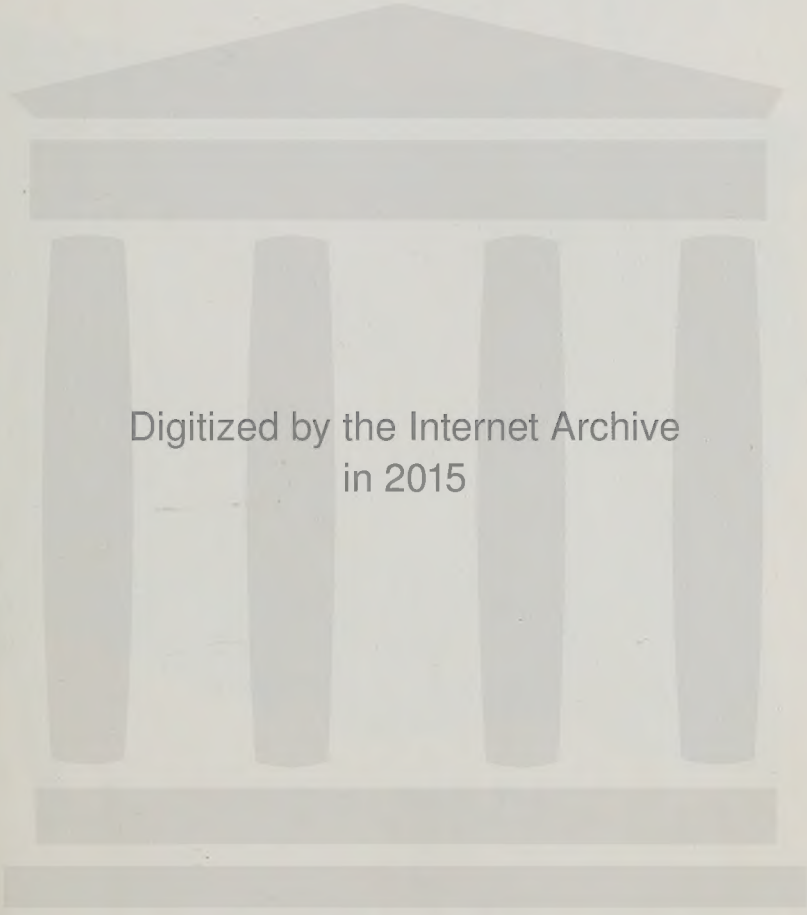
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CAPTAIN JAMES E. REYNOLDS

*By Rosa Ayleene Nance**

Captain James E. Reynolds whose life figured for over half a century in the development and progress of Eastern Indian Territory was a pioneer of great purpose and attainment. He became a resident of the Indian Territory two years after the close of the Civil War, having come west from his native state of Mississippi. A proud Confederate veteran, he faced a frontier life with a soldier's strong determination to achieve success and independence. The Choctaw Nation was his adopted country because of the Choctaw Indian lineage of his wife, Felicity.

James Elisha Reynolds was born July 17, 1837, at Granada, Carroll County, Mississippi. He was the son of Bowen and Sarah Meux Reynolds, both of whom were of old Colonial stock of North Carolina and Virginia. The lives of his ancestors cover practically every period of American existence.[1]

Sarah Meux Reynolds, the mother of James Reynolds was born April 30, 1794, at Hanover, Virginia. She was the maternal granddaughter of Benjamin Oliver, who was a soldier of the French and Indian War.[2] Her paternal grandfather was Thomas Meux, soldier of the Revolutionary War and she was a direct descendant of Colonel John Lightfoot, who served on the Virginia Council, during the period of "Bacon's Rebellion" in 1675. Sarah Meux was educated at the Washington Henry Academy, in Hanover County and a sampler, worked by her there, as a child eight years of age, is still cherished by her descendants. It bears the date 1802, with her name and four lines of Pope's "Universal Prayer":

> "Teach me to feel another's woe.
> To hide the fault I see
> That mercy I to others shew
> That mercy shew to me."

Bowen Reynolds, the father of James E. Reynolds, was born September 13, 1791, in Wilkes County, North Carolina. His father

---

* Rosa Ayleene Nance is the granddaughter of Captain and Mrs. James E. Reynolds. She is the wife of Hon. James C. Nance, Purcell, Oklahoma, and is a staff writer on the *Purcell Register* newspaper. In preparing this article for *The Chronicles,* Mrs. Nance received assistance on family dates, records and events from Mrs. Grace Reynolds Kidd, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Reynolds and Mrs. Katherine Reynolds Boozman.—Ed.

[1] Anna C. Rippier, *The Reynolds Family Association of America, Historical Collections* (1632-1922), Thirty-first Annual Report (Brooklyn Eagle Press, Brooklyn, N. Y.), pp. 269-70.

[2] See *Appendix A* for genealogical data on the Reynolds Family in the Meux and Lightfoot lines, *ibid.*

Captain James E. Reynolds and Felicity (Turnbull) Reynolds on their wedding trip to New Orleans, 1866.

was Elisha Reynolds, who as a soldier in the American Revolution had served as Lieutenant under the command of Captain Samuel Johnson, at the Battle of Kings Mountain, in 1780. In 1786 he married Judith Edins, of Surrey County North Carolina, and because of her deeply religious training, their son Bowen, was reared as a soldier of the great Methodist army which was mobilized in those early days. He became a Methodist minister and following his marriage, November 17, 1817, to Sarah Meux, in Virginia, whose family had been Episcopalian for generations, the young couple moved to Tennessee. They accompanied a colony of Southerners who went westward beyond the Virginia mountains. This colonist movement established Methodism in Kentucky and Tennessee during the crusading period of Bishop Francis Asbury and Samuel Davis. After ten years in Tennessee, the Reverend Reynolds was sent by his church into the Mississippi country as a missionary to the Indians, before the region was opened to settlement. The family lived first at Teoc and later at Granada which was the birthplace of the ninth child and the subject of this article, James Elisha Reynolds.

From this heritage of courage through strife and a consecrated service to mankind, was developed a spirit of ardent and fearless temperament in the character of young James Reynolds. When the Southern States seceded he was among the first to enter the army.

He quickly disposed of a mercantile business which he had established at Carrollton and joined the Confederate army, April 1, 1861.[3] He was in the military organization known as Company K, 11th Mississippi Infantry under the command of Colonel Moore and Captain F. P. Lidell. From the starting point at Corinth, the regiment was sent to Lynchburg, Virginia, and then to Harper's Ferry, where it became a part of the Brigade under General Stonewall Jackson. After the first battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, James Reynolds was hospitalized four months with typhoid fever and injuries. While convalescing from this illness, Reynolds was placed in the Virginia childhood home of Robert L. Owen who later became his business partner in the Indian Territory. At that time Robert was a small lad, but through all the ensuing years of family friendship, the story was related many times of young Robert L. Owen having shot blackbirds for his mother Narcissa Chisholm Owen to make the injured soldier a pie.

In February, 1862, James Reynolds re-enlisted in the army of Tennessee as member of Company K, 30th Mississippi regiment, Walthal brigade, under Captain G. F. Niel. As sergeant, he then took part in many battles east of the Mississippi river. After the battles of Perryville, Kentucky and Murfreesboro, in which he

[3] D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory, Descriptive and Genealogical* (New York, 1901), p. 286.

served as first sergeant, he was promoted to second lieutenant "for meritorious conduct on the Battlefield." He was severely wounded in the battle of Lookout Mountain, November 24, 1863 and was made First Lieutenant later being commended for the rank of Captain of Company K. At New Hope Church Station Georgia, in the battle during Sherman's campaign, May 5, 1864, Captain Reynolds received a leg wound which prevented him from further military service. The injury troubled him all the rest of his life, for it was received while he was still carrying his arm in a sling from the wound at Lookout Mountain.[4]

At the close of the war young Reynolds first accompanied a group of comrades down into the interior of old Mexico. They were rebellious and while in that state of mind, felt they would prefer living apart from the jurisdiction of the United States. Reynolds was convinced very soon that this was a mistake, however, and answered the call of his homeland by quickly returning to his native state.

He was married August 11, 1866 to Miss Felicity Long Turnbull, of Lexington, Mississippi. They visited New Orleans on their wedding trip, with his sister Mary who nineteen years earlier had married John Robert Buhler, son of John Christian Buhler, Orange Grove Plantation, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Mr. and Mrs. Buhler wanted to assist the young couple in starting a mercantile store in New Orleans in order to have them establish their home there. Reynolds had been a merchant before the war, his only business experience. This decision was postponed, however, until a return to the bride's home at Lexington, and her mother later influenced a move to the Indian Territory.

Mrs. Reynolds was a member of the Choctaw Indian tribe, with also a strain of Chickasaw blood. She was born, November 18, 1847 at Lexington, Mississippi, Holmes County, the daughter of Hannah and Anthony Turnbull. Her maternal grandmother was Felicity LeFlore Long, sister to Greenwood LeFlore, Malmaison, Mississippi, who was the last Choctaw chief east of the Mississippi river.

The parents of Felicity LeFlore were Major Louis LeFlore and Rebecca Cravat LeFlore who were the parents of eleven children, now having many descendants in Oklahoma.[5] Rebecca LeFlore was the daughter of John Cravatt, Frenchman of Mobile, Alabama who had been adopted into the Choctaw tribe by his marriage to Rebecca's mother, full blood member of the Oklafalaya iksa or clan.

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[4] See *Appendix B* for "Reminiscences of Captain James E. Reynolds, Battleground Experiences."

[5] Michael LeFlore, brother of Major Louis Leflore, also had many descendants of Choctaw by blood in Oklahoma. He went from Canada to Mexico, and thence to Mississippi where he married a fullblood Choctaw after his brother settled there.

The maternal grandfather of Mrs. Reynolds was Samuel Long, an Englishman whose influence as a highly educated man of stern Christian character was felt throughout succeeding generations. He took a prominent part in promoting the Indian nation, and in 1837 when the newly created Holmes County supervisors sought a required acreage for settlement of a county site at Lexington, he contributed thirty acres of the land allotted by the government to his Indian wife, Felicity.[6] He likewise contributed building sites for the Holmes County Court House there, and for the Presbyterian Church. He sponsored schools to educate the Indians and held classes in his home for members of his own and neighboring Indian families in the study of the English language.

Samuel Long died in 1844, three years before the birth of his granddaughter, Felicity, but there was a grandson, Samuel Long Turnbull, born March 18, 1831. When Felicity Turnbull had reached the age of thirteen years, the family decided that she enter a girl's seminary located a day's travel from her home. She was accompanied on the journey by her adult brother, Samuel. During several hours travel on the train, he suggested an exchange of seats with his sister, and shortly afterwards was killed instantly by a blow on the head from a rail which penetrated the floor of the train coach. That tragedy with the wartime conditions which soon prevailed, ended the college training for the young girl. The inherited admonitions of her Grandfather Long remained through her lifetime, however, and many years later in the Indian Territory, she and her husband, Captain James Reynolds provided a college education for each of their children.

The pioneer settlement of the James E. Reynolds family in the Indian Territory, has been credited to the influence of Mrs. Reynold's mother, Hannah, who thirty-six years earlier had resided in the region for two years. Hannah Long had married Anthony Turnbull, one half blood Choctaw of the Yalabusha County, September 7, 1829. Three years later Anthony and Hannah Turnbull with their infant son Samuel left the Mississippi territory to explore western land ceded to the Choctaws by terms of the Dancing Rabbit Creek treaty, 1830. Though financially independent of the land exchange, by terms of the treaty, they were fired with the spirit of adventure and had visions of great agricultural achievement in this new country. They were accompanied by slaves from their plantation home and spent two years in the Kiamichi Mountain country, residing near the present site of Talihina. They were visited there by Mrs. Turnbull's father, Samuel Long who was displeased with the living conditions and the primitive surroundings. He ordered his daughter and her family to return home and to

[6] Centennial Edition, *Lexington Advertiser* (Lexington, Mississippi), December 15, 1937, Sec. 1, p. 2, col. 3.

hasten that return he took the homesick slaves back to Mississippi. The Anthony Turnbull family soon followed. Anthony died in 1849 and his widow Hannah was married two years later to James Jordan. She was again widowed before the marriage of her daughter Felicity to James E. Reynolds.

Hannah Jordan cherished vivid memories of the wilderness in this territory. She predicted it a land of great opportunity, far superior to the unhappy financial conditions prevailing in the Reconstruction period, following the close of the Civil War. Their former prosperity was gone although she had retained capital sufficient to finance a move to the west for her daughter and son-in-law. She also wished to return with them to the Territory and finally the decision was made.

Captain Reynolds first made an exploratory trip to this region. His letters praising the country were so enthusiastic that his wife was prepared for the move by the time he reached home. In the summer of 1867, with their year old son, James Reynolds, Captain and Mrs. Reynolds embarked on a steamboat for the start of their new life, as pioneers to the west. Hannah Jordan followed one year later, and lived until August 13, 1887. She was buried in the Reynolds family plot at Oak Hill Cemetery, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

While on the boat trip to the Indian Territory, an association began between the James Reynolds and the Robert Beall Rutherford[7] families which continued through a life long friendship. Rutherford with his wife, Sally Wallace Rutherford, both members of noted Virginia families had been on a visit to their homes in Virginia, after having resided in Clarksville, Arkansas, during the Civil War. Rutherford settled in Fort Smith to practice law, where he later became county and probate judge of Sebastian County. The Reynolds family settled seven miles to the south, in their inherited part of Choctaw nation and the lives of the two families were merged into a pioneering kinship. Members of the two families later became affiliated with United Daughters of the Confederacy and in 1908, the Confederate reunion in Chattanooga, Tennessee was attended by Grace Reynolds, young daughter of Captain and Mrs. James Reynolds, together with Helen Rutherford, Muskogee, the niece to Judge R. B. Rutherford. They were pages from the Indian Territory to the Assembly and Dr. Hailey, McAlester, was the delegate.

On reaching the territory, Captain and Mrs. Reynolds preferred a location near a point of transportation and settled a few miles

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[7] Jerry Rand, "Samuel Morton Rutherford," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), pp. 149-59.

southwest of Fort Smith in the old Skullyville[8] region of the Choctaw nation. Their Choctaw tribal allottments were acquired in what was known as the Braden bottom land in the Arkansas river and the Poteau river valleys. Their first shelter was a cabin which had a puncheon floor. Canebrake had to be cleared before there was suitable place for a house and after a few months residence in a rudely constructed house they built another home on the hill which is now known as Arkoma Hill. This was their permanent abode for over a quarter of a century.

With their frontier home established, Captain Reynolds then centered his attention on farming projects, and had a part in the development of the region. As a land owner, he gradually accumulated farm properties of several thousand acres, through increased family Indian land and through his own personal investments. The land was cleared as it was acquired and cotton, feed crops, vegetables and fruit were produced. He soon began to manage those agricultural projects very successfully, though his boyhood business experience had been limited to mercantile business. That knowledge also proved valuable, however, as he placed general supply stores through the region on a plan that was parallel to the present day system of chain supply stores for farmers. Another important early day business enterprise was his establishment of a tobacco factory, which operated for many years on his property south of Fort Smith.[9]

Captain Reynolds soon became interested in coal mining. He also credited his mother-in-law Hannah Jordan with creating his interest in minerals. In the descriptive accounts she made of her early life in the Kiamichi mountains was her following statement of a lead mine location.[10] This mine known only by Anthony Turnbull from which he used lead from 1832 to 1834, now told by Hannah Jordan to James Reynolds in 1869, for Hannah had followed her menfolk on a mining trip and had kept silent on her discovery, for over thirty-six years:

"From the old Turnbull residence, now Jack McCurtain's place, one mile south of the old Tuskahoma capital. The lead was ten or twelve miles northwest up the Kiamichi river close to a tall mountain, situated on the river and on the right of the road toward the old Anderson place. I think the deposit was 50 miles above Doaksville. Anthony cut the lead out with a hatchet for his own and his neighbor's use in making bullets. As he cut it out of the vein at that time, it had to be kept secret as there was penalty of death for divulging the whereabouts of a mineral."

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[8] Skullyville was known as the Choctaw Agency (established 1832), the site of which is about a mile and a half northeast of present Spiro in Le Flore County, Oklahoma.

[9] *Fort Smith Press*, July 4, 1920, "Obituary Column."

[10] Ledger belonging to James E. Reynolds.

Captain Reynolds foresaw a great future for the coal industry in the territory, and determined to invest his time, energy and money in promotion of coal mining, coal having been discovered near the Texas road in the Choctaw Nation. Therefore he has been called the "first capitalist" to begin the development of coal mining in the McAlester region.[11] He is also credited with having built the first dwelling house in old McAlester for which he is called one of the town's founders.[12] At that time he had intentions of establishing his own family in McAlester to reside and when that plan changed he joined with other capitalists in organizing another township, located one half mile south of the old McAlester town, to be known as South McAlester. He then built the first stone business building, where in partnership with the late Senator Robert L. Owen, he established the Indian Trading Post.[13] This was run as a mercantile supply store and was later sold to a Curran Furniture Store firm. The building has changed ownership several times and the site is now the location of the building owned by *The McAlester News-Capital,* newspaper publishing company.[14]

After residing for over twenty years in their Skullyville County hill home, the characteristic spirit of restless energy in Captain Reynolds became active again. The family then included three sons and four daughters. Success had been attained for family maintenance, he had toiled long and faithfully toward the progress of the region. His problems of a struggling pioneer had been solved and accordingly he decided the time had arrived for a new residence location and new business expansion. He was attracted to the region of south Texas where the family had spent several winters during school terms. Because of his association with D. A. Cauthron, a cattleman of Sonora, Texas, he also considered a location there in the San Angelo country. Both these plans were terminated however, by Mrs. Reynolds who quietly but firmly stated her preference to remain in the Choctaw nation, with no intention of any future pioneering experiences again. As a happy compromise then the location for another home was chosen to be at Cameron, sixteen miles distant from the old homeplace.

Cameron, Indian Territory, in the late eighties was a new town and fast becoming the most important one in the eastern territory. The town was named in honor of William Cameron, Scottish coal miner who for many years was the government coal supervisor in the Choctaw nation.[15]

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[11] Gideon, *op. cit.,* p. 287.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Statement from McAlester citizens, including Mr. E. T. Richards, retired business executive who had been accountant for J. J. McAlester Coal Company in early days.
[15] Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933), p. 83.

The Cameron postoffice opened January, 1888, with William Green the first postmaster.[16] The Frisco railroad had been extended in 1886 from Fort Smith to Paris, Texas,[17] and was routed through Cameron as it crossed the Choctaw nation. The town was also the location of the United States Commissioners' Court, and many lawyers in Eastern Indian Territory were moving there for professional opportunities.

The town was located on a prairie plateau, facing Cavanaugh mountain on the south and the Sugar Loaf Mountain on the eastern border adjoining Arkansas. It was accessible to travel for horse drawn vehicles through the hills of its northern boundary, by a pass over Back Bone Mountain. A toll gate was operated at the entrance to the pass at the top the Mountain and the fees collected were used to maintain the road. One fee was charged for horseback riders, another for wagons, another for buggies, the passage free to all citizens of the Choctaw Nation. Jess Riddle held the contract, for many years to operate the gate.[18]

Homestead rights were obtained by Mrs. Reynolds for the site of a new home which was built at Cameron in 1890. The location was on a hill slope with the house constructed of native stone from their hillside quarries. A castle type design with turrets was used with walls two feet thick, these having kept the building well preserved to the present date. Coal burning, grate-style fireplaces furnished the heating system. One room in the new house was set apart for displaying enlarged pictures of famous War Generals and memorial collections of Captain Reynolds. The pictures rested on easels draped with large Confederate flags of the stars and bars.

Captain Reynolds' hobby was the cultivation of flowers. He had a terraced garden at the front of the new home where roses, cape jessamines, magnolias and flowering shrubs were raised. He gave his own personal care to the flowers and credited his longevity to the physical exercise of daily work in his garden. During the cape jessamine blooming season, small boxes of the flowers wrapped in wet cotton were prepared for all visitors in the home, and were often presented to favorite railroad officials, also. The Frisco "Cannon Ball" train on its northbound trip could be seen several miles across the prairie from the front porch and the gleam of the headlight was watched with interest when the family

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[16] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 8.

[17] Public relations data furnished by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad.

[18] The tollgate at the pass on Backbone Mountain was on the old Fort Smith-Fort Towson Road about a mile and a half south of Pocola in Le Flore County. Jesse Riddle, a Choctaw citizen whose home was on the south side of the Mountain, operated the tollgate at the pass through the 1870's up to about the time of the construction of the Frisco Railroad in the region in 1886-7.—Ed.

had regular summer evening visits for singing and talking together.

Captain and Mrs. Reynolds had both been devoted members of the Presbyterian Church. They had formerly attended service at Fort Smith and after locating at Cameron they felt the need of a place to worship. Also there was apparent need of school facilities to provide classes for students of all ages. They decided therefore to found a mission church school at Cameron. Through their church affiliations they arranged for a school to be sponsored by the Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. So, in 1893, the school which was named the Cameron Institute was founded.[19] The Institute was financed principally by the Presbyterian Finance fund, though it also operated under terms of the Choctaw Indian schools as tuition for the students of Indian lineage was paid by the tribal government. It was a co-educational school, consisting of primary, intermediate and academic classes. All religious denominations were accepted, and chapel services were conducted daily at the school. The chapel also served as a place for Sunday school and Church, for residents of Cameron. Services were held there each Sunday by the school's residential Presbyterian minister. The school was conducted during the first year in a one-story frame building. Then Captain and Mrs. Reynolds contributed stone material and a building site adjacent to their own home for a two-story structure. It was completed in 1895.

Though he did not officially govern the Institute, Captain Reynolds acted as advisor to the General Presbyterian Board of Missions. First teachers were J. F. McKenzie and Max Nolan, followed by E. W. Simpson, Mary Wortz, Sadie James, Ella Barnwill, Sue Edna Shibley, C. E. Powell. The Reverend William Lacey was the minister for several years. In 1896 the school was placed under the Presidency of Reverend T. B. Lunsford, who also taught the upper classes. His son Will Lunsford was a teacher and Mrs. Etha West Lunsford,[20] wife of another son, T. B. Lunsford, Jr., was in charge of the primary department for many years.

The school operated until after statehood and many present day Oklahoma residents received their early schooling at the old Cameron Institute.[21] After county seats were established many

[19] See *Appendix C* for notes on Cameron Institute, taken from the annual reports of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1895 to 1902.

[20] Mrs. Etha West Lunsford now resides at Lincoln, Arkansas. Her late husband, T. B. Lunsford, was formerly on the Arkansas State Industrial Commission.

[21] As recorded by Mrs. Lunsford, students of Cameron Institute include the following who live in Oklahoma City (1954): Mrs. P. G. Heaslett (the former Edna Williams), Etta Ware, Jeff and Robert Beatty (sons of a pioneer Cameron watch dealer), Mrs. E. P. Allen whose father was the late Judge Phil Brewer, an attorney at Cameron. Dr. Anna Lewis, Head of the History Department at Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha, is also a former student of the Institute.

Residence of Captain James E. Reynolds at Cameron, Indian Territory, erected 1890.

families were forced to leave Cameron for business reasons. The U. S. Commissioners' Court had been moved to Poteau in 1900. Public schools were becoming numerous and eventually the attendance at the Institute became so small, it was necessary to close the institution. The building served as a warehouse for several years. Vandals destroyed the window panes and finally the structure was dismantled. The only remaining object now of the Institute furnishings is the old chapel organ, still cherished by members of the Reynolds family.

The business expansion program for Captain Reynolds at Cameron was a general merchandise store and a fruit industry. Peach orchards were developed on the hill back of his home and fancy Elberta peaches were produced there and shipped in car lots to the city markets. This industry provided a valuable pay roll to the town as during the packing and shipping season, the service of many employees was required. A winding road was cleared and marked to pass the Institute to the orchard site. The natural rock base of the soil provided all weather transportation from packing sheds to the railway station. In 1903 a shipment of peaches was sent to supply the markets in Liverpool, England, and Elberta peaches from the Reynolds Fruit Company, Cameron, Indian Territory was listed in the shipment.[22]

The Cameron merchandise store, owned by Captain Reynolds was merged with the fruit company in 1908, to become a partnership concern with his son, the late Earl Reynolds, and was operated by him under the firm name of E. V. Reynolds and Company until his passing in 1938. Another son, Hugh Anthony Reynolds, was his partner in the Braden Supply Store. That store operated for over forty years in serving families of the farming region along the Arkansas River. Through sentiment for the family interests, Hugh Reynolds and his family remained Braden residents through many flood seasons of disaster. The 1943 flood however, damaged his home and store building to the extent of a forced removal. He is now overseer for the land sections formed into a townsite by his father in 1911. That townsite includes hill land in the original acreage acquired on family filing many years earlier and was named Arkoma to represent the proximity to the boundary line of the states of Arkansas and Oklahoma.

Captain Reynolds never surrendered the cause of Southern Confederacy in his heart and for that reason he bore the title of an "unreconstructed rebel." He never held or aspired to hold public office, either in the territory or the state which followed. Instead he preferred to direct all his influence to promote personal friends and the leaders of his choice. He was staunch in his fight

[22] Account Ledger belonging to James E. Reynolds. See, also, Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York, Chicago, 1916), Vol. II, p. 837.

for a double statehood, and was persuaded by his friend Chief Greenwood McCurtain to become a delegate to the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention,[23] held in Muskogee, August 19, 1905. He served as a member of the finance committee.[24] After failure of the Sequoyah movement and after the admission of the Indian Territory into the single state of Oklahoma, he again experienced bitter disappointment toward government. He stubbornly refused to cast a vote of any kind in any state race until his personal friend of many years, Robert L. Owen, became a candidate for the United State Senate.[25] At the beginning of World War I, however, he immediately became reconciled completely to the United States government and extended all the support of his impulsive nature. He contacted his old army comrade, Colonel John S. Moseby, Washington D. C., in the hope of forming a battalion of Confederate veterans to join the American troops in France,[26] with the provision they would be allowed to go in battle under an old Confederate Battle Flag. The close of the war came before official approval had been granted.

Expressive of Captain Reynold's resolute spirit is this excerpt from a letter written by him, November 27, 1919, to a niece, Miss Edith Buhler, New York, New York, in response to her request for his opinion on world conditions, following World War I:

"When the war closed in 1865, with bleeding heart I surrendered my individuality as we stacked arms and held up our hands in battle as subjects of the victor. I have remained as such since then, attending the Presbyterian Church and the Masonic Lodge as practically the only public gathering. I am sorry to say I am in no way competent to pass judgment since I am still an unreconstructed Confederate. With my parole I came west to the Indian Territory. When this World War closed I have aspired only to being a true loyal subject of the United States. My prayer is for our soldiers who fought and brought about this victory to have a voice in the

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[23] Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), pp. 161-92, and *ibid.*, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), pp. 299-340.

[24] Letter from A. L. Rice to the writer:

Hugo, Oklahoma
June 23, 1951

Dear Mrs. Nance:

I am glad to say I remember meeting James E. Reynolds at the Convention at Muskogee. He was quite an interesting person as well as C. N. Haskell and others who have passed across the great beyond.

(Signed) A. L. Rice

[25] *The Poteau Sun*, "Memory Lane" column, July 14, 1949.

[26] Clipping from *Washington Post*, D. C., December 7, 1917:

"Colonel John S. Moseby celebrated his 81 birthday December 6. Hale and hearty the aged Confederate Cavalryman spent the day in his apartment, 1223 Twelfth street, Washington, receiving numerous friends and such of his comrades as were able to greet him. Colonel Moseby still feels the fire of a warrior coursing through his veins. He says he feels as young as he did fifty years ago and would like nothing better than to form a regiment and get into the fighting in Europe. Colonel Moseby who until a year ago was a Government employee now resides with his daughter, Mrs. Stuart Moseby Calema."

future and say no more war. Had we not better stay at the head as at present than go to the bottom of the League of Nations? Yes we can only stay where they have put us at the head or be attached to the foot, regardless of the cost to humanity who have grown so wicked that Providence was compelled to stop things."

Formation of the Arkoma townsite in 1911 was the last important business enterprise of Captain Reynolds. He created a small surburban settlement on the hill where rental houses were built. Also, he made arrangements for the Fort Smith Street Car Company to furnish regular service to the residents for access to their employment and to the schools in nearby Fort Smith. He formed a partnership with John Underwood of Spiro to drill wells for providing water to the community.[27]

Frequent trips to this neighborhood which had been their first home site in the territory, caused Captain and Mrs. Reynolds to make a decision to reside there again. They had a house built several hundred yards distant from their original home constructed in 1869 and spent their remaining nine years in the old Choctaw nation region which had seemed a magic wilderness on their arrival in their youth.

Captain Reynolds was a strong dominant personality. He admonished his children to display courage, energy, integrity and loyalty. His motto was "Surrender if necessary, but never be Conquered." Because of wounds received as a young soldier, his health received deepest solicitude from his wife and family. He was slender in stature, almost to frailty, though he had a very erect military carriage, with an elastic step. He was a great believer in proper diet, and, when traveling from home, his case always contained a tin of homemade graham biscuits to serve as his

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[27] From Ledger belonging to J. E. Reynolds:

LOG OF SOLINGEN'S PROSPECT WELL—REYNOLDS AND UNDERWOOD

April—Clay, and slate rock first	25	feet-water first.
Sand rock	27	feet
Black slate	48	feet
Struck water again (at 106)		
Slate grit	25	feet
Rock hard	20	feet
Black slate	81	feet
Dark rock sandstone	36	feet
May 13—Struck water again	252	feet
June 10—Hard rock	450	deep
Black rock	510	
Light shale	560	
Hard rock	570	
Black shale	615	
White sandstone	660	
Gray shale	680	
White sandstone	712	

bread. He was a believer in woman suffrage and a strong prohibitionist. One of his desired projects was a bridge across the Poteau river, and ironically the bridge was constructed the year after his passing.

Mrs. Reynolds was blessed with the radiance of good health, a kind disposition and unselfish nature. Hers is the story of a good wife, mother and friend whose life of loving service to her family is a benediction. She was gifted in music and the echoes of her songs reflect the beauty and dignity of a well spent life. After the passing of her husband to whom she had administered so many years, her spirit languished. James E. Reynolds died July 3, 1920 and the death of his wife, Felicity followed in October of the same year.[28]

In compliance with the expressed wish of Captain Reynolds, the grave vaults in Oak Hill cemetery, Fort Smith, Arkansas in which he and Mrs. Reynolds are interred, are marked by statuary: Three lifesize figures, of marble which were carved in Italy portray a wounded soldier supported by two young women. That had been his own personal experience, following wounds received at the New Hope Battle, Georgia, in 1864. He had been left on the battlefield thought to be fatally injured and was discovered by the daughters of his commanding officer. For their help he was eternally grateful. The tomb inscription is, "Lest We Forget."

APPENDIX A

The *Meux Line* of the *Reynolds Family*:

This is a very old French family of the Gallic tribe of the Meldi, from which the city of Meaux near Paris received its name. The family had been established in England ever since the year 1066, when Ketel De Melsa, their Norman ancestor came over with the conqueror, William of Orange. The lands which he received were in Yorkshire, with family branches established in the isle of Wight and at Kingston. This family intermarried with the Plantagenet Royal line and their descent is given in the Exeter Volume of "Plantagenet Blood Royal." The name is derived from a root meaning excellence, virility, strength and sweetness. It is from the same radical as Melissa, which means a bee and honey. It is very ancient. The armorial bearings are:

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[28] Sons and daughters of Captain and Mrs. Reynolds, who reached maturity were James, Ida, Rosa, Hugh, Earl, Grace, Felicity. The two now surviving are Mrs. Grace Kidd, widow of the late Henry Kidd, Amarillo, Texas and Mr. Hugh Anthony Reynolds, Ft. Smith, Arkansas.

Grandchildren who have been continuous residents of Oklahoma are Mrs. Rosa Ayleene (James C.) Nance and Mrs. Winnie (Horace) Hunter, Purcell, the daughters of Rosa and Harvey Carr. Others are Mrs. Elizabeth Callaway, Ft. Smith, Arkansas, and Hugh Reynolds Jr., New York, N. Y., the daughter and son of Willie Robinson Reynolds and Hugh Reynolds; Ralph Boozman, Jackson, Mississippi, and Bert Wayne Boozman, Kansas City, Mo., the sons of Felicity and Bert Boozman; Helen Murray, Crockett, Texas, and Reynolds Murray, Carlsbad, New Mexico, daughter and son of Ida and Dr. M. W. Murray; Henry Hugh Kidd, Borger, Texas, son of Grace and Henry Kidd.

Marble Statuary that marks the graves of Captain and Mrs. Reynolds, Oak Hill Cemetery, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Arms; paly of six, or. and az; on a chief gu. 3 crosses, pattee of the firs Crest; 2 wings, endorsed, the points downward, ar; tied together with cord, or. (from the Norman people and their existing descendants)—H. S. King and Co.

In the spring of the year 1700 according to Baird's *Huguenot Emigration to America* a band of 700 colonists under the leadership of the Marquis Oliver de la Musse came to Virginia and founded Manakintown on the James River; a large grant of land having been made to this brave young nobleman who had escaped from France to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought his Huguenot followers from France and England to the new world.[29] John Meux, the first known ancestor of the family in America who left England 1714 purchased a large estate on the Pamunkey river. (Plantangent Blood Royal, Exeter Volumn) John Meux died there 1726 according to register of St. Peter's Parish. His son Richard, born there in 1711 married Elizabeth Lightfoot, granddaughter of Colonel John Lightfoot of the Virginia Council. They were great grandparents of James E. Reynolds, Cameron, Oklahoma.

The Reynolds Family (The Lightfoot Line):

This is an old English family, many of whose sons came to America in the early Colonial days, settling in Virginia and in New England and trading with the West Indies. The earliest traced English ancestor was Reverend Richard Lightfoot, rector of Stoke Bruerne, Northamptonshire, England, born 1562. He was active in his parish in 1601 and was buried there 1625. His will is quoted in William and Mary College Quarterly, volumn 11. His oldest son was John Lightfoot, born 1598, barrister at law at Grays Inn, London, 1617. John Lightfoot was born in England 1620 and like his father John 1, was of Gray's Inn 1641. He came to Gloucester, County Virginia in 1671. He was member of the Kings Council, also being Commissioner in chief of King and Queen County. St. Peter's parish gives the following inscription on his grave, "Colonel John Lightfoot, Esq. obijtxxvlll XXVlllDie Majs circa undecim. Host and Anne Lins 1707." The arms of the family are also given which are three mussel shells to denote a crusading ancestor. Colonel John Lightfoot, Virginia Council married Anne Goodrich whose father was a Lieutenant Colonel during Bacon's rebellion in 1675. Their seventh son was Major Sherwood Lightfoot whose daughter Elizabeth, born November, 23, 1716 became the wife of Richard Meux and they were the great great grandparents of James E. Reynolds, Cameron, Oklahoma.

APPENDIX B

"Reminiscences of Captain James E. Reynolds—Perryville, Kentucky Battle."

"As I remember it was on the morning of Sept. 14. We advanced in line of battle across an old field under heavy fire which was picking off our men. As we quietly advanced and stretched our files after closing on the right as the men were cut down and out by the enemies sharpshooters, we thought not of danger but pushed with all energy to reach a long ridge where we would make our stand for the days battle against the enemy in line, then opposing us on another ridge 100 yards away. On getting on the ridge we were ordered to take advantage of the hill and load and fire at will. The enemies position on the opposite hill showed they were arrayed in line of battle when they stood and loaded and fired by manuel orders all day, but were replaced with fresh troops to their lines frequently. We were near enough to hear them distinctly giving orders in loading, firing etc. The enemy lined up their men behind the hill enough to expose their men from the waist up only. We immediately prepared for work by falling under

[29] The largest number of Huguenot colonists settled at Manakintown which was located on the south bank of the James River about twenty miles above the falls near Richmond, on land that had been occupied by the Monacan Indian tribe, whence the name *Manakintown*.—Ed.

the hill entirely protected, then selected five men—one to load guns—one to haul them up to one man who laid flat on the ground, with his face exposed only while he with his gun resting on the ground took aim at the enemy's belt buckles—then fired and replaced the empty gun with one freshly loaded and fired again. I was on the firing line. The boys dug holes with their bayonets for my feet to rest in so as to prevent being kicked off the hill by our old guns when they fired. Thus arranged, I with the five men loading ten guns, handed up as fast as one was emptied, kept my position there all day, consuming 176 cartridges without getting a scratch except from powder burns and kick on my face and a black shoulder that was disabled for weeks after, caused from the kicking of our own guns.

Charlie Morris as I remember, was shot in the head and was the only one killed in Co. K. after getting our position on the hill. The two Hughes boys, Steve and Joe, their cousin Buck Humphries, Sgts. Lott, Thompson, Pettigrew and Morris as I remember, were on my right on the firing line. We charged the enemy at eight o'clock P.M. They retreated leaving their dead and wounded on the field for us. After making my details as 1st. Sgt. and our picket lines established 2nd. Sgt. Aaron Lott and I started down the enemies line with all the water containers we could muster on a mission of mercy and did all we could for the suffering yanks. We worked with them until 4 a.m. and until our water gave out, also ourselves. The dying were more quiet when we decided to return to our own command. After starting back I became exhausted and decided to rest a while. Sgt. Lott went on. The enemy were strewn thick for miles along our path. I selected for my bed a two foot space between a dead horse and what appeared to be his dead rider, who lay by him. I took the overcoat and blanket off the horse and made a pallet bed between them, which I got on and covered with overcoat and prepared to go to sleep, with a clear conscience and exhausted body. No sooner had I began to sleep than to my amazement the supposedly dead man proved to be not quite dead but in last agony, raised his right hand and landed it limp in my face to remain motionless—and he was really dead! I was entirely alone with the dead and dying, several thousand in number. No one except those placed in the same position, surrounded as I was, could imagine my feelings. After a second's thought, and after looking at the man and feeling for heartbeats, and convincing myself the man was dead, I took off the overcoat, which I had taken from the dead horse and laid it on the man with care and deliberation after which I rose quietly and started to my command not before saying to myself however, "I am not a coward but when it comes to a dead man slapping me in the face, I can and will give him the field." I started off with a good step giving him my back without looking behind and with cold chills running over me every moment as I could imagine feeling the dead man's hand climbing on my back every step I took. That dead Yankee was the only Yankee I ever gave my back to on a battlefield, notwithstanding I have frequently had to retreat in battle. I always had a pride against being shot in the back and invariably retreated backwards.

Murfreesboro—

After the battle of Perryville we started out of Kentucky, on our retreat through Cumberland Gap pursued by the enemy who had been re-enforced. We marched, fighting our way both day and night without stopping to eat or sleep until we got to an old town in Tennesse, Taswell, I think, at the end of a seven day retreat. After a short rest we went on to Knoxville and then took the train cars back to Chattanooga and to Shelbyville again, where we remained until after the battle of Murfreesborough, Tenn., December 31, 1862 where our regiment, with Col. Scales, 30th Miss. lost over half their men, when we charged the enemies entrenched line and the Wild Cat battery. Co. K out of 54 men to go into battle, lost 29. We retreated from their battery fire but rallied when re-inforcements came up—flanked out of their breast works and soon occupied the enemies battle grounds. That night, in

this engagement, my haversack was shot to pieces. My hat and coat were pierced but I escaped otherwise unhurt and unscratched except for small cut on the right cheek from a passing bullet, shot by one of my own men who was firing on the rear line.

Lookout Mountain—

It was at Lookout Mountain November 24, 1863 and after my brigade (Walthall's) had surrendered when with my comrades Steve and Joe Hughes, Buck Humphries, H. C. Latham, we ran the gauntlet to escape. I with 153 bullet holes in my clothes and body wounds escaped with a severe breast wound received in the retreat. My comrades knew of a cave in the mountains which they soon reached and climbed a ladder to safety—to our army on top of the mountain. I faced 10,000 men as I retreated until I lost the use of my right arm and could not load my gun. I was a lieutenant then but took a gun from one of my company "McDough," who would not go with us but surrendered instead. After getting from under fire I threw down my sword and blanket, which was shot to pieces. I was again promoted—to first Lieutenant for meritorious conduct after this battle of Lookout Mountain.

APPENDIX C

The following notes on Cameron Institute are from the annual report of the Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Historical Foundation, Montreat North Carolina, T. H. Spence, director:

"The other high school was inaugurated at Cameron, Choctaw Nation, a small but growing town twenty one miles on the "Frisco" road south of Fort Smith, Ark., and was placed under the care of Mr. J. F. McKenzie, a student of Austin Theological Seminary, who with Mr. Nolen, a young man and a ruling elder as his assistant, began the school January 1. The whole enrollment here has reached seventy." (For Year ending March 30th, 1895, p. 4.)

"The school at Cameron opened in November, Mr. E. W. Simpson, a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, Va., principal. Both principals have assistant teachers." (For year ending March 31st, 1896, p. VI.)

"We have two High Schools in the Choctaw Nation—one at Cameron, a small town twenty-one miles from Fort Smith, Ark. We have a two-story stone building for church and school purposes, with Rev. T. B. Lunsford in charge of church and school. He has had two school assistants, with an enrollment of 127 pupils during the year." (For Year ending March 31st. 1897, p. VII.)

T. B. Lunsford was still in charge. "The school (at Cameron) and church are beacon lights, and power for good in that section." (For Year ending March 31st, 1898, p. IX)

"Rev T. B. Lunsford, Principal of our High School at Cameron, offered his resignation, because of failing health, in February last, and was succeeded by his son, Mr. J. W. Lunsford, who, with two assistants, has continued the school to the end of the session, with an enrollment during the year of 125 pupils." (For Year ending March 31st, 1899, p. X).

Cameron—Prof. T. M. Wilson, Principal . . . 3 teachers, 117 white, 23 Indian pupils enrolled." (For Year ending March 31st, 1900, p. X)

"Cameron has a stone building which cost $2,000, and has done fine work under Professor Lacy and his assistants. It has not only improved the moral tone of the town, but made it impossible to rent a house in the place. With wise and aggressive management it may likewise develop into a college of great influence for good in that whole section." (For Year ending March 31st, 1902, p. V)

CHIEF SPLITLOG AND THE CAYUGA MISSION CHURCH

By Velma Nieberding

In northeastern Oklahoma today there are few landmarks reminiscent of the period during which the Cayugas. Senecas, Wyandots, and other once-great Indian tribes came to settle after their final trek into the Indian Territory. Where the town of Cayuga stood, nine miles northeast of Grove, in Delaware County, there remains only an old church. It stands in lonely vigil on a little-used road, a stone's throw from the cemetery where its builder, Matthias Splitlog, is buried.

The history of early Catholicity in Oklahoma would not be complete without a sketch of Cayuga Mission-Church, (called also "The Splitlog Church" and the Church dedicated to St. Matthias, the Apostle. In no other part of the state—possibly in the United States—did an Indian build out of his own funds, a church worth $35,000 today. Cayuga Mission was the crowning achievement of a long life of building for Matthias Splitlog, pioneer of four frontiers.[1]

Distinguished, even in his early years, for his sound business sense, a mechanical and inventive turn of mind, and the ability to estimate the possibilities of the future, Splitlog possessed the quality known as vision. "He was of a peculiar, eccentric disposition" relates one chronicler, "His ideas were ahead of his time. He was always planning and building."[2]

You have to turn the page of old history books, read yellowed newspaper clippings, or talk to Splitlog's grandchildren, to catch again his dream for his people. Gone was the mighty confederacy of the Iroquois which had linked the Senecas and Cayugas with Onodagas, Oneidas, Mohawks and Tuscororas until the American Revolution split that confederacy. Far removed were the council fires which Splitlog left when the Wyandots quit-claimed their Ohio reservation back to the United States in exchange for a home "west of the Mississippi" in 1842.[3] Splitlog was still looking for the promised land—the land of final settlement—when he came to the Indian Territory in 1874. Splitlog had fought as a "Soldier of the Cannon" under Colonel Mulligan of the Union Army. He had received his allotment of land when the Wyandots were allotted

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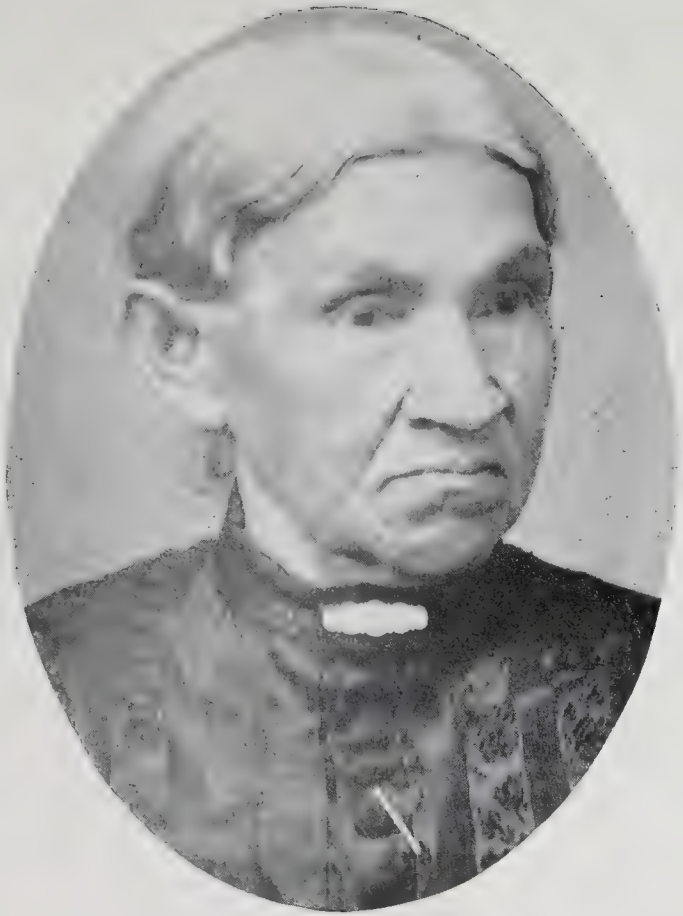
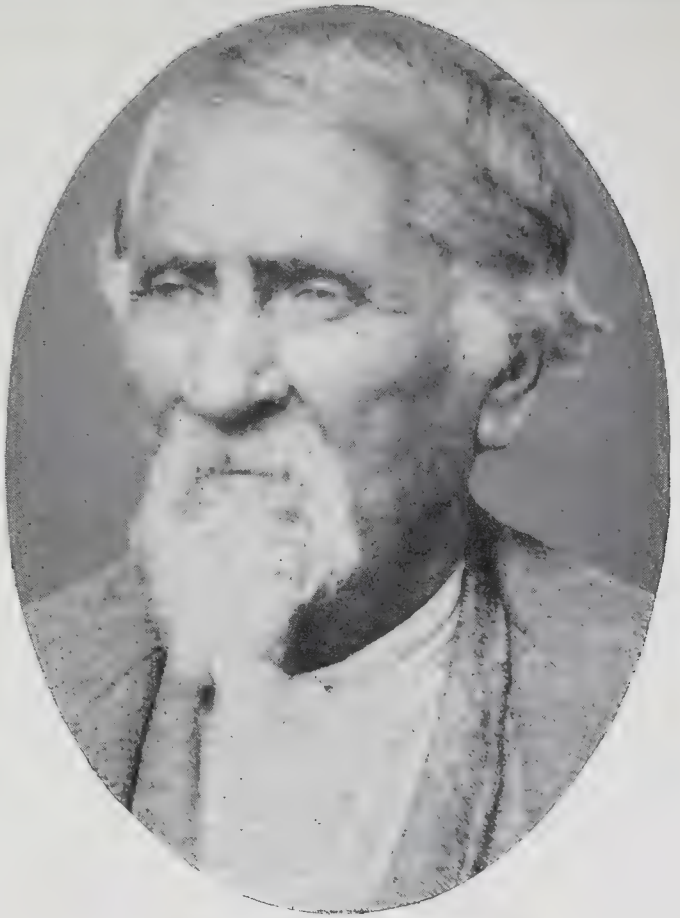
[1] Ohio, Kansas, Missouri, Indian Territory.

[2] Nannie Lee Burns, "Matthias Splitlog" *Indian Pioneer History* S-149. December 3, 1937. See also, *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, second series Vol. III, edited by William E. Connelly, 1889.

[3] Kappler (ed.) *Laws and Treaties*, II, p. 395; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 94-95.



ELIZA BARNETT SPLITLOG, 1816-1894



MATHIAS SPLITLOG, 1812-1897

their lands in severalty in Kansas under the treaty of 1855.[4] The sale of these lands had made him wealthy but he had seen his fellow tribesmen dismayed and unhappy at the encroachments of the whites. He came to the Indian Territory believing that the idea of tribal responsibility had not died although much had been done to discourage it.

This sketch cannot encompass an account of Splitlog's activities in Ohio, Kansas and Missouri—how he built the first grist mill in Kansas, his ambition to build an empire in the fertile, wooded lands of northeast Indian Territory and the measure of his success. The building of his railroad is a story in itself and the amazing accomplishments of this man who could neither read nor write, yet could speak seven languages, would fill a book. He was an old man when he came to the Territory in 1874. He had outlived his wife and all his ten children, but one, when he undertook to build Cayuga Mission. He was to live less than two months after the Church was dedicated. These are facts that make his story unusual.

Family accounts have Matthias Splitlog born in New York in 1812, his ancestry one-half Cayuga, one-half French. He was removed to Ohio with a portion of the Cayugas when he was three years of age.[5] We find him as a young man living in Sandusky, Ohio among the Wyandots. It was here that he met and married his wife, Eliza Barnett, and by this tribal marriage became a member of the Wyandot Tribe.[6]

Splitlog, with seven or eight hundred members of the tribe migrated to Kansas in 1843.[7] Members of the Splitlog family have described this journey as one of intense hardship. Over land by wagon and on the rivers by steamboat the Wyandots came, each family burdened with possessions they were trying to bring to the new home. The Wyandots had been assigned a tract of 148,000 acres to be located on the Neosho. When this tract proved unsatisfactory to the leaders of the tribe, they turned to the Delawares and purchased from them thirty-nine sections of land lying in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers (the present site of Kansas City,

[4] By this treaty, competent Wyandots became citizens of the United States. *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, (1919-1922) edited by William E. Connelly.

[5] Interview with Grover Splitlog, grandson of Matthias Splitlog. Dec. 10, 1953.

[6] Eliza was the daughter of John Barnett and Hannah Charloe. Henry Jacques (pronounced "Jocko") belonged to that part of the Wyandot nation composed of the Barnett and Charloe families. He was one of the Chiefs who signed the Treaty of March 17, 1842. Mr. Barnett's grandfather was a white man who had been made prisoner by the Indians almost in infancy. John Barnett was not a Chief but he was an educated man and sat in all the Wyandot Councils.—*Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, op. cit.*, p. 225.

[7] Other leaders of the Wyandot tribe at this time included Silas Armstrong, Francis A. Hicks, William Walker (later Provisional Governor of the Territory of Nebraska) Mathew Mudeater, John Greyeyes, Isaac Zane. Splitlog became famous as the "Indian Millionaire".

Kansas.) Grant Foreman comments that this purchase had been conceived and negotiated by shrewd members of the tribe who had the vision to discern the commercial location of the land.[8]

Within the next twelve years the whites realized that the land on which the Wyandots had settled was too valuable to permit them to keep it. Then began the familiar story of Indian removal. In 1855, they discarded their treaty and tribal rights and became citizens of the United States with the immunities and privileges of white people, including the right to sell their lands.

Many years before, the Wyandots had befriended the Senecas by giving them forty thousand acres of land on the Sandusky river in Ohio.[9] The Senecas had promised their benefactors that should misfortune ever overwhelm them they would take them in as brothers and give them a home. By 1857, the Wyandots wer homeless, having sold or lost their Kansas holdings. The Senecas made their ancient promise good and conveyed a strip of land 30,000 acres across the north end of the Seneca reservation in the Indian Territory.[10] A large number of the Wyandots came here and settled under the leadership of Matthew Mudeater, Chief.

It was not long before Splitlog's friends began to send word to him to join them in Indian Territory. He had sold some of his land in Kansas City, including his home,[11] and was looking for a new location. In 1874 he journeyed by way of Fort Scott, Kansas, crossed the grassy lands of the Quapaw country and came to the wooded hills and clear running streams of the Seneca lands. He chose as a site for his new home land near both the Grand and the Cowskin rivers. On it was a large spring which he named "Cayuga" in remembrance of his tribe and of the boat he had owned as a young man on Lake Michigan. The town which he subsequently built came to be known as *Cayuga Springs.*

Splitlog first built a sawmill with which to utilize the timber covering the hills of his land. He built a grist mill for grind-

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[8] Although the Delawares expressed themselves as being anxious to have the Wyandots settle among them, the Wyandots complained that although they had "spread a blanket" for the Delawares when they needed help in Ohio, they thought they had been asked an exorbitant price for the thirty-nine sections of land sold by the Delawares. *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, op. cit.*

[9] Treaty of 1817. Grant Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] "Splitlog Hill" stood between Barnett and Tauromee Avenues and 4th and 5th streets in what is now Kansas City, Kansas. Standing in his front yard Splitlog could look over the Kaw and Missouri valley for miles. In 1857 the Wyandotte City Company bought the land out of which the city was plotted, they offered to buy Splitlog's home. He shook his head. "Good for you, good for me" he said and lived on his land until 1860. Three acres of this land was purchased by Father Anton Kuhls and became the site of St. Mary's Church. The price, $800.00. D. B. Hadley, article in *Kansas City Globe*, February 10, 1890.

ing and established a ferry and a general store. Machinery for his projects had to be shipped to Fort Scott and freighted by wagons across the muddy prairie lands to Cayuga. Later on, when the railroad reached Baxter Springs, it became the terminal for his shipping. His building projects gave employment to large numbers of people and it was said of him that he always paid good wages and that his employees were treated kindly.

A large blacksmith shop, essential in those days, was early established and when his own home had been completed and his family moved from Kansas, Splitlog built a factory consisting of three stories and a basement. Here were manufactured buggies and two-seated hacks. Another product of the factory was coffins. A supply of seasoned walnut was always kept on hand. When a death occurred in the community all other work was stopped and the men would be put to work making a coffin. Clothing for the deceased would be taken from the Splitlog General Store. "Grandpa buried many people at his own expense and helped many more," stated a Splitlog grandson. It was said of Sarah Splitlog Evans, a daughter, that "she constantly tried to help the girls of the tribe by encouraging them to acquire an education and by taking them into her home to teach them, herself." Sarah Splitlog, beautiful and accomplished, had been educated at a Convent school in Canada.

When Cayuga was founded there were no public schools. Splitlog started a subscription school, furnished a building and allowed the teacher all she collected in tuition from her pupils as her salary. Mrs. Charles T. Roller, a native of the region, remembered that as one of those pupils she paid five cents a day for tuition.[12]

All of the Splitlog buildings were solidly and substantially constructed and they were characterized by much "gingerbread" carving and enhanced by cupolas. Many of the family buildings were surrounded by board fences painted a dazzling white. The town stood a gem in the wilderness of the Indian country. Joseph Splitlog, one of Matthias' sons, had been appointed Postmaster at Cayuga in June, 1884.[13]

As the turn of the century approached, it became apparent to the far-sighted Splitlog that transportation other than horse and

[12] "Cayuga Waters Chase the Ghost", *The Daily Oklahoman*, June 23, 1940.

[13] The Postoffice did not operate during the period 19 November 1884 to 23 June 1890. George H. Shirk, "First Postoffices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer 1948), p. 193.

Joseph Splitlog died January 4, 1887 and his brother, Thomas, was appointed Postmaster. Thomas died in 1895 and Matthias Splitlog was appointed Postmaster but hired a substitute, Plese Tie. Joe Bombary followed Tie as Postmaster and the postoffice was moved two miles west of Cayuga, for awhile but was moved back to Cayuga and was there when the building was destroyed by fire, according to Grover Splitlog. (January 13, 1954).

buggy was the one factor that Cayuga lacked to become a booming border town. At Joplin, Missouri, and in the Ozarks, talk of mining was in the air. The rich ore, that would a few years later drop millions of dollars into the coffers of the neighboring Quapaw tribe, lay as yet unsuspected. Yet, Splitlog seemed to sense intuitively that this Indian Territory region with resources untapped could become a great mining and industrial empire, linked with all parts of the world—if it had a railroad.

The building of his railroad, the three million dollar "Splitlog Line", forerunner of a portion of the present Kansas City Southern Lines, begun in 1887, ran from Joplin to Neosho, Missouri and thence to Splitlog City and was completed by 1889.[14] The dream that it would reach Cayuga never materialized. The business deal that had given it impetus turned out to be a scheme to swindle Splitlog. Blinded by the promises of friends whom he trusted, confident that in bringing the railroad to Cayuga he would insure prosperity for his tribal brothers, Splitlog plunged recklessly when he was shown a fake gold mine near Anderson, Missouri.[15]

The Splitlog Land and Mining Company had been organized in the winter of 1886, with Splitlog as president and M. C. Clay, a shrewd promoter from Kansas City, as business manager. As the reports of the assay claiming heavy deposits of gold and silver spread over the countryside, a fever of mining excitement gripped the people. Splitlog City was laid out, a daily stageline begun to Neosho and a newspaper was established. The roads were lined with white-topped wagons bearing the slogan "Bound for Splitlog."

On August 15, 1887 Splitlog drove the silver spike that signified the completion of the railroad to Neosho. The Indian Band that he had organized among the young men of Cayuga was present and played for the occasion.[16] Work on the railroad was suspended until October 15 of that year. The line to Splitlog City was completed in October, 1889. At this time he made a speech. "I go on," he promised. "I make Cayuga and Splitlog biggest towns in the Ozarks."[17]

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[14] History of Newton, McDonald, Barry and Laurence County. 1888. Booklet, "100 Years of History and Progress, McDonald County, Missouri", published by Joe Taylor, Neosho, Missouri. 1949.

[15] O. Vance Hawkins, "Grand River Empire Visioned in '89", *The Tulsa Daily World*, July 27, 1941.

[16] This Band, equipped with uniforms and instruments by Matthias Splitlog who organized it, played for Indian feasts, political meetings, and for a "Wild West Show" according to Grover Splitlog. Splitlog also furnished a wagon and team to transport the Band members about the country. Grant Foreman in *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), p. 198, makes a reference to this Band playing at "a good old fashioned basket picnic" on August 15, the date of the Green Corn Dance. (The Senecas of today celebrate the Green Corn Dance, annually).

[17] Hawkins, *op. cit.*

In 1890, Splitlog was elected Chief of the Senecas. The day he was installed he gave a feast for the tribe. Three beef animals were prepared for the feast and the bakery at Southwest City furnished 1500 loaves of bread for the affair.[18] At this time Splitlog pledged his influence and money on obtaining back pay on treaties the Senecas had made with the United States. Shortly after this he went to Washington to transact tribal business. Afterwards, he made three trips and always at his own expense. The outcome of his efforts was that a payment of $372.00 per capita was secured for the Senecas.

Despite some opposition from a group of mixed Senecas and Shawnees who protested that Splitlog was a white man and should not have been adopted into the tribe, the aging Splitlog never wavered from the promise he had made to Joseph Spicer, old Chief of the Senecas, who had adopted him for a payment of $500.00[19]

Spicer knew that Splitlog was the only person who had the time and money to go to Washington to plead the cause of the Senecas. Splitlog's cousin and old friend, John Winney, was first Councillor when the tribe met in the "Council Chamber, Cayuga, I. T. June 20, 1894" and authorized Splitlog to "Take such action and necessary means to secure a complete statement of any and all accounts now standing between our nation and the federal government and to make settlement with our nation through proper channels." George S. Doane, U. S. Indian Agent, addressed the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, introducing Splitlog: "Matthias Splitlog, Chief of the Seneca Tribe of Indians, the bearer of this letter, is one of the most progressive Indians and his word can be strictly relied on."[20]

In 1874, when Matthias Splitlog came to the Indian Territory, it was a part of the Catholic Diocese of Arkansas. The Indian tribes in what is now northeastern Oklahoma had been visited periodically by Jesuit priests stationed at Osage Mission (now St. Paul) Kansas. It had been more than 200 years since the Wyandots had been members of the Huron Confederacy ministered to by French Jesuits. But there were still many adherents to the Catholic Faith.[21] However, since 1816, there had been a Methodist Mission and school among them and since the coming to the Indian Territory, Quaker missionaries had likewise been active among the tribe.

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[18] Nannie Lee Burns, *op. cit.*

[19] National Records and Archives Service, Washington, D. C. "Letters Received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to Matthias Splitlog," 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] William E. Connelly, "Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons", *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. XV (1919-1922), pp. 92-102.

Splitlog was nominally a Catholic. "I was baptized when a little baby" he had told Father Ketcham.[22] Until he met Father Ketcham, the first ordained priest for the Indian Territory there is little religious history in connection with Splitlog, his migrations west having tended to separate him from the influence of the "Black Robes". He had become well versed in the cosmology of the Hurons and assisted one historian in research on that subject.[23]

The coming of Father William Ketcham to Muskogee in 1892 is unquestionably an event of great importance.[24] Under his jurisdiction were all the tribes in the northeasten section—the Creeks, Quapaws, Peoria, Ottawa, Shawnee, Modoc, Wyandot, Seneca and Cayuga Indians. The young priest began his missionary work against almost impossible obstacles. There were few white settlers, business was bad, there had been crop failures, the great natural wealth of Oklahoma had, for the most part, not been discovered. He traveled to his missions by horseback or buggy and no chronicle of early territorial days has ever failed to mention the conditions of those early roads![25]

Splitlog heard of Father Ketcham's work among the Quapaw and sent for him. This is the first mention we find of any religious interest on the part of the enigmatic old Indian. Mrs. Splitlog was, at the time, a devout Quaker and the Splitlog General Store had for a number of years been available for religious services by any denomination. "Grandfather would provide a meeting place," one

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[22] Children of St. Mary's, *Noble Lives of a Noble Race,* (Minneapolis: Brooks Press, 1908).

[23] W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* Connelly wrote, "Through his (Splitlog's) influence I saw the pagan ceremonies at that time observed by some of the Wyandots, though they were for the most part concealed from Christians. Splitlog, himself, knew much, especially of the doings of the Great Council composed of what I have called the Minor Gods, ... Once Mr. Splitlog and I were out at night. It must have been 1883 or 1884. Just before daylight a great comet became visible. He exclaimed, 'The Chariot of our grandmother, the Little Turtle'. Then he told me the story of the work of the Little Turtle."

[24] William Henry Ketcham, born in Sumner, Bremer county, Iowa, June 1, 1868, was the son of Alonzo Ketcham and Josephine Shanafelt. After completing successfully his classical studies and a course of philosophy at St. Charles' College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana, was pursuing the studies of theology at Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, Ohio, when in 1889 the Territory of Oklahoma was opened to white settlers and his parents moved to the new country. Two years later upon completing his ecclesiastical studies he applied for adoption to the newly appointed Vicar Apostolic of Indian Territory (The Rt. Rev. Theophile Meerschaert). Two months after Bishop Meerschaert's arrival in Oklahoma, on December 20, 1891, Father Ketcham received the Tonsure and the four minor orders and was ordained a Subdeacon on December 27, and a Deacon on New Year's Day, 1892. He was elevated to the priesthood on March 13, 1892. This first ordination of a priest for the Indian Territory must always be considered as a signal distinction and honor pertaining exclusively to Father Ketcham. He is known in ecclesiastical history as the "proto-priest of Oklahoma."—"Father Ketcham's Work Among and For The Indians of Oklahoma", *The Orphans' Record,* Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 60.

[25] *The Orphans' Record, op. cit.*

of Splitlog's grandsons said, "but he never took any part in a religious service.[26]

Father Ketcham exerted a powerful influence upon the Splitlog family. Mrs. Splitlog became his convert and the baptismal records of Muskogee and Vinita churches show twelve Splitlog baptisms during the five years Father Ketcham was stationed at Muskogee. Another distinguished missionary who visited often at the Splitlog home was Father Arthur Versavel of Vinita.[27]

The Rt. Rev. Theophile Meerschaert, Vicar-Apostolic of the Indian Territory (and later first Bishop of Oklahoma) had dedicated the newly completed church *St. Mary's of the Quapaws,* on November 26, 1893. At this Pontifical Mass Matthias Splitlog was confirmed. The Bishop mentions in his private diary that "Splitlog, of the Senecas, their great Chief, drove forty miles through all that bad weather to be confirmed." Concerning the weather on that day, Father Ketcham wrote: "Notwithstanding the cold winter and a continuous rain, the church building (at Quapaw) was crowded this morning and evening by Indians of varoius tribes, and whites residing among them. This mission is attended from Muskogee and the priest has hertofore celebrated Mass in 'God's First Temples' under the shade of forest trees."[28]

It is not certain just when Splitlog began to think of building Cayuga Mission. His wife was incurably ill with cancer and it is possible that he intended the church as a memorial for her. He first had the idea of buying a large bell to call the people to worship in the loft of his store where Mass was celebrated. But Father Ketcham, explaining to him that the bell would be blessed (as is Catholic custom) asked him to wait until he had a building worthy to house such a bell.[29] The priest helped Splitlog to draw up the plans for the church but certain designs of Splitlog's own were incorporated into the plans. These include a carving of one letter

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[26] Wrote Jeremiah Hubbard, Quaker Missionary, in his book *Forty Years Among the Indians,* (Phelps Printers, Miami, 1913). "Matthias Splitlog had fitted up a room over his store for the meetings and I have often began (*sic*) a meeting without a soul present besides myself."

On February 11, 1881, "We went to Matthias Splitlog's. Arriving there we found they had anticipated the visit by killing a beef, making 50 lbs of butter and securing 20 dozen eggs." The missionary complained however, that "The pagan Indians among the Senecas were very much opposed to my meetings. They would have their feasts at the same time to prevent the young people from coming."

[27] Father Versavel was born in Belgium in 1871 and came to the Indian Territory to work under the direction of Bishop Meerschaert. After nine years of missionary work among the Indians he joined the Jesuit Order and went to British Honduras as an assistant at Benque Viejo Mission. He died in Denver, Colorado, August 13, 1952. Concerning his visits to Cayuga, a granddaughter stated, "Grandpa Splitlog was very fond of Father Versavel because he could converse with him in French." Several of the Splitlog grandchildren attended school at The Sacred Heart Academy, established while Father Versavel was pastor of the Church there.

[28] *The Kansas City Catholic,* December 7, 1893.

[29] Rev. Francis T. Kramer, C.PP.S, "A Stray Page from History", January, 1928.

of his name over each window (so that beginning on the right front of the church and proceeding around the back and to the left, one can spell out the name "Splitlog" over the arched windows). The arch of the doorway is formed of fifteen stones carved with Indian symbols.[30] An antique brass lock beautiful enough to grace a Cathedral, adorns the front door.

Mrs. Splitlog died in 1894 and there is a pious legend connected with her death. When it became known that she was dying the family felt it useless to try to send for the priest who was over a hundred miles away. Furthermore it was on a Saturday and they knew Father Ketcham would be enroute from Muskogee to Vinita to say Mass the following Sunday. So, they agreed it was impossible to try to send for him. However, when Father Ketcham arrived at Vinita on Saturday afternoon a telegram was handed to him which said simply, "Come at once. My wife is dying," and signed, "M. Splitlog."

The priest made all haste to hire a livery rig and start to Cayuga. It was in a pouring rain, the muddy roads were all but impassable and once the driver got into a big pasture near Fairland and had to drive for several miles before he found his way out of of the fenced enclosure. When they reached the river at midnight they were surprised to be met by the ferryman who told Father Ketcham he had been unable to sleep and for no explainable reason had walked down to the ferry crossing. Thus, Father Ketcham reached the dying woman's bedside and with Matthias acting as interpreter he administered the last sacraments of the Church. It was never determined who sent the mysterious telegram. None of the family had left Cayuga and the telelgraph operator at Fairland could not identify the well dressed stranger who had sent the message and who was never seen again in the community.[31]

Building of the Cayuga church had commenced in 1893 but it was not completed when Mrs. Splitlog died. Grandchildren recall seats being improvised in order to hold the funeral services in the building.

The marble stone that Splitlog erected over his wife's grave contains an unusual inscription:

> "Mrs. Eliza Splitlog, wife of Matthias Splitlog
> passed away at 5:10 A.M. Sunday, September 28, 1894,
> at her home, Cayuga Springs, aged 65 years.
> She was the daughter of John and Hanna Barnett,
> Born in Sandusky, Ohio,
> And died in the Catholic faith."

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[30] The meaning of the symbols carved on the stones cannot be explained by Splitlog's descendants.

[31] *Noble Lives of a A Noble Race, op. cit.* This story is confirmed by Grover Splitlog who remembers the incident as a small boy and recalls the strange, deathbed scene made more dramatic by the flickering candles held in boyish hands while the priest said the prayers for the dying woman.

CAYUGA MISSION CHURCH

Buggy and Wagon Factory at Cayuga, early 1880's.

Early the following spring, Splitlog resumed work on the church but in November, 1895 he discontinued work on the building in order to represent the Seneca Tribe in Washington, D. C. He returned in 1896 and the church was so near completion by November that it was dedicated on November 25, 1896.

Bishop Meerschaert assisted by Father Ketcham and Father Versavel blessed the Church as "St. Matthias" and entered a nota tion in his private diary: "More than 5000 [500] were on the grounds. About 100 of them were Catholics. The people were carried way with the grand ceremony and the music."

The bell which had been cast in Belgium was blessed and was first tolled in memory of Mrs. Splitlog. It has been said that the beautiful deep tones of the big bronze bell could be heard for twelve miles.

The Church is constructed of native limestone. The rough wood parts of the building are of native timber, unusually reinforced and strong. The interior of the church is of imported lumber, every exposed part delicately and artistically carved. An engine house was built in the rear of the church so that the building might be heated by steam.[32] A five thousand dollar organ was ordered for installation in the handsomely-carved choir-loft but Splitlog died before it was delivered.

In December 1896, Matthias Splitlog was again called to represent the Seneca tribe in Washington. He took leave of his family and left for the capitol city on December 22. Feeling ill he waited over in Monett, Missouri, for a day's rest and deciding he was better, continued his journey. But the old man was eighty-five years old and by the time he reached Washington his illness had tired him. He developed pneumonia and died there on January 2, 1897. His obituary reads, "Mr. William Nichols (a Seneca) had conveyed the corpse from the capitol of the States to the old Chief's Capitol at Cayuga.[33]

Requiem Mass was said on January 14, in the church he had so recently completed. The Reverend Edward Van Waesberghe, more commonly called "Father Edward," past of *St. Mary's of the Quapaws,* was the celebrant, assisted by the Reverend Father Schele of Seneca, Missouri.

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[32] One of the legends that has grown up among newspaper writers in connection with the large steam pipes that still lead from the engine house to the church, is that the small house that contained the engine was a priest's house. The pipes became "tunnels" through which the priest could escape into the church and fortify himself against hostile Indians! The story is most amusing to natives of the region.

[33] The *Vinita Leader,* January 14, 1897.

Hundreds of relatives and friends came to pay homage to the man whose life had been so useful. Splitlog was buried beside his wife in the churchyard of the mission.

Cayuga was a mission attended from Vinita through the stormy years when Splitlog's estate was being settled. The only one of his ten children to survive him was his son, Henry, who made an affidavit that his father had meant to deed the three acres of land where the church and cemetery are located, to the Catholic Church. The estate was in litigation because Splitlog died intestate. It was known that he had made a will but it was never found. It was 1916 before Bishop Meerschaert received the deed to the property.[34]

In 1930, due to the difficulty of supplying priests for the mission, as well as to the dwindling number of Catholics in the region, the church was sold to the Methodists by Bishop Francis C. Kelley. For some years afterwards Cayuga was used as a schoolhouse, with occasional religious services held on Sundays. Then it fell into disuse and for many years stood, seemingly forgotten, but always of interest to tourists and persons interested in its history.

When the church was sold, the bell of which Splitlog had been so proud was taken to Nowata and placed in St. Catherine's Church. The Altar, the confessional and other special furnishings of a Catholic Church, were removed. As the years passed the stained glass windows were broken and rain began to damage the interior. The Church was at one time dynamited in four places by vandals seeking gold that Splitlog (according to legend) hid shortly before his death.

Early in 1953, Mr. Dick Sellers of Drumright, whose country home is near the site of old Cayuga town, bought the old church for purely sentimental reasons. He had grown up in the Cayuga area, had known the Splitlog family and the history of the church and could not bear to see it fall into ruin. The restoration of the church is being completed at this writing and it is the hope of Sellers to keep it a historical landmark to remind passers-by of Splitlog's ultimate achievement in building.[35]

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[34] The Splitlog file at the Quapaw Indian Agency, Miami, bulges with letters concerning Cayuga Mission during this period. Father Ketcham, who became director of the Catholic Indian Bureau, Washington, D. C. in 1901, was responsible for the final purchase of the church from the Splitlog heirs.

[35] The Cayuga bell which has been at Nowata since 1930, is soon to be returned to the Cayuga Church. The Most Reverend Eugene J. McGuinness, Bishop of Oklahoma, has consented to having the bell, because of its sentimental and historic value, returned to the church at the special request of Chief Grover Splitlog.

CHIEF BOWLES OF THE TEXAS CHEROKEE

*By Dorman H. Winfrey**

Chief Bowles[1] of the Texas Cherokee, son of a Scotch-Irish father, who was a trader, and a Cherokee mother,[2] is supposed to have been born in the year 1756.[3] It is not known definitely in what section of the country Bowles was born, but according to Emmet Starr, the Cherokee Indian historian,[4] it could have been in North Carolina.

The physical appearance of Chief Bowles must have been commanding. Emmet Starr describes Bowles as "being decidedly Gaelic in appearance, having light eyes, red hair, and somewhat freckled."[5] John H. Reagan, seeing Bowles for some length of time before the battle of the Neches, was impressed by Bowles' "manly appearance"[6] and his being a "magnificent specimen of manhood." Though Bowles was somewhat tanned in color, he did not seem to be an Indian. "His eyes were gray, his hair was a dirty sandy color, and his was an English head."[7] Most Texans having contact with Chief Bowles considered him highly intelligent; James T. De Shields, author of many Indian articles, describes him as "a

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1 The name has several spellings. Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1912), Vol. I, p. 163, gives the name as The Bowl, a translation of his native name, *Duva 'li.* The name Colonel Bowles is common in Texas history books. Other names have been Old Bowles, Big Bowles, and Tewulle. Chief Bowles is the title the Cherokee chief is given in Walter P. Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952), Vol. I, p. 198, and the title used in this paper.

2 James T. De Shields, *Border Wars of Texas* (Tioga, Texas, 1912), p. 300. The father of Chief Bowles was probably William Augustus Bowles. See the article on William Augustus Bowles by Arthur P. Whitaker in Allen Johnson (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), Vol. II, pp. 519-520.

3 Albert Woldert, "The Last of the Cherokees in Texas," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), p. 187.

4 Woldert quoting Emmett Starr without citation reference in *ibid.,* p. 188. (John Bowles, or "The Bowl," became Town Chief of Running Water on the Tennessee River, Western Tennessee, in 1792, at the death of Dragging Canoe, leader of the Chickamaugas and son of the noted Cherokee chief, Attakullakulla. These references are in Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians, and Their Legends and Folk Lore* [Oklahoma City, 1921], pp. 35, 472.—Ed.)

5 Woldert quoting Starr, *ibid.* (See Starr, *op. cit.,* p. 472.—Ed.)

6 John H. Reagan, "Expulsion of the Cherokees from East Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1897), p. 45.

7 Woldert quoting John H. Reagan in "The Last of the Cherokees in Texas," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), p. 188.

man of unusual sagacity."[8] In old age Bowles retained a good physique; he was "vigorous and strong" with "manly bearing." He maintained erect posture while walking and riding; Reagan says Bowles always carried himself with "dignity."

One of the earliest mentions of Chief Bowles was in 1794 when he had attained the position of Chief of the Running Water Town on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals.[9] In June of 1794 a group of Cherokee under Chief Bowles captured some boats in the Tennessee River and killed all the boatmen.[10] Women and children on the boats, however, were not harmed and were guided to their destination in New Orleans. A member of the party is quoted as speaking of the "kindness and courtesy with which she and all the white ladies and children were treated by Bowles and his party."[11]

As soon as the Muscle Shoals massacre was known, the Cherokee called a general council to draw up a memorial to the United States government disowning the act of Chief Bowles and his followers. The memorial stated that the Cherokee would assist in the arrest of Bowles.[12] A commission appointed by the United States government investigated the incident and cleared Chief Bowles and the participating Cherokee. Evidently there had been justification in what took place at Muscle Shoals.

From 1795 to 1813 Bowles served as the First Chief of the Western Cherokee,[13] and was situated in the valley of the St. Francis in southeastern Missouri. In December, 1811, a seismatic disturbance occurred in the vicinity in which the Cherokee were established. Fearing that the area was under the ban of the Great Spirit, Bowles and the Cherokee moved to the present day county of Conway, Arkansas. The new Cherokee home was outside of the stipulated Cherokee Territory.[14]

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[8] De Shields, *Border Wars of Texas*, p. 300. It is interesting, perhaps, that Rebecca Bowles, a daughter of Chief Bowles, married Teesey Guess, a son of Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. See Emmet Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees* (Kansas City, 1916?), p. 50.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

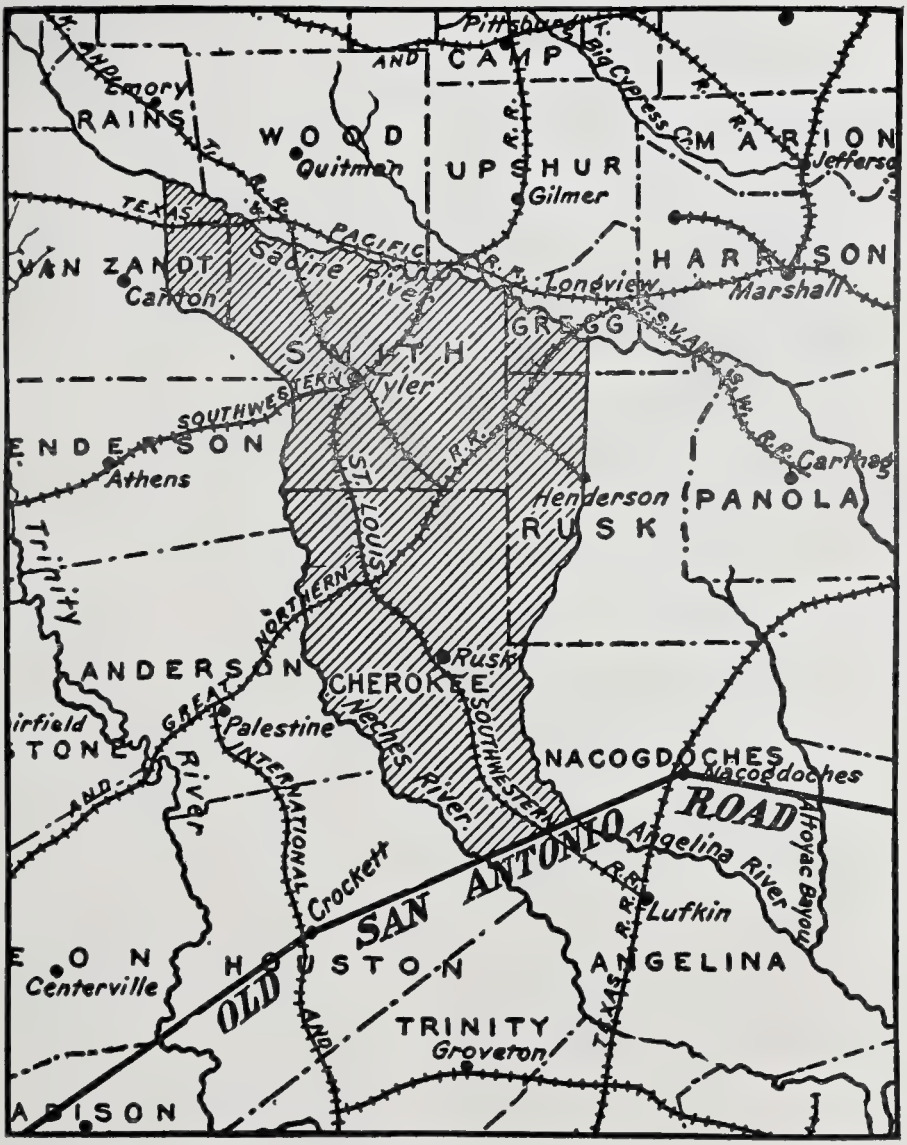
[10] Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. I, p. 163. (This "Muscle Shoals Massacre" was caused by the action of two unprincipled traders among the white emigrants aboard the boats, the two traders having sold a lot of whiskey and some worthless goods for an exorbitant sum to Chief Bowles's men encamped by the river on their return to their village, from an annuity payment. The details of the tragedy were told many years later by one of the women emigrants who witnessed the fight to the Rev. Cephas Washburn, A.M., this account appearing in his book *Reminiscences of the Indians* [Richmond, 1869], under "Letter I, Origin of the Cherokee Nation West," pp. 76-9. Mr. Washburn was the founder of Dwight Mission in Arkansas, which was moved to Oklahoma in 1829.—Ed.)

[11] Hodge, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 163.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees*, p. 124.

[14] Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 187.



MAP OF THE CHEROKEE LAND GRANT IN TEXAS

(Drawing by William A. Berry, Texas Univ., from recorded descriptions)

CHIEF BOWLES, CHEROKEE

As the American frontier moved westward, pressure on the Cherokee was increased by white settlers in the Arkansas Territory. There appears to have been a general desire on the part of the Cherokee people and leaders to locate once again within Spanish territory. This desire to live under Spanish rule, along with the pressure being placed on the Cherokee, and the fact that they were living outside of stipulated Cherokee Territory, caused Chief Bowles with sixty of his men and their families to emigrate in the winter of 1819-1820 to territory along the Angelina, Neches, and Trinity rivers in the Mexican province of Texas.[15]

Chief Bowles was about sixty-six years old when he led his small group of Cherokee into Eastern Texas. Evidently he lost the chiefship of his tribe; for seven years after arrival in Texas, Richard Fields, a half-breed Cherokee who fought as a soldier with American troops in the War of 1812, figured as the principal chief of the Cherokee.[16]

Under the leadership of Richard Fields the Cherokee in Texas increased. They united with other refugee Indians from the United States, forming together a loose confederacy later known as "the Cherokee and their associated bands," which has been described by James Mooney as "consisting of Cherokee, Shawano, Delaware, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Choctaw, Biloxi, 'Iawanie' (Heywani, Yowani) 'Unataqua' (Nada ko or Anadarko, another Caddo subtribe), 'Tahookatookie' (?), Alabama (a Creek subtribe), and 'Cooshatta' (Koasa ti, another Creek subtribe."[17] The Cherokee were the largest and most important group; the Cherokee chief always was regarded as the principal leader of the associated tribes.

Fields's first concern was to get a written approval from the Mexican government for Cherokee title to the East Texas lands.

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[15] E. W. Winkler, quoting the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) for September 15, 1820, in "The Cherokee Indians in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* Vol. VII, No. 2 (October, 1903), p. 96. Winkler points out that "the precise date of the entrance of the Cherokee into Texas has not been ascertained." Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), in *Handbook of North American Indians,* Vol. I, p. 163, gives the date at "about 1824." This date must be an error; the Bexar Archives has documents dated as early as 1822 concerning the Cherokee in Texas. Walter P. Webb in *The Texas Rangers* (Boston, 1935), p. 7, must be in error also when he gives the date of Cherokee arrival as "about 1824."

[16] Winkler, "The Cherokee Indians in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* Vol. VII, No. 2 (October, 1903), p. 98.

[17] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), Part I, p. 143. (These associated bands later joined the main body of their different tribes, whose descendants are now living in Oklahoma. The "Shawano" of Mooney's list are the modern Shawnee; the "Iawanie" are the Hainai, or Ioni. The "Tahookatookie" were said to have been a band of Cherokee, known by the name of their leader, Chief Degataga or Takatoka. For a recent study of these tribal groups, giving their ethnic origins and histories, with the exception of the "Tahookatokie," see Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* [Norman, 1951].—Ed.)

On November 8, 1822, José Felix Trespalacios, governor of the province of Texas, entered into an agreement with the Cherokee at Bexar.[18] In part the agreement stated that the Cherokee "until the approval of the Supreme Government is obtained . . . . may cultivate their lands and sow their crops in free and peaceful possession."[19] Governor Trespalacios made arrangements for Fields to go to Mexico City to get final approval for Cherokee title to the desired land in East Texas. Bowles was one of the persons accompanying Fields to Mexico City early in 1823.[20] Revolutionary conditions and changing administrations in the Mexican capital made it difficult to obtain approval of Cherokee claims. On April 27, 1823, Fields did get from Lucas Alaman, minister of relations, a statement that "the agreement made on 8th November, 1822, between Richard Fields and Colonel Felix Trespalacios, Governor of Texas, remains provisionally in force . . . . ."[21] Fields considered the statement to imply that the Mexican government had granted territory to the Indians. In the years following the agreement made in 1823, the Mexican government paid scant attention to Cherokee claims to land, and on April 15, 1825, Benjamin Edwards was given a grant to settle families on land which had been occupied by the Cherokee since their first arrival in 1819-1820. Much unrest developed among the Cherokees; Fields in 1826 sent John Dunn Hunter,[22] a white member of the tribe, to Mexico City to try and obtain for the Cherokee a written title to the land. Hunter failed in the attempt.

The Cherokee were not the only dissatisfied people living under Mexican jurisdiction in East Texas in the middle 1820's. The white settlers had become angered by a controversy between Mexican authorities and the empresario Hayden Edwards. The argument resulted in what is known as the Fredonian Rebellion, begun on December 16, 1826, when Benjamin Edwards and some thirty followers rode into Nacogdoches and proclaimed the Republic of Fredonia.

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[18] The agreement may be found in Record of Translations of Empresario Contracts, 85, General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[19] Article 5 of the "Articles of an agreement, made and entered into between Captain Richard, of the Cherokee Nation, and the Governor of the Province of Texas," in *ibid.*

[20] *Texas Almanac for 1858* (Galveston, 1857), p. 168.

[21] Lucas Alaman, minister of relations, to Felipe de la Garza, commandant general of the Eastern Internal Provinces, April 27, 1823, in Record of Translations of Empresario Contracts, 85, 86, General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[22] Hunter was born about 1796 and claimed when a child he had been captured by the Indians before they came to Texas. He was fairly well educated, traveled considerably through the United States and England, and while in England he wrote an account which was published in London in 1824 under the title of *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America.* Hunter joined the Cherokee again in East Texas in 1826.

Cherokee leaders Fields and Hunter, despairing of the possibility of the Mexican government's allowing a separate Cherokee territory, began negotiations with the Fredonian leaders Benjamin Edwards and Martin Parmer on December 21 at Sand Springs in southern Rusk County.[23] In return for Indian help in the rebellion, a portion of the proposed Fredonian Republic was to be given to the Indians.

During the time Fields and Hunter were working with the Fredonians, Bowles was in contact with the loyal element of settlers in Texas, and was urging the Cherokee not to co-operate in the projected rebellion.[24] He felt that a loyalty to Mexico would eventually result in the long-awaited land grant. Bowles won out, and Fields and Hunter were never able to muster more than thirty warriors.[25] With the collapse of the Fredonian Rebellion in Nacogdoches, Fields and Hunter were tried by the Cherokee and executed on May 8, 1827. Bowles succeeded Fields as war chief, and Big Mush succeeded Hunter as civil chief.

For the few years following the Fredonian Rebellion, Chief Bowles and the Cherokee were befriended by both Mexicans and loyal Texans. Stephen F. Austin and numerous Mexican officials praised the role Chief Bowles had played in keeping the Cherokee loyal to Mexico.[26] The Mexican government was appreciative of the role the Cherokee had played; on July 13, 1827, Lt. Nicolas Flores was sent to Cherokee Village to deliver to Chief Bowles the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the Mexican army.[27] On July 19, Bowles arrived in Nacogdoches and "placed himself with his people at the disposition of the (Mexican) commander." On January 8, 1828, Bowles visited Colonel José de las Piedras, Mexican commander at Nacogdoches, and informed him of a desire to tighten the bonds of friendship between the Cherokee and Mexico.

During the early 1830's Chief Bowles and the Cherokee made repeated efforts to secure from the Mexican government a written guarantee for the land the Cherokee were occupying. After numerous failures with the Mexicans, Bowles decided to join his forces with the Texans who were in the first stages of a revolt against Mexico.

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[23] R. B. Blake, "John Dunn Hunter," in Webb and Carroll (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 865.

[24] "Richard Ellis et al. to Austin, January 22, 1827," in Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers* (Vols. I and II, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Years 1919 and 1922, Washington 1924, 1928; Vol. III, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1926), Vol. II, p. 1587.

[25] Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville, 1925), p. 193.

[26] "Papers Pertaining to Cherokee Lands in Nacogdoches County," in Indian Papers, I, 1835-1841, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

[27] *Ibid.*

The Consultation meeting at San Felipe in November 1835, held for the purpose of deciding what attitude Texas should take toward the dictatorship established in Mexico by Antonio López de Santa Anna, was aware of the danger which unfriendly Cherokee might constitute in a crisis. On November 13, the following declaration was drawn up:[28]

Be It Solemnly Decreed,

That we, the chosen delegates of the consultation of all Texas, in general convention assembled, solemnly declare,

That the Cherokee Indians, and their associate bands, twelve tribes in number, agreeably to their late general council in Texas, have derived their just claims to lands included within the bounds hereinafter mentioned, from the government of Mexico, from whom we have also derived our rights to the soil by grant and occupancy.

We solemnly declare, that the boundaries of the claims of the said Indians to lands is as follows, to wit: lying north of the San Antonio road and the Neches, and west of the Angeline and Sabine rivers.

We solemnly declare, that the governor and general council, immediately on its organization, shall appoint commissioners to treat with said Indians, to establish the definite boundary of their territory, and secure their confidence and friendship.

We solemnly declare, that we will guarantee to them peaceable enjoyment of their rights to their lands, as we do our own.

done at San Felipe de Austin 13 Nov. 1835

The Consultation instructed Sam Houston, longtime friend of Bowles and the Cherokee, John Forbes, and John Cameron to serve as commissioners to meet with Chief Bowles to carry out the proposed treaty.[29] On February 23, 1835, the day General Santa Anna arrived with forces in San Antonio, Sam Houston and the appointed Texas commissioners concluded a treaty with Chief Bowles and representatives of the Cherokee and associated tribes whereby peace and commercial relations were established and the Cherokee boundaries defined, and lands guaranteed to them.[30] The Cherokee remained at peace and the attention of Texans was focused on the Mexicans who were defeated on April 21 at San Jacinto.

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[28] H. P. N. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas* (Austin, 1898), Vol. I, p. 546.

[29] Houston kept Bowles informed of what went on at San Felipe. On November 22 he wrote the following to the Cherokee chief:

My friend

. . . . All that I promised to you at our talk in Nacogdoches has been done, and your land is secured to you! So soon as it is possible you will find Commissioners sent to you, to hold a treaty and fix your lines, that no bad men will gc inside them without leave.

I expect that I will be sent to you, and I will then take you the Great paper that was signed by all the Council— It will make you happy and all your people contented as long as you live. . . . .

Your friend and Brother
Sam Houston

Amelia Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston* (Austin, 1938-1943), Vol. IV, p. 7.

[30] A copy of the treaty is in Indian Papers, I, 1835-1841, Archives, Texas State Library.

Chief Bowles must have felt that he had a champion on his side when his close friend Sam Houston became president of the Republic of Texas on October 22, 1836. Houston had been admitted to citizenship among the Cherokee on November 29, 1829, had taken an Indian wife, and had long been a friend and advisor to the tribe. Houston earnestly desired to carry out the treaty commitments made with Bowles on February 23, 1835, and told the senate on December 20, 1836: ". . . . (I) most earnestly recommend its ratification. You will find upon examining this treaty, that it is just and equitable, and perhaps the best which could be made at the present time."[31]

In the senate an Indian committee was appointed to examine the treaty made with Bowles. The committee found much fault with the document; the Indians had not fought with the Texans during the revolution and besides a grant to the Cherokee would conflict with a grant given to David G. Burnet. The senate refused to ratify the treaty "inasmuch as that said treaty was based on premeses that did not exist and that the operation of it would not only be detrimental to the interests of the Republick but would also be a violation of the vested rights of many citizens."[32] With such strong opposition to fight, there was nothing Sam Houston could do to get the land for Bowles and the Cherokee.

Although Houston was unable to get the desired land for the Cherokee, Chief Bowles was always a close friend. In 1837, when frontier conditions in Texas were especially bad, Houston sent Chief Bowles to try to conciliate the plains Indians.[33] Bowles claimed that on this venture he received an unfavorable reception. He gave some sort of promise to the Texans that his Cherokee tribe would join in a war against the wild tribes. Indian agent William Goyens was at Bowles Village when the Cherokee chief returned, and on May 10, 1837, he sent the following in a letter to Sam Houston: ". . . . The whole nation had been for several days indulging themselves in festivities in honor of Bowles' return. . . . . The confidence of Bowles in you is unabated and to you he looks for every thing."[34]

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[31] Ernest W. Winkler (ed.), *Secret Journals of the Senate of the Republic of Texas,* 1836-1845 (Austin, 1911), p. 36.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Anna Muckleroy, "Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (July, 1922), p. 12.

[34] *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), June 13, 1837. White persons frequently attended Cherokee tribal functions. Hattie Joplin Roach in *A History of Cherokee County* (Dallas, 1934), p. 13 says that "White friends are known to have accepted the hospitality of Chief Bowles who enjoyed serving his venison stew with a solid silver spoon which had been a gift from Andrew Jackson."

Samuel Maverick in 1838 recorded the following with Chief Bowles:

One day, "Old Bowles," Cherokee chief, with twelve or thirteen of his tribe, coming from Houston, camped at Spring Hill near the house. After tea, we were

Bowles visited in Sam Houston's home frequently; on one occasion they made a trip to Galveston Island. On May 2, 1838, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* at Houston reported that "Bowles the Cherokee Chief arrived in this city last evening."

Houston is said at one time or another to have presented to Chief Bowles a cane, a hat, a beautiful blanket, and a sword. On one occasion a member of the legislature charged that: "The president (Sam Houston) offered Bowles a commission of brigadier general in the army of Texas, with the pay of two thousand dollars per year, if he should perform any service, and one thousand whether he performed any service or not."[35]

While Houston remained president he appears to have felt that eventually the Cherokee would be given a guarantee to the land they occupied. Houston wrote to Chief Bowles on August 11, 1838:[36]

My Brother,

. . . . Do not be disturbed by the troubles which are around you, but be at peace— Remember my words, and listen to no bad talks of any one! I have never told you a lie, nor do I intend it.

Tell my sister and the children not to be disturbed—they will not be harmed, but they will be protected, by the Americans [.] Tell all my red brothers to remain at peace!

Your brother
Sam Houston

After the Cherokee were unable to get any land grant from the government of the Republic of Texas, Chief Bowles again looked to Mexico. He saw an opportunity in the promises of Vincente Cordova, the Mexican revolutionary leader. Bowles even went so far as to permit Cordova's forces to operate for a time in the area occupied by the Cherokee. When a force of militia under the command of General Thomas J. Rusk, moved into Bowles' Village in August, 1838, Cordova escaped into Mexico and Bowles denied any connection with the Mexicans. Cordova continued to agitate in Texas, and when on May 14, 1839, Manuel Flores, a member of the Cordova group, was killed near Seguin, documents were found

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dancing, when "Bowles" came in dressed in a breechcloth, anklets, moccasins, feathers and a long, clean white linen shirt, which had been presented to him in Houston. He said the pretty ladies in Houston had danced with, kissed him and given him rings. We, however, begged to be excused and requested him to retire, when he in great contempt stalked out, and our dance broke up. Bowles told us President Houston had lived in his Nation, that he had given Houston his daughter for his squaw, and had made him a "big chief"; but that now he was no longer Cherokee, but "The Great Father" of the white men. See Rena Maverick Green (ed.), *Samuel Maverick Texan*: 1803-1870 (San Antonio, 1952), p. 70.

[35] Harriet Smither (ed.), *Journals of the Fourth Congress of the Republic of Texas* (Austin, 1931), Vol. II, p. 103.

[36] Houston to Bowl, August 11, 1838, in Charles Adams Gulick and others (eds.), *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonparte Lamar* (Austin, 1921-1928), Vol. II, p. 199. Cited hereafter as *Lamar Papers.*

which gave some evidence that a possible conspiracy was going on between the Mexicans and the Cherokee. Mirabeau B. Lamar, who became president of the Republic on December 10, 1838, charged that Chief Bowles had secretly collaborated with Cordova.[37]

Texas historians for some time have argued that the documents found on Flores, which did propose a sort of alliance between the Cherokee and Mexicans, were insignificant although they were addressed to Chief Bowles. Henderson Yoakum maintains that the Mexican leaders only had a slight acquaintance with the Cherokee.[38] Walter Prescott Webb says "there is a lack of evidence that the Cherokees did more than listen with Indian politeness to the warlike proposals of the Mexican agents."[39]

Lamar felt that since there was a possibility that the Cherokee would give trouble some sort of military force should be kept in the area the Cherokee occupied. Sometime in April or early May, 1839, Major B. C. Waters was ordered to construct a military station on the Great Saline, situated in the extreme southwest part of present-day Smith County, which was in territory claimed by the Cherokee. Chief Bowles warned Waters that any attempt to establish the post would be met with force.[40] The action of Chief Bowles was condemned by President Lamar. He wrote to the Cherokee chief:[41]

> I have learned with much surprise, that you have ordered Major Waters from the great Saline. In this, you have committed an error. That officer was acting under the authority and orders of this Government, and any attempt on your part, either by force or threats to impede the execution of his duty, cannot be regarded by the Executive in any other light than as an outrage upon the sovereignty of the Nation.

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[37] M. B. Lamar to Colonel Bowl and other Head men of the Cherokees, May 26, 1839, in *ibid.*, p. 591.

[38] Henderson Yoakum states in his *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (New York, 1855), Vol. II, p. 268: "It is inferred from these documents, found on Flores, and addressed to the Cherokee chiefs, that the latter were in correspondence with the Mexican authorities. I have before me the original papers sent them by Canalizo: they are directed to "Senor Vixg Mas, Gefe de los Charaquies" — "S. or Teniente Coronel Vul." It is remarkable, if the alleged correspondence had existed, that their names were not better known. The fact that Big Mush was addressed as *chief* and Bowles as *Lieutenant-colonel*, shows how slight was their acquaintance with these chiefs."

[39] Webb, *Texas Rangers*, p. 53. Sam Houston charged that there was no proof that Chief Bowles had engaged in a conspiracy against the Texans. "If the Mexicans saw proper to open a correspondence with him, must he be punished for receiving the letter." Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings of Sam Houston*, Vol. II, p. 339.

[40] A. Sidney Johnston, Secretary of War, "Report to the President of the Republic," November, 1839, in Smither (ed.), *Journals of the Fourth Congress*, Vol. III, p. 105.

[41] M. B. Lamar to Colonel Bowl and other Head men of the Cherokees, May 26, 1839, in *Lamar Papers*, Vol. II, p. 590.

Lamar had never been friendly to the Cherokee, and a part of his program called for their removal. He had announced in his first inaugural address that his policy toward the Indians would be directly opposite to that of his predecessor, Sam Houston, who was held to have been too lenient. Lamar told the Texas Congress and wrote to Chief Bowles that the "final removal (of the Cherokee) is contemplated, is certain."[42] The discovery of documents of Flores gave President Lamar an excellent excuse to demand that the Cherokee be expelled. The threats Chief Bowles had made against Major Waters and the murder of several East Texas families blamed on the Cherokee increased the demand for the removal of the Cherokee. By July, 1839, a showdown between the Texans and the Cherokee took place; the Texans were demanding that the Cherokee leave the Republic.

Early in July John H. Reagan, along with the Indian agent Martin Lacey and two other persons, took a communication from President Lamar and presented it to Chief Bowles. The Cherokee leader was informed of the depredations charged to his tribe and was told the Indians must leave the Republic; peaceably if they would, but forcibly if they must. Payment would be made to the Cherokee for property they had to leave, but no payment would be made for the land. Reagan describes his first meeting with Bowles:[43]

> When we reached the residence of Bowles, he invited us to a spring a few rods from his house, and, seated on a log, received the communication of the President. After it was read and interpreted, he remained silent for a time and then made a denial of the charges contained in that communication, and said the wild Indians had done the killing and stealing and not his people.

Bowles then defended the rights of the Cherokee to the land and reminded the Texans that a treaty signed at the time of the Consultation had promised the land to the Indians. Chief Bowles then asked that he be allowed time to consult with chiefs and head men before making a reply to President Lamar's communication. It was agreed that a second meeting be held in a few days.

A splendid account of the second meeting with Bowles is given by Reagan:[44]

> On the day appointed, Agent Lacy returned to the residence of Chief Bowles, accompanied by Cordra, the interpreter, and by Dr. Jowers and myself. We were again invited to the spring, as upon our first visit. The grave deportment of Chief Bowles indicated that he felt the seriousness of his situation. He told Mr. Lacy that there had been a meeting of the chiefs and head men in the council; that his young men were for war; that all who were in the council were for war, except himself and Big Mush; that

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 593.

[43] Reagan, "Expulsion of the Cherokees from East Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July, 1897), pp. 39-40.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

his young men believed they could whip the whites; that he knew the whites could ultimately whip them, but it would cost them ten years of bloody frontier war. He inquired of Mr. Lacy if action on the President's demand could not be postponed until his people could make and gather their crops. Mr. Lacy informed him that he had no authority or discretion beyond what was said in the communication from the President. The language of Chief Bowles indicated that he regarded this as settling the question, and that war must ensue. He said to Mr. Lacy that he was an old man (being then eighty-three years of age, but looking vigorous and strong), and that in the course of nature he could not live much longer, and that as to him it mattered but little. But he added that he felt much solicitude for his wives (he had three) and for his children; that if he fought, the whites would kill him; and if he refused to fight, his own people would kill him. He said that he had lead his people a long time, and that he felt it to be his duty to stand by them, whatever fate might befall him.

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I was strongly impressed by the manly bearing and frankness and candor of the agent and the chief. Neither could read or write, except that Mr. Lacy could mechanically sign his name. And during their two conferences they exhibited a dignity of bearing which could hardly have been exceeded by the most enlightened diplomats. There was no attempt to deceive or mislead made by either of them.

Negotiations between the Cherokee and the Texans fell through, and on July 15 and 16, 1839, Chief Bowles led his Cherokee for the last time in the battle of the Neches, fought a few miles west of Tyler, in present Henderson County. The Cherokee numbered perhaps seven or eight hundred. The Texans, numbering approximately five hundred, were under the command of Willis H. Landrum and included David G. Burnet, Albert Sidney Johnston, Thomas J. Rusk, Edward Burleson, and many other persons prominent in Texas history.

Accounts of the battle indicate that Bowles made every effort to win a losing fight. De Shields says Bowles "exhorted the Indians to fight bravely. During the last battle he could be repeatedly heard encouraging them, and more than once urging them to charge."[45] Bowles must have been a conspicuous figure during the battle. Major William J. Jones reported that Bowles was "mounted on a very fine sorrel horse, with blaze face and four white feet."[46] Bowles did dress for the battle; he had on "a sword and sash, and military hat and silk vest, which had been given to him by Sam Houston."[47] The conspicuous chief, according to

[45] De Shields, *Border Wars of Texas*, p. 300. Another account of the battle may be found in J. W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin, 1889), pp. 167-173.

[46] John Henry Brown, *History of Texas* (St. Louis, 1892-1893), Vol. II, p. 163.

[47] Sam Houston claimed he never did give Chief Bowles the military hat. See Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings of Sam Houston*, Vol. IV, p. 355. Chief Bowles's military hat received considerable attention. On December 25, 1839, a remnant of the Cherokee trying to escape to Mexico, was camped at the mouth of the San Saba. The party was led by The Egg, second to Chief Bowles, and by John Bowles, son of the dead chief. A fight broke out with a group of Texans commanded by Colonel Edward Burleson. The Cherokee were defeated, and a part of

Reagan, "rode up and down in the rear of his line, very much exposed during the entire battle."

The Cherokee could not stand against the firepower of the seasoned Texans. The power of the Texans forced the Cherokee to retreat:[48]

"When at last the Indians retreated, Chief Bowles was the last one to attempt to leave the battlefield. His horse had been wounded many times, and he shot through the thigh. His horse was disabled and could go no further, and he dismounted and started to walk off. He was shot in the back by Henry Conner, afterwards Major Conner [*sic*]; walked forward a little and fell, and then rose to a sitting position facing us, and immediately in front of the company to which I belonged. I had witnessed his dignity and manliness in council, his devotion to his tribe in sustaining their decision for war against his judgment, and his courage in battle, and, wishing to save his life, ran towards him, and, as I approached him from one direction, my captain, Robert Smith, approached him from another, with his pistol drawn. As we got to him, I said, 'Captain, don't shoot him,' but as I spoke he fired, shooting the chief in the head, which caused instant death.

Another person to witness the death of Chief Bowles was C. N. Bell. On July 27, 1885, Bell wrote the following to W. N. Ramey, editor of the *Texian Annual*:[49]

I send you a picture of Capt. Smith's conflict with the Indian Chief, in which you will see the captain is represented as holding the chief by the throat, and using his sword on him. This is certainly a fancy sketch, for I was with Capt. Smith when he killed Boles and nothing of this sort occurred.

Chief Boles was wounded in the battle and after this Capt. Smith and I found him. He was sitting up in the edge of a little prairie on the Neches river. The chief asked for no quarter. He had a holster of pistols, a sword and bowie knife. Under the circumstances the Captain was compelled to shoot him as the chief did not surrender, nor ask for quarter. Smith put his pistol right at his head and of course had no use for the sword.

Smith was probably anxious to kill Bowles because his father-in-law Jesse T. Watkins had been killed by the Cherokee. According to tradition Bowles was left on the battlefield as he had requested.

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the war booty included a hat which Burleson thought Sam Houston had presented to Chief Bowles. Burleson sent the hat to Colonel Hugh McLeod, adjutant general, with a request that it be forwarded to Houston. As it turned out Houston took the incident as a personal insult. He introduced a resolution into Congress, later withdrawn, that McLeod be dismissed. For some time bitter feelings were evident over the hat episode. On June 15, 1840, the *Texas Sentinel* at Austin commented: "In relation to the hat, however, we would state that it *was not* presented to the Bowl by Mr. Houston, but is a Mexican hat and was presented to him by an agent of that government, at the time he received the commission of Colonel in the army of Mexico."

[48] Reagan, "Expulsion of the Cherokees from East Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July, 1897), p. 46.

[49] Wm. Neal Ramey (ed.), *Texian Annual* (Austin, 1886), Vol. II, No. 17, p. 32.

A newspaper account reported that "Some rude chaps scalped the poor chief after his death."[50]

After the battle Captain Robert Smith took Bowle's sword, the one given to him by Sam Houston, and presented it to the Masonic lodge in Henderson. Loaned to Colonel James H. Jones during the Civil War, the sword was afterwards returned to the Masonic lodge, where it remained until 1890 when it was presented to the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma.

The expulsion of the Cherokee in 1839 constitutes a tragic episode in Texas Indian relations. History will probably not fully justify the measures adopted by the Texans against the Cherokee. The fact that the Cherokee lands were coveted by the whites does not justify the removal and destruction of the Indians. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the Texans were facing Indian warfare on the whole western frontier. The Cherokee in the eastern part of the country could have been a serious threat; the papers found on Manuel Flores had implicated the Cherokee in a conspiracy against Texas. Also, the Cherokee most probably were guilty of the murder of several East Texas families.

If the expulsion of the Cherokee is considered a tragedy it may be said that Chief Bowles was the hero of the whole episode.

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[50] *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), September 1, 1841. Mildred Stanley, in "Cherokee Indians in Smith County," *Texas History Teachers Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (October, 1924), p. 125, makes the following statement: "Mr. Tom Ingram who, as a boy, lived near the vicinity of this fight, stated that he has often seen Bowles's skeleton near the Neches River. The skull remained for many years, but finally disappeared in 1857, after a barbecue held on the river."

DRAGOONS ON THE SANTA FÉ TRAIL IN THE AUTUMN OF 1843

*By Otis E Young**

Few names loom greater in the history of the early Southwest than does that of Philip St. George Cooke, author, trail-blazer, and cavalryman extraordinary. Born in Virginia in 1809, Cooke graduated from West Point at the age of eighteen, and as a lieutenant of the 6th Infantry served in Black Hawk's War and Major Bennet Riley's epochal Santa Fé trail expedition of 1829.[1] Distinguishing himself in these affairs, Cooke was transferred to the newly-organized Regiment of Dragoons[2] in 1833, wherein he participated in the ill-fated Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition of 1834, and betimes came to the notice of its commander, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, as a promising leader and tactician. Consequently, when the services of the (now) 1st Dragoons were required along the Santa Fé trail in 1843, Kearny logically selected Captain Cooke to be the field commander on what promised to be, and was, hazardous and important duty.

The 1st Dragoons had in the intervening years come to be recognized as the only force capable of policing white and Indian alike in the uneasy border regions, now Kansas and Oklahoma, through which the Santa Fé trail ran. Here the Indians, newly-independent Texans, Americans, and Mexicans met, traded, and frequently fought. As guardians of the peace, the Dragoons had sufficient to do. This was particularly so in 1843, for the flourishing Santa Fé trade had fallen largely into the hands of Mexicans[3]

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[1] Otis E Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail*, 1829 (Glendale, 1952).

[2] Later the 1st Dragoons, and 1st Cavalry Regiment.

[3] Philip St. George Cooke, Report of the Santa Fe Escort, August 24 to September 25, 1843 (furnished by the War Records Division, the National Archives, Washington, D. C.), p. 12. This has been reprinted by William E. Connelley, ed., as "Report of the Santa Fe Escort, August 24 to September 25, 1843," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (September, 1925), 249-55. (Hereafter cited as Cooke, Report. The War Records Division is hereafter referred to as WRD).

whom the belligerent Texans regarded as fair game. Early in the year, a sometime Nacogdoches store clerk named Jacob Snively received permission from the Texas government to organize a force of volunteers to prey upon the Mexican traders on a fifty-fifty share of the loot basis.[4] Rendezvousing near present-day Preston, Texas, about the middle of April, Snively's "Texas Invincibles" marched northeast to the Arkansas River to lie in wait for the summer Santa Fé-bound trains.[5] It was impossible to keep news of this sort secret on the frontier; through diplomatic channels the Mexicans pressed the United States for military protection of the trains from Missouri to the Arkansas River (the international boundary), and prepared to provide an escort of their own from the Arkansas to Santa Fé.[6] Colonel Kearny had already sensed trouble within his baliwick, and had patrols out to meet it, but upon receipt of War Department orders to make up the desired escort, detached Cooke and four dragoon companies to accompany the traders.[7]

The subsequent events were initiated by Snively, whose Invincibles shot up a small Mexican advance guard, thereby so badly frightening the New Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, that he and his four hundred-man escort fled incontinently back to Santa Fé[8] despite the fact that Armijo was himself the owner of one complete train.[9] Cooke's dragoon force, now near the crossings of the Arkansas,[10] was alerted, and on the morning of June 30 discovered the raiders camped on the south bank of the river. Despite

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[4] Snively's commission is carefully copied in Philip St. George Cooke, Journal of his Late Expedition on the Santa Fe Road, May 27 to July 21, 1843 (WRD), pp. 42-43. Reprinted, William E. Connelley, ed., "Journal of 1st Dragoon Escort of the Santa Fe Caravan, May 27 to July 21, 1843," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (June and September, 1925), 72-98, 255-49.

[5] R. P. Crump [pseud., Flacco], "The Snively Expedition," *Spirit of the Times*, IX (October 16, 1860); reprinted for the frenids of Edward Eberstadt & Sons (December 25, 1949).

[6] [United States], "Correspondence with the Texan Authorities in relation to the Disarming of Texas forces under Command of Major Snively, by United States Troops," *Senate Documents*, 28 Cong., 2 sess., No. 1. (Hereafter cited as "Snively Diplomatic Correspondence.") See also Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies* (2 vols., New York, 1844), II, 170.

[7] Annual Report of Alterations and Casualties, 1st Dragoons, 1843 (WRD). This was the fourth of at least six military escorts on the Santa Fé trail by American troops: the first was that of Major Riley and four companies of the 6th Infantry in 1829; the second, that of Captain Matthew Duncan's company, United States Mounted Rangers, in 1833; the third, that of Captain Clifton Wharton and Co. "A", the Regiment of Dragoons, in 1834; with the fourth and fifth, by Captain Cooke, this article deals; and the sixth, that of Colonel S. W. Kearny and the bulk of the 1st Dragoons, was a little-known aspect of Kearny's South Pass Expedition of 1845.

[8] Crump, "The Snively Expedition"; Cooke, Journal of His Late Expedition on the Santa Fe Road, p. 58; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 171.

[9] Blanche C. Grant, ed., *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life*, by Col. and Mrs. D.. C. Peters (Taos, 1926), p. 53.

[10] Near the present site of Fort Dodge, Kansas.

the fact that their camp might be in Mexican territory (west of the 100th meridian) where Cooke had no right to intervene, the decisive captain did not hesitate in forcing Snively's men to surrender. The protesting Texans were brought in, disarmed, and the bulk of them then allowed to return home. This "Snively Affair" gave rise to extended diplomatic protests from the Texans[11] and even inspired a court of inquiry on Cooke's action, by which he was eventually discharged with a clean bill of health.[12] In fact, the military authorities publicly applauded Cooke's hair-trigger action,[13] and even before the court had convened sent him back to his mission of guarding the trail when the need of an autumn escort seemed indicated.

The sources of this autumn expedition of the dragoons come chiefly from the work of Cooke himself, who always kept a meticulous record of his daily activities. The original journals disappeared at the time of Cooke's death in Detroit in 1895, thereby depriving historians of an enormously valuable collection of material on the Southwest.[14] Abstracts survive, however, as military reports and as compilations made for his two narratives. *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* (New York, 1878). Since Cooke had certain literary ambitions,[15] it followed that his books did not contain exactly the same material as his reports, even though both were taken from the same source. Therefore, fairly complete accounts may occasionally be synthesized from a comparison of the two accounts. In the case of this autumn expedition, we are fortunate in that Cooke used his journal to prepare not only a formal report, but a sequence in *Scenes and Adventures in the Army.*

The expedition was well-omened; prior to his departure, the captain received a letter from his commanding general, Edmund P. Gaines, of the 3rd Military Department, who said:[16]

> If in the discharge of this duty you should find rough and perilous work, the meritorious services of your officers, and your men, and yourself, shall be affectionately remembered by every true-hearted soldier and statesman of our country; and more especially of those great and growing States of the Valley of the Mississippi and more especially by your General and friend . . . . .

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11 *Cf.* "Snively Diplomatic Correspondence". Snively claimed that his raiders were arrested in Mexican territory, but this was later proved not to be the case.

12 General Orders 19, Washington, D. C., April 24, 1844 (WRD).

13 *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, Md.), August 5 and 19, 1843.

14 With interruptions, dating from 1827 to 1866, the period of Cooke's western career.

15 The former especially is described by Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision* (Boston, 1943), pp. 233-34, as, "Full of gothic moonlight, sentiments that Frémont would have found noble, and a literary pathos hard to associate with as hard-bitten an officer as the army had."

16 Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 230.

For at the time, Texans were considered by conservative Americans to be more of a nuisance than the Mexicans. To gain complete freedom of action, Cooke's orders instructed him, if need be, to spend the entire winter either on the Arkansas River, at Bent's (Old) Fort,[17] or even in Santa Fé itself.[18] It was hoped that Mexican cooperation with the venture would be assured, for President Santa Anna himself was struck with the results of the Snively Affair, calling it "the first act of good faith ever shown by the United States to Mexico."[19] In fact, the only persons not in accord with the project were the Texans, who laid the deaths of some of the Snively raiders at Cooke's door, and threatened reprisals.[20]

For troops, Cooke was given the veteran Fort Leavenworth companies "C," "F," and "K" of the 1st Dragoons, and was promised additional reinforcements of companies "A," "E," and "H," then on detached service at Forts Scott and Gibson, both down near the Missouri-Arkansas boundary.[21] This was an imposing number of men to be placed under the completely independent command of a rather junior captain, but undaunted by responsibility, Cooke marched from Fort Leavenworth on August 24, prepared to spend the next ten months, if necessary, wintering in the shadows of the Rockies or the Sangre de Christos. His squadron required a week to travel the one hundred miles to Council Grove (Kansas), the customary rendezvous point for the Santa Fé trains and the troops which guarded them. In his report, Cooke noted merely the bald fact of arrival and meeting there a platoon of "A" Company under the command of 2nd-Lt. R. S. Ewell,[22] but in his journal, the captain had a great deal more to add:[23]

> Sept. 1—A fine rapid clear stream this! Six miles from Council Grove —famous as Council Bluffs. It is a tributary of Grand River, more prettily and distinctly called by its Indian name Neosho (water-white or clear; the Indians, like the French, give you the adjective last) . . . . .
>
> Today we arrived at Council Grove and were received with "presented arms" by a company of dragoons[24] —which makes a fourth. What a collection of wagons! there are hundreds, and nearly all have Mexican owners; look at their men! they show ivories as white as negroes; they are Indians, but New Mexicans as well, and speak Spanish. There are herds of mules

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[17] Near the present site of La Junta, Colorado.

[18] Cooke, Report, p. 1.

[19] Philip St. George Cooke, "A Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons and How He Made a Bit of History," *United States Army and Navy Journal*, XIX (July, 1882), 1106-7. Reprinted in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX (1906), 552-56 n.

[20] *Ibid.*; feeling against Cooke for "abandoning" the raiders was still so strong in 1853 that he was obliged to ask for transfer from Fort Mason, Texas. *Cf.* P. St. G. Cooke to Asst. Adj. Gen. S. Thomas, March 17, 1853 (WRD).

[21] Cooke, Report, pp. 9-10.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3; this officer was "Dick" Ewell, of Civil War fame.

[23] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 236, 240-41.

[24] Ewell's detachment.

in every valley, on every hill, and hundreds of oxen too.[25] It is unhealthy here; many who have stayed a week are sick; the dragoon company has been waiting here three days, and they are already suffering.

Council Grove is a luxuriant, heavily timbered bottom[26] of the Neosho, of about one hundred and sixty acres; and there are several rather smaller in the vicinity . . . . It is a charming grove, though sombre; for we love the contrast to the vast plain, hot and shadeless . . . . .

The miasmas of Council Grove filled Cooke with impatience to be quickly gone; the fall weather was unusually rainy, and the wet not only promoted sickness but would make the trail hub-deep in mud. The captain served notice to this effect on a committee of Mexican merchants, and despite their complaints and procrastination, marched westward on the following day with about one hundred forty wagons in his wake. Yet the rains continued to descend on the muddy prairie, slowing the overloaded and ill-managed train so that it marched but eighty-seven miles in the next twelve days.[27] The escort and the merchants crossed the Cottonwood Fork of the Neosho on September 6, where a fog was encountered as well as the *Comanchero* (Indian trader) Robidoux. While the Mexicans struggled to get their teams across the stream, the captain and the trader exchanged information of the trail and international politics. Robidoux asserted that only American annexation could save New Mexico from stagnation, and only American citizens develop its mineral wealth. He knew, he said, "Districts where, for twenty miles, it is impossible to find a handful of dirt without gold."

"Why in the world have you not made your fortune collecting it?" the incredulous Cooke demanded.

With a Gallic shrug, Robidoux admitted that he had lost eight thousand dollars in just such a venture. Cooke dismissed the matter from his mind, and turned to note the discomforts of the trail he was following:[28]

. . . . This cold September rain is doubly unpleasant, when the reflection is made that it is twenty miles to the first tree or bush for fuel, and that heavily laden wagons must bear one company; but it is the villain musquitos [*sic*] that fill the measure of 'discomfort;' you perceive they take refuge from the rain within my greatcoat collar, and beneath the pent-house of my regulation visor. . . . . This "Turkey Creek,"[29] which I left this morning, should have a truer name; it is a cold and rainy place, without fuel, and no turkey or other living thing did I ever see there, save a squad of horse-stealing Indians, which we once surprised at dark, after a forced march . . . . . Yesterday's infamous roads and this rain are worst in the prospect of the great detention they will cause to the caravan; . . . . now every hours counts, and is one nearer to frost and snow.

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[25] N. B. Bennet Riley's 1829 escort, in which Cooke had played an important part, had first demonstrated the practicability of using oxen on the high plains.

[26] Council Grove was the last source of hardwood to the Rockies, hence its utility as a rendezvous and repair site.

[27] Cooke, Report, p. 3.

[28] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures,* pp. 243-44.

[29] Near present McPherson, Kansas.

At the Little Arkansas River[30] Cooke encountered Captain Enoch Steen[31] with the promised reinforcements from Forts Scott and Gibson, with whom Cooke had been ordered to augment his force. Cooke had protested, with good reason, for these were "orphan" troops, detached from the regiment and stationed in the 2nd Military Department, where both regimental headquarters and the department commander had assumed it was the duty of the other to provide for them. Steen had fifty-four ragged troopers, with two-thirds of his horses and transport mules unfit for service. The testy Cooke dubbed Steen's scarecrows the "Falstaff Company," and depleted his own supplies in order to outfit them sufficiently to return to the frontier forts. Nevertheless, the order to include them in his command could not be ignored; Cooke compromised by selecting twenty-five of the most fit, and sending the rest home. They departed on September 11, "broken down and on the back track. Having pretty thoroughly exhausted the prairie plum crop . . . . they were now prone to the land of pork and beans."[32]

Despite the abominable roads and the drag-footed Mexican train, the dragoons somehow approached the lower crossing (the "Caches") of the Arkansas on October 1. Cooke had learned from American traders returning from Santa Fé that the Texan raiders of June, after making an effort to continue their raid, had finally dispersed.[33] Although this information indicated that the military escort was no longer necessary, it did not relieve Cooke of anxiety, for he feared lest further delay catch his troops abroad on the plains in cold weather, unable to advance or retreat. This would be certain death for the horses, if not most of the dragoons themselves. He wasted no time in rejecting the proposal of the traders that he accompany them to the city of Santa Fé:[34]

> That is the sore point; if I had got my roving commission in my spring campaign, what a pleasant, easy matter to have gone there and returned; but *now* if I go I shall stay until it sickens us to the heart of its barbarous dearth of all mental and creature comforts; for five or six months would some of us think of little but home. . . . .

The captain's objections were practical as well as sentimental; despite the traders' assurances of welcome, the tender-skinned Latins might strongly object to the presence of a foreign military force in the capital of New Mexico. Furthermore, the coarse amuse-

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[30] Near present Buhler, Kansas.

[31] Captain Steen had been appointed to the Mounted Ranger Battalion from Missouri on July 16, 1832, and had transferred to the Regiment of Dragoons in 1834; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols., Washington, 1903), I, 919.

[32] Cooke, Report, pp. 3-4; Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 250.

[33] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 255.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 257-58.

ments of the city would be overly attractive to uneducated enlisted men. Desertion is the curse of professional armies, and by spring, Cooke might well have found his force depleted to the vanishing point by the seductions of tequila and dark-eyed belles.

Wintering at Bent's Fort was a prospect dimmed by the suspicion that the supplies ordered sent to that place for the dragoons' use might not have arrived. Likewise, spending the season on the trail itself would be difficult without buffalo, which the wet weather had meanwhile been driving to far-distant hilltops. With these factors in mind, Cooke assembled the principal traders on October 1, and then:[35]

> . . . . Demanded of them if they desired escort beyond the boundary [the crossings of the Arkansas]. I confidently assured them of the absence of any danger but from Indians, (whom they then professed not to fear:) I offered to accompany them 60 miles beyond the Arkansas to the Semirone [Cimarron]: further than this, I told them, I had determined not to go, and attempt to return to Missouri: . . . . that if I went further I must go on to Santa Fe, — or their settlements for forage, and observed that the inconvenience and expense to which this would put our authorities, would probably prevent their being indulged with any future escort. But all to no purpose: they demanded escort to a point about 150 miles beyond the crossing: and said I would be welcome in Santa Fe.—

It seemed as though the captain would be obliged to give the traders what they desired, regardless of the hardships which his command might encounter on returning to Fort Leavenworth in winter. These physical difficulties should not be underestimated; Cooke gives an impressionistic but very vital picture of travel on the Santa Fé trail during these days of autumn chill and wet:[36]

> Caught twenty-five miles from fuel in a thirteen hour rain . . . . for fifteen miles we soaked, and mayhap sulked; in vain was excitement offered in the shape of the most convenient herds of buffalo; cows, calves, in fat family groups, kicking up the mud as they ran past almost into our faces: —a cape saturated to board-like stiffness, thrown back—a sodden holster-cover half raised—a horse urged to a deeper splash or two—and then, reaction brought us to the cold stage again!
>
> Fifteen miles! — and flesh and blood—mule flesh—could stand no more; the column's head, followed by all its drill-cemented joints, was turned . . . . to the hospitable meadows of the Arkansas; I knew . . . . that in the low, flat bottom we should find dry ground; for it is composed of sand; but for fuel, the poor fellows, after their wet, cold ride, had to wade waist-deep, and over tedious quicksands, a quarter of a mile through the river to the grove, and return with the soaked sticks upon their shoulders; and the weather has turned cold.

On the same day that the traders were requesting Cooke's company into Mexican territory, Charles Bent[37] and the contract supplies were described. After some thought, Cooke decided that

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[35] Cooke, Report, pp. 5-6.

[36] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 262-63.

[37] Charles, of the legendary brothers Bent, was the chief proprietor of Bent's (Old) Fort and contractor for the expedition's winter rations.

he would probably not be going to Bent's Fort in any case; he told the proprietor to reduce the stipulated amount of beef, but take the flour and other barreled rations on to the post (where they were to prove invaluable to Kearny and the South Pass Expedition in 1845). Thereupon, the traders quietly begged Cooke not to reveal to Bent any of his plans, particularly as to the distance he intended to escort the wagons. Cooke wanted to know what they meant; the Mexicans replied that this information might be "communicated to enemies; nests, they say, of semi-trappers and semi-brigands, who harbor not very far from B's establishment and not far from a point on their route."[38] This overly-timid attitude clearly revealed the Mexicans' state of mind and the impossibility of dissuading them from demanding escort at least to the Cimarron. Cooke resigned himself and signalized his decision by sending a request to Fort Leavenworth for sufficient calomel and clothing to see his command through a winter of camping beside the Santa Fé trail.

On October 3, Captain Cooke was surprised and delighted to learn that a substantial Mexican military force had appeared on the south bank of the Arkansas, a day's march away.[39] It had been peremptorily ordered out from Santa Fé by President Santa Anna, and consisted of fifty lancers, who had left treble their number back on the Cimarron, distrustful of their ability to penetrate the Kiowa-infested sand hills between the two rivers. The dragoons promptly marched to the lancers' camp, whereupon Cooke sent over his adjutant with his compliments to the Mexican commander and a cordial invitation to visit with the American troops. Cooke had seen this done during Riley's expedition of 1829,[40] but now international tension was such that the Mexican commander refused, alleging, "that he had received positive orders not to cross the river, which he would disobey under no circumstances."[41] Cooke deduced that Santa Anna, informed of the intention to march the dragoons to Santa Fé, had acted swiftly to forestall any opportunity for a *coup de main* by Cooke's command in New Mexico.[42]

Since no formalities were in order, Cooke delayed only long enough to see the caravan over the river, then formed his men in order of battle and fired a few howitzer shells into the water as a "salute". No longer needed on the trail, the dragoons then turned their faces to the east to begin the long march homeward to Fort Leavenworth, spurred on by their anxious commander.[43] The march soon met increased difficulties in sudden and severe cold weather; by October 5, no grass could be found near the trail it-

[38] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 267.
[39] *Ibid.*; Cooke, Report, p. 6.
[40] Young, *First Escort on the Santa Fe Trail*, pp. 145-49.
[41] Cooke, Report, p. 7.
[42] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 271.
[43] *Ibid.*

self, and Cooke was reduced to the less direct course of closely paralleling the Arkansas, whose bottoms still afforded fuel and forage.[44] Two days later, the squadrons encountered the buffalo on their fall migration, "with a constant utterance of their very peculiar sounds, which may not be better described, than as something between the grunt of a great hog and the low bellowing of a bull . . . . ."[45] Narrowly escaping from a prairie fire of their own making, the dragoons were at Diamond Spring within the week, and a day later, Council Grove itself. Half the wagon mules were foundered, and four or five troop horses also used up; it had been a hard, swift march against the onrushing winter.

From Council Grove the dragoons made their way northeastward until they struck the military road which connected the forts of the western Missouri border axis. Here, on October 24, the three southern companies under Lt. Ewell were dismissed to return to their stations; Cooke was undoubtedly glad to be rid of them, but not of Dick Ewell who held the command, "—that of a squadron—much above his rank, but not above his merit."[46] On the following day, the remainder of the escort was at Fort Leavenworth, and their commander beginning to wrestle with the inevitable paper-work. In his official report, submitted October 26, the captain had much to say concerning the Santa Fé trade, and little of it complimentary, but his is as good a summary as may be found of the trade in its latter days:[47]

1st. The Mexican tariff, with land transportation from Independence, Missouri, amounts to prohibition.

2d. The Province of New Mexico has been greatly impoverished, almost ruined in the last ten years by the aggressions of wilder Indians, the Apaches . . . .

3d. The trade is a necessity to New Mexico—poor—inland, and remote: hence by a stretch of power the duties are remitted, or commuted for an uncertain and arbitrary amount: such as $500 per wagon load: (this caused the overloaded wagons.)

Hence 4th. The traders are licensed smugglers, and a large portion of the goods entered go on to Chihuahua: a land transportation of 1500 miles to avoid the more regular custom house of Matamoras.

5th. The trade is falling into the hands of the Mexicans: of about 200 wagon loads which I have escorted this year, I do not believe *ten* have belonged to Americans who were *resident* citizens.

6th. With these few wagons of merchandize 68 Americans were reported to me in the summer caravan. Hence they are nearly all adventurers, who live cheaply on buffalo, avoid the restraint of society, and at Santa Fe plunge into the dissipations of probably the most abandoned and dissolute community in North America.

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[44] Cooke, Report, p. 8.
[45] Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 277.
[46] Cooke, Report, pp. 9-10.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

7th. In the abstract, the trade is a disadvantageous one; there being no return profits; and the wagons return empty.

8th. The tonnage, or value, of this year's trade is unequal to that of a single ship load from one of our commercial ports; or that of many a steamboat trading to St. Louis.

9th. The trade is only sensibly felt in Missouri, by the village of Independence, its Depot; and its enticing, corrupting influence upon a few citizens of a roving disposition.

10th. The American traders need none, and wish no military protection to the trade.

11. The Mexican traders profess to apprehend nothing from Indians.

& 12. This is the only year that the trade was ever molested by whites: or most probably ever will be again.

And having made his report, the captain was prepared to leave the Santa Fé trail for good. Events dictated otherwise, however, for Cooke had wrought better than he knew; from this time on, the dragoon officer would be distinctly *persona grata* to the Mexicans, just as he would be detested by Texans and (somewhat unjustly) accused of deliberately turning the Snively raiders unarmed upon the plains to be attacked by Indians. Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny intended to make good use of his captain's reputation, and after taking him along on the famed South Pass Expedition of 1845 (which may or may not have been set up as a potential strike on Oregon), the colonel insisted on Cooke's services when the Mexican War broke out.[48] The captain somewhat reluctantly trailed Kearny's Army of the West to Bent's Fort, where he discovered that Kearny had actually intended to halt his march until Cooke put in an appearance![49] It was obvious that Kearny had in mind something for Cooke other than the command of a squadron of dragoons which the captain so ardently desired.

That something was the neutralization of Santa Fé, capital, stronghold, and keystone of the Southwest; without it, the Army of the West might fail of its objective or even perish of hunger on its march from Bent's Fort. Cooke's mission was to proceed there in advance of the army accompanied by two negotiators (James Magoffin and one José Gonzales), and cajole or intimidate Governor Armijo into evacuating the city. As the result of his popularity with the Mexicans, Cooke was of course ideally suited to be Kearny's military representative. The results are clear, even if the methods employed are somewhat obscure. After a midnight interview, Armijo agreed to evacuate the city, into which Kearny marched without firing a shot.[50] The winning of the Southwest became an accomplished fact.

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[48] S. W. Kearny to Gen. G. M. Brooke, May 31, 1846 (WRD).

[49] Cooke, *Conquest of New Mexico and California*, pp. 6-7.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-30, and especially p. 31; Cooke's memoirs seem to be the only extant account of the secret negotiations between President Polk's agent, Magoffin, and the venal Armijo.

MARSHALLTOWN, CREEK NATION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Marshalltown was located in the Coweta District of the Creek Nation in the point between the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers: "It was a thoroughly vicious community, and horse and cattle thieves plied their vocation unmolested, protected by the close-knit racial consciousness of the Creek negroes."[1]

Marshalltown was named for Benjamin Marshall a wealthy and prominent mixed-blood Creek who brought nineteen slaves with him when he removed west from Alabama in 1835 and settled on the Verdigris.[2] The Marshall plantation was one of the best known in the Creek Nation and it was celebrated for its fine fields and great orchards; the owner is said to have been active in establishing the first boarding school among his people and he was a member of the convention that adopted the alphabet used by the Creeks.[3]

The Marshall family was well known in the East before the removal of the Creek tribe to the West. In *Woodward's Reminiscenses*[4] he wrote:

> Old man Marshall was an Englishman. He settled where Columbus, Ga., now is. He had three sons, Joe, Jim and Ben. Joe was a true friend of the whites, and so were his brothers. He was a good fighter, and lost one of his eyes defending the Tuckabatchys, when they were forted in, in time of war. He was killed by a drunken Indian after the whites settled the country in Chambers county. Jim, I think, died in Russell county, Ala.; and Ben, a very intelligent man, is yet living in Arkansas.

Woodward realized that the Creeks were soured and disinclined to go into council in 1832. He notified Colonel John Crowell, the Creek agent, who used every effort to prevent liquor being taken into the camp:

> "But by some means, some negroes belonging to a half breed, Joe Marshall, got some whiskey into camp. There was an order for it to be destroyed, and the whiskey was poured out on the ground, which seemed not to suit the tastes of some whites as well as Indians.
>
> "It appeared that a white man had hired negroes to carry the whiskey to camp, and it was proposed to flog the negroes; but Marshall objected, stating that the white men were to blame. A general fight commenced with the Indians themselves, and a great many whites left the camp, not knowing but that a general massacre was to take place.

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1 Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 253.

2 Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 142; Office Indian Affairs, Creek Emigration, muster roll October 15, 1835. This party of Creeks was conducted by Lieutenant Edward Deas.

3 *Muskogee Phoenix*, June 15, 1893, p. 5, col. 2.

4 *Birmingham, Alabama*, 1939, pp. 114, 115, 124, 125. This book was first issued at Montgomery, Alabama in 1859.

"Marshall's party was the weakest, and seemed to be giving way. I emarked to (Charles) McLemore, who was standing by me, that Marshall vas a good man, and had been a great friend to the whites in the Creek var, and that I disliked to see him backed out; that was enough— Charley valked into the thickest of it, among knives, clubs, and everything else. Wherever he went, he opened their ranks, and Marshall soon quit win- ier. . . . ."

Marshall urged removal because the Indians were being furnished vith whiskey by the whites, and all they possessed was carried to grog shops. He was eager to take his family of eight to the West nd it was largely through his influence that an emigrating party of 11 was organized on the Tallapoosa River near Wetumka, December , 1835.[5]

After the Reverend R. M. Loughridge visited the Creek country ie sent an account of his trip to the Board of Foreign Missions in 841. Major William Armstrong had given him a letter to Colonel ames Logan, Creek agent, but he was absent from his post so the issionary decided to visit the chiefs and "Mr. Benjamin Marshall, n Indian of considerable information, and of great influence in ational affairs."

Benjamin Marshall held the position of national treasurer for orty years, without bond. He had been entrusted with treaty aking with the United States concerning the removal of his people rom Alabama to the West. It was stated that "He was a man of nblemished character and one of the most farseeing statesmen the reek people ever had, and one of the chief councilors of the ation."[6]

At the grand international council held in 1843 near the present ite of Eufaula 730 Creeks were in attendance, Ben Marshall as nterpreter having a part in the proceedings.[7]

Agent Logan wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill n November 9, 1847 that one of the principal subjects taken up at ie general council in 1846 was the appointment of a second chief f the Lower Towns to fill the vacancy caused by the death of faula Harjo: "The office has developed upon Mr. Benjamin Mar- all, formerly national interpreter, an educated half-breed of wealth nd standing. He is of course favorably inclined to religion and ducation, and much good may be anticipated to arise from his ppointment. . . . ."[8]

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[5] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), 125-26, 142.

[6] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "Report of the Rev- end R. M. Loughridge to the Board of Foreign Missions regarding the Creek ission," Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), p. 278 and note 1; D. C. Gideon, *istory of Indian Territory* (New York and Chicago, 1901), pp. 352-53.

[7] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), pp. 224-25, 229.

[8] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 190.

Robert Love, long a well known Negro citizen of Muskogee, was born April 15, 1854, south of the Arkansas River near the old Creek Agency. After the Civil War when the slaves were freed, Love, then thirteen years old, with his mother, brother and sister, left the plantation near Red River where they had refugeed, and moved to the Creek Nation and settled at Marshalltown. Love recalled that the Fountain Baptist Church was the only house of worship in the vicinity and it was situated about three miles northwest of Wybark.[9] The log building was about thirty-five feet long by eighteen feet wide; the benches were hewed logs and the pulpit was also made from a log.

Ketch Banard, an old Negro was pastor of the Fountain Baptist Church for many years and Love remembered hearing John Bemo, the noted Seminole preacher and teacher, conduct service there. During the summer camp meetings were held and people came from many miles and camped around the church. These gatherings which usually commenced on Wednesday lasted over the week end, and on Sunday afternoon all of the converts were baptized in the Verdigris River at the Slanting Ford which was about three miles up the river from where the town of Okay was later located. Plenty of food, such as roasted or barbecued deer, wild hogs, wild turkeys, was provided by the people and spread together so that all attending the meeting could partake of it.

Negroes and Creek Indians attended the services and a majority of the Indians were unable to understand the sermons so that an interpreter was necessary to translate from the English. Love recalled that Sampson Stidham and Dock Barnett frequently acted as interpreters.

Love stated that Marshalltown was a tough place as the village and neighborhood were infested with outlaws; the officers of the law never ventured into the district singly when it was necessary to go there in search of a wanted person.[10] Love's mother was shot and killed by a mob trying to capture a fugitive; at her funeral Sampson Stidham took young Love and gave him a home on his farm near Gibson Station, and he remained there until grown.

B. Marshall wrote to Henry & Williams on June 1, 1858 from the Creek Nation:[11]

"You will pleas send me by the first Boat you see coming up hear. Ship to the Verdigris Landing, one Barral of good Sugar and one Sack of Coffee. If you have collected that Money for the hire of Isaac for last year, you will pay yourself that amount

[9] Wybark was later known as Verdark, and North Muskogee.

[10] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection Vol. 6, pp. 324, 329-30.

[11] Grant Foreman Collection.

and the balance Il pay at the Annuity payment with out fail, the other Articles you sent me was put out at the Mouth of Grand River and put me to good deal of Extra Expence to git it home. If you git a chance to send those articles Bond them to deliver them where they promise to do without the River is so low they cant git up, how is Isaac gitting along his health &c."

From Van Buren, April 19, 1859, John Henry, Williams & Co. shipped aboard the *Violette* to George W. Stidham, Creek Agency port, six kegs of Dupont Powder, thirty-six bedsteads and five bundles of mattresses. The same boat brought freight to Port of Verdigris from Van Buren, June 9, 1859 to Benjamin Marshall. On July 9, 1859, the steamer *Muscogee* brought freight to the Creek Agency Landing for Stidham; this consisted of five cases of merchandise which had been received from the *Medora* on June 23. John Henry, Williams and Co. shipped aboard the *Muscogee,* December 10, 1859 to Benjamin Marshall at the Port of Verdigris Landing three boxes of merchandise. Marshall was still receiving freight shipped by the same steamer from the same Van Buren firm in 1860. On January 24 he received 1 box wool cards, 1 box cotton cards, a case of books, a case of shoes, two boxes of tobacco among other merchandise. Another bill of lading on that date consisted of a bale of domestic, five cases boots and shoes and three boxes merchandise. The *Muscogee* also brought a barrel of sugar, a bag of coffee, 12 cane bottom chairs, two rocking chairs "high top," one sewing rocking chair and one plain bottom rocking chair.

The water was evidently too low for a steamer in May, 1860 as a bill of goods was sent to George W. Stidham from Van Buren "on board the Good Keel Boat whereof [John J.] Garrett is Master" to be delivered at the Port of Creek Agency. The bill consisted of six bags coffee, two boxes smoking tobacco, nine tar buckets, a keg of soda and other merchandise.

The Collins Brothers of the Brazos River Cattle Company of Texas shipped 500 head of longhorn cattle into the Indian Territory in the autumn of 1875 and unloaded them between the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers about four miles north of Muskogee, where the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad had built an unloading chute. The shipment was in charge of Sam Bass, Joel Colloin, Brady Collins and Bill Elliott. The four men took turns in building feeding pens and herding the cattle, in the neighborhood of Marshalltown, which was principally occupied by Creek Freedmen; they paid the Negroes $1.00 a bushel for corn in the shuck, and five dollars per ton for wild prairie hay, measured in the rick. They fed the cattle there for three and a half months before they were loaded on cars and shipped north.[12]

[12] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 2, pp. 377-78; interview with William Anthony Cummings, later an officer.

The *Eufaula Journal* of Thursday, July 5, 1877, contains an account of the annual examination held at the Marshalltown school on June 25. The exercises, held under a brush arbor adjoining the school house, were witnessed by a large audience made up of parents, friends of the children, as well as visitors from a distance. The program consisted of an original speech delivered by Patsy Hartridge, after which the classes were examined in reading, spelling and defining, recitations in arithmetic, geography, English grammar and natural philosophy. "The class in the latter study earned a well merited praise, having stood a thorough examination most admirably. This, it is said, is the first and only class of colored boys and girls that have received instructions in this so much heretofore neglected branch of education." The primary class, instructed by Paul Weaver, passed a creditable examination and an essay on Abraham Lincoln was delivered in excellent style. Among the students were: Susan Brewer, Mary Jones, Bicken Barnett, Joseph Stephens who deserved all of the praise bestowed upon them.

The exercises were closed with singing and an address by R. M. Stephens, "who did not forget to pay proper respect to the Indian Journal, stating that a newspaper was the cheapest of all existing literature, and to be without one was simply showing to the visitor at home an absence of education. . . . ." A delicious dinner was served after which the audience dispersed and the teacher looked "for his 'Pegasus' to take him to Okmulgee to attend the Institute."

Trouble arose with the prosperous Cherokees when their cattle wandered across the line into the Creek Nation and were converted into beef by the Negroes at Marshalltown. The Cherokees became incensed at the delay in the Creek courts, and took matters into their own hands. The Cherokees scorned Negroes, and their young men did not hesitate to take shots at the Creek Lighthorsemen. Several raids were made on Marshalltown by Cherokees; they shot into houses and killed several black men. On the night of July 26, 1880, a mob seized two Negroes, supposed to be horse thieves, from their homes, carried them into the Cherokee Nation and hanged them. The next day two parties of blacks rode into the Cherokee country to search for the bodies of their friends.

A fight resulted with mixed-blood Cherokees in which Alex Norman was wounded and young William Cobb killed in the first volley. The Cherokees were aroused when news of the murder reached them and a party of more than a hundred armed men left Fort Gibson, where a payment was in progress, to wipe out the settlement, which harbored such desperate characters as Dick Glass and Bob Marshall. The road to the ferry was crowded with men rushing to the aid of the ranchmen and the ferry boat was kept busy all afternoon, and until late in the evening carrying men across Grand River. By morning several hundred men had gathered and

the ranchmen furnished them with food and ammunition. When they were organized and equipped they advanced upon the settlement and were amazed to find the place practically deserted. The invaders burned a few shacks and pinned notices to the doors of others warning the citizens not to cross into the Cherokee Nation or steal their cattle under pain of another raid. The warning proved sufficient to prevent further trouble in that part of the territory.[13]

Chief Samuel Checote called an election in the Creek Nation for the first Monday in September, 1883. No disturbance marred the occasion except in Marshalltown where a fight broke out after only fifteen votes had been cast. Snow Sells, chief of Arkansas Town, ordered the election stopped. Fights were frequent in that wild community, but it was probably a ruse of Sells and a Negro Lighthorseman to prevent the vote of one of Isparhecher's towns from being recorded.[14]

The Marshall name was handed down to the Creek Nation and a prominent citizen of Muskogee was Benjamin Marshall, the grandson of the man for whom Marshalltown was named. Mr. Marshall was born February 13, 1866 at the forks of the Verdigris and Arkansas rivers. He was the son of Robert Marshall, and he attended school at Tullahassee Mission before he went to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania. His interest was in farm life, and he owned one of the finest farms in the Indian Territory on which he raised hundreds of acres of corn and cotton, cattle and hogs in addition to a fine orchard. Mr. Marshall was secretary of the Muskogee Townsite Commission and he acted as interpreter in many celebrated law suits in the old Indian Territory.[15]

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[13] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 19, pp. 181-183. Interview with H. W. Hicks, Vinita, Oklahoma.

[14] Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

[15] *Muskogee Phoenix*, End of the Century Edition, November 2, 1899, 31. Gideon, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-53.

SCHOOLS AMONG THE MINOR TRIBES IN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Joe C. Jackson**

As part of their expanded program of missionary work, the Quakers in 1870 entered the northeastern corner of Indian Territory and endeavored to found schools among the 1,000 or more tribesmen living in that area.[1]

By 1872 three missionary boarding schools and a day school had been established.[2] The boarding schools were all operated by the church on a contract basis, with the tribes and Federal government supplying the necessary funds and the church agreeing to administer the schools. For instance, the contract between the church and the Federal government pertaining to the Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot school, stated: "The Friends agree to furnish a teaching force sufficiently capable to meet the need and [to furnish] all other necessary employees. They also agree to board, educate, and clothe such Seneca, Wyandotte, Shawnee, and other Indian children as may apply for admission. The Friends are to be paid two dollars per week for each pupil enrolled."[3]

However, after 1877 practically all Quaker support was withdrawn from the schools in the area and, with the abolition of the contract system in 1884, the Federal government assumed complete charge of their management—a situation that had prevailed among the day schools from the beginning. Here the authorities had never used the contract system, but had hired the teachers

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1 Martha Bunting, "The Quaker Indian Agents," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 2 (June, 1932), p. 204. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1872), p. 348. Hereinafter referred to as *RCIA*.

Remnants of the Senecas and Shawnees had been assigned to this region in 1832, the Quapaws in 1833, the Confederated Peorias, Wyandots and Miamis in 1867, and the Modocs in 1873. The seven reservations contained a total of 212,000 acres, with the Quapaw, Peoria and Seneca containing about 50,000 each. The other reservations were progressively smaller with the Modoc containing only 4,040 acres. As to population, the Wyandot and Seneca contained about 250 tribesmen each, with the other tribes numbering around 100 or less. Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), p. 196.

2 H. W. Jones, U. S. Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 10, 1872, in *Documents Pertaining to Schools Among the Minor Tribes in Northeastern Oklahoma*, Indian Archives, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereinafter referred to as *Minor Tribal Documents*. *RCIA*, 1872, p. 243.

3 Contracts between Hiram W. Jones, Indian Agent, and David B. Homer, 1875, in *Minor Tribal Documents*. Similar contracts were made relative to the Ottawa and Quapaw Mission Schools. The agreements were all very much alike and contained almost identical stipulations.

Wyandotte Mission school house, 1874

direct, paying their salaries by Federal checks and placing the units under supervision of the Indian agents. For instance, in 1878 the Secretary of the Interior granted authority to spend $1,000 to erect a day school for the Modocs and to purchase the necessary equipment for the enterprise.[4] The building was ready for occupancy in 1880, the first school being taught by Edith Johnson for a salary of $480 for the year.[5]

The day schools were under the watchful eye of the Indian agent who reported they were better equipped, housed in better buildings, taught by better instructors and were better supervised than were most of the neighborhood schools among the Five Civilized Tribes or in the neighboring states.[6] Relative to these schools, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in 1881 and 1882, that:[7]

> The Peoria School, 10 miles northwest of the Agency, 26′ by 60′ in size, is a neat frame building, is amply provided with funds and compares to the best in the States.
>
> The Modoc School, two miles northeast of the Agency, 28′ by 50′ in size, is a handsome frame building and is amply provided with funds.
>
> The Miami School, twenty miles northwest of the Agency, 24′ by 38′ in size, is a neat and ample frame building, and is well supplied with funds.

The boarding schools of the area were conducted in much the same manner as were those among the Five Civilized Tribes. However, the minor tribal units could not boast of brick buildings and the expensive outlay found in some of the boarding institutions in the Nations. As to their location and description, the following excerpts from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is informative:[8]

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[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to H. W. Jones, Indian Agent, Nov. 4, 1878, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* In 1891 out of 16 children of school age in the Tribe, 11 were in school. One of the efficient teachers of this school was Miss Arizona Jackson who resigned in 1891 after 8 years of service.

[5] Report of the Modoc Day School, Sept. 1880, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* In a like manner the Peoria and Miami day schools had been established in 1872 and 1876 and were being taught for $600 and $450 per year, respectively. In 1891 there were 13 Indian children attending the Peoria school along with several white children who were paying fifty cents per month. Mr. A. J. Peery, a member of the Peoria tribe was one of the successful teachers at the Peoria school.

[6] Report of the Indian Agent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 10, 1882, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* The Peoria Day School was reported as being conducted about the same way as any district school, with the conventional subjects being taught and regular texts being used. The intellectual capacity of the children was reported as being about the same as that of whites. The work of these schools, however, did not go beyond the third or fourth grade level.

[7] *RCIA,* 1881, p. 98; 1882, p. 85. The reports state the schools were all enclosed with fences, that furnishings were modern and that the grounds were well kept.

[8] *Ibid.* As the schools grew, the Federal government increased the number of buildings and otherwise broadened the facilities. By 1898, each of the two institutions boasted a total of sixteen buildings, a quantity of industrial equipment and an adequate amount of instructional material.

The Seneca, Wyandotte and Shawnee boarding school, 3½ miles S. W. of the Agency, main building, 70′ by 90′ in size, two stories, frame, a school building, 55′ by 40′ in size, frame, and other necessary stables and outbuildings.

The Quapaw Boarding school, twelve miles N. W. of the Agency, main building, 30′ by 80′ in size, two stories, frame, two dormitories, a school house and necessary stables and outbuildings.

Each of these schools was located on a 160 acre farm and sought to combine industrial training with academic work. The boys in addition to studying the common branches, chopped wood, milked cows, plowed in the fields, cultivated the gardens and did other work of this nature. The girls did the washing, ironing, sewing, cooking and the general housework.[9] Thus it was hoped they would all be sufficiently trained to become self-supporting, be able to read and write and exercise the privileges of citizenship when the time came.

Most reports indicate that the scholastic population of the minor tribes averaged about 400 during the years from 1870 until the turn of the century. Conclusions drawn from attendance reports for the same period show that a very high proportion of their children were in school.[10]

Some children of the Quapaw Agency were attending non-reservation schools at various places in the States. For instance, in 1889, there were seventeen Wyandot children at Haskell Institute, while children from the other tribes were attending Hampton Normal and Agricultural College, at Hampton, Virginia; Carlisle Indian School, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; White's Manual Labor School, at Wabash, Indiana; Southwestern Baptist College, at Bolivar, Missouri; and Notre Dame University at South Bend, Indiana.[11]

Thus, from the standpoint of the number of schools, facilities, instruction and proportionate number in attendance, education

[9] Report of the Seneca, Wyandotte and Shawnee Boarding School, May, 1881, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[10] For example the Report for 1881, p. 99, shows 311 pupils enrolled, distributed as follows:

Quapaw Boarding School	75
Seneca, Wyandotte and Shawnee Boarding School	149
Peoria Day School	42
Miami Day School	23
Modoc Day School	22
Total	311

Attendance reports for other years are similar until the day schools were abolished in 1893. It was a common practice for patrons to board children in their homes while attending the day schools. For instance, in 1883 Mary Billington was paid $20.85 for boarding three Miami children while attending school for three weeks. Report of the Miami Day School for 1883, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[11] Reports of Indian children in non-reservation schools, 1899, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* (Approved spelling of tribal name is Wyandot.—Ed.)

among the minor tribes prior to 1898 compared favorably to that found in rural areas in the surrounding states, and to the overall program of the Five Civilized Tribes.

However, by 1898, the Quapaw and Seneca Boarding Schools were the only educational institutions serving the 1,000, or more, Indians living in the northeastern corner of Indian Territory. These schools founded in 1872 by the Quakers, had long been controlled directly by the Federal government and were open to all Indian children in the area.

The Quapaw school, located on the Quapaw reservation just south of Baxter Springs, Kansas, consisted of fourteen frame buildings with a student capacity of ninety.[12] In his report for 1896, the superintendent of the institution, in describing the school plant, said:

> Building No. 1 is the school house. It is of frame construction, lathed and plastered, one story high and 30′ by 100′ in size. . . . No. 2 is the large boys' sitting room. . . . No. 3 is the large boys' dormitory. . . . No. 4 is the superintendent's quarters. . . . No. 5 is the employees building. . . . No. 6 is the laundry. . . . No. 7 is the bath house. . . . No. 8 is the hen house. . . . No. 9 is the commissary. . . . No. 10 is the girls' building, containing the kitchen and dining room. . . . No. 11 is the tank house. . . . No. 12 is the little boys' quarters. . . . No. 13 is the grocery room. . . . and No. 14 is the barn.[13]

Built near the center of a 160 acre farm, the school was conducted as an industrial training institution. Along with studying spelling, arithmetic, reading, writing, geography, United States history, physiology and the other common branches, the boys and girls were taught to work with their hands in order that they might earn a living when they were out of school.

It was a common practice for the boys to aid the school custodians in cultivating the soil, milking the cows, caring for the poultry and hogs, aiding in constructing and repairing buildings and in doing various other things of an industrial nature. On the other hand, the girls joined with the matron, seamstress, and cooks, aiding in the general housework, doing the sewing, laundry, ironing and cooking and generally learning to do the things that future home life would demand of them.[14]

The Seneca, Wyandot, and Shawnee boarding school, located on the Wyandot reservation about eight miles from Seneca, Missouri, consisted of fourteen frame buildings with a capacity for 140 pupils.[15] In 1895 the superintendent of the school stated:

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[12] W. H. Johnson, superintendent, to the Indian Agent, June 1, 1896, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[13] *Ibid.* The day schools were all closed by 1893.

[14] Report of the Quapaw Boarding School for 1899, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[15] *RCIA,* 1897, p. 134.

"The girls' dormitory is 82′ by 30′, the school house, 68′ by 30′, the big boys' dormitory, 30′ by 30′, the small boys' dormitory, 45′ by 24′, and the employees building, 36′ by 30′. All fourteen buildings are frame and in excellent state of repair."[16]

Like the Quapaw school, the Seneca institution possessed a large farm and was operated on an industrial training basis.[17] In 1897, the Federal government opened the school to all seven of the tribes in the area and sought to intensify the program—an act looking forward to the day when the Quapaw school would be abolished.[18]

Looking toward this end, the reports for 1898 stated that if the Quapaw school was continued an "almost complete new plant" would have to be built and would necessitate spending more money than could be justified Accordingly it was suggested that $8,000 be spent in expanding the Seneca school and that its capacity be raised to 250 pupils.[19]

In keeping with this policy new buildings were added and old buildings were repaired at the Seneca school. Thus, when the Quapaw institution was closed in 1900, most of the students had been transferred to Seneca where ample space and opportunity awaited them.[20] Relative to enrollment after this step was taken, the agent reported in 1902: "There is a total scholastic population in the agency of 450. Of this number, fifty are attending non-reservation schools, fifty live with their parents in various parts of the United States, one hundred are attending the public schools or the few subscription schools in the area, while 209 are enrolled at Seneca."[21]

To take care of discipline problems incurred by increased enrollment, both boys and girls were organized into military units at Seneca and were drilled daily by the disciplinarian of the school —a unique policy in that girls in government schools were ordinarily not subjected to such training.[22] However, from all available reports, the program was a success. The school continued to

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[16] A. J. Tabor, superintendent, to the Indian Agent, March 4, 1895, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[17] After 1900, the Seneca, Wyandot and Shawnee school was referred to simply as the Seneca Boarding School.

[18] *RCIA,* 1897, p. 138.

[19] *RCIA,* 1898, p. 150. The next year, the Federal authorities started a program of emphasizing the Seneca school at the expense of the Quapaw institution. However, in spite of the fact enrollment increased sharply at Seneca, the Quapaw school held its own until it was abolished in 1900.

[20] *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior* (Washington, 1900), p. 218. Hereinafter referred to as *ARDI.* The next year, the Indian agency was transferred to the school with the superintendent of the institution taking care of both jobs.

[21] *RCIA,* 1902, p. 189.

[22] *ARDI,* 1904, p. 183.

grow and in 1904, three boys and three girls were reported to have completed the curriculum and "were to be sent away to nonreservation schools" for further study.[23]

As stated elsewhere, the Seneca school as well as the Quapaw school before it was closed, was directly controlled by the Federal government through the superintendent assigned to the institution.[24] This official, upon approval of the Commission of Indian Affairs, was empowered to hire the faculty, hire the necessary school employees, contract for all supplies, and supervise the curricular as well as the industrial program of the institution. For example, the various reports of the superintendents from 1898 to 1907 contain not only faculty and employee lists, but requisitions for groceries, farm machinery, feed, books and supplies, domestic science equipment and a number of directives pertaining to the program of study and to the general conduct of the school.[25]

In order to keep parents informed as to the progress of their children, regular monthly reports were mailed, giving a percentage grade in each subject as well as the pupils' industrial record.[26] Such reports built interest in the school and caused the parents to feel they were part of a going concern—a fact that elevated the educational efforts among the minor tribes to a position of eminence in the Federal service. So successful was the program that more than eighty per cent of the Indians in the area between the ages of five and thirty-two years could read and write; a large

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[23] *Ibid.* John D. Benedict, the Federal superintendent of schools for the Five Tribes, was the commencement speaker and George Beck, the Chickasaw supervisor, honored the occasion by his presence.

[24] See *Appendix A* for a statement of salaries and teachers at the Seneca school, 1898, from *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[25] Quarterly Report for the Seneca School, Dec. 31, 1898, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* One of the requisitions for supplies called for 6 lbs. baking powder, 118 lbs. of beans, 439 lbs. of beef, 28 lbs. of coffee, 880 lbs. of flour, 50 lbs. of bacon, 35 lbs. of salt, 60 lbs. of soap, 118 lbs. of sugar, 14 gals. of syrup, 2 gals. of vinegar, 8 bu. of potatoes, 18 lbs. of lard, and 4 gals. of grape preserves.

[26] The report of Yvette Spencer, for April 1905, shows the following:

Grade — Class B, 2nd

Arithmetic	— 90%
Language	— 90%
Penmanship	— 80%
Reading	— 92%
Spelling	— 98%
Conduct	— 90%
Neatness	— 90%
Health	— 85%
Industry	— 90%

/s/ Horace B. Durant, supt.
J. W. Wilson, disciplinarian
Clara D. Allen, teacher

Monthly Report of Yvette Spencer, April 1905, in *Minor Tribal Documents.* From 1872 until 1914 the curriculum offered at the school was on about the fourth grade level.

number had advanced to the stage where they were qualified to teach on the primary levels; and several hundred had been instructed in the various phases of industrial activity.[27] In fact, as early as 1901, it was suggested that the Seneca school be closed and all annuities to the Indians in the area be discontinued just as soon as a territorial system of schools was set up. It was argued that they had advanced to the point where they could support themselves by agriculture and could compete favorably with white children in combined schools.[28]

In contrast to the successful Indian program among the minor tribes, little can be said in praise of the efforts for white education in the region. However, from the beginning the three Indian day schools were open to whites on a tuition basis and a few subscription schools were established. In 1891, the Peoria, Miami and Modoc day schools all reported that whites were in attendance and were paying a fifty-cent tuition fee each month to the Federal government for the privilege.[29]

Whites who had been coming into the region as contract renters of Indian lands since 1881,[30] had reached a total of 4,500 by 1894 and were cultivating more than 5,000 acres of land in the area by 1899.[31]

Because of the acute educational problem created by the situation, coupled with a desire to do missionary work among the Indians, the Catholic Church founded St. Mary's Mission School in 1893 on lands set aside for that purpose by the Quapaw Council.[32] When the Quapaw Boarding School was closed in 1900, an agreement with the Department of the Interior was worked out whereby the tribe was to give $1,000 per year for the maintenance of the institution with other funds being supplied by the church and the Federal government.[33]

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[27] Report of the Seneca School, 1902, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

[28] *ARDI*, 1901, p. 218. See Appendix *B* and Appendix *C* for statistics on enrollment, attendance and per capita cost at the boarding schools from *RCIA*, 1898-1906, *ARDI*, 1906-1908, and *RCIA*, 1898-1901.

[29] *RCIA*, 1891, p. 235. These schools, closed in 1893, were regular Federal day units and, according to government reports, compared favorably with district schools in surrounding states.

[30] *RCIA*, 1881, p. 188. Contracts for such purposes were made and approved by the Department of the Interior and generally covered a period of twelve months.

[31] *RCIA*, 1894, p. 135; 1899, p. 189. It should be recalled that there were only about 1,000 Indians living on the seven reservations.

[32] *RCIA*, 1894, p. 139. Forty acres of land were set aside for the church and school. (Velma Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 [Spring, 1953], pp. 2-14.)

[33] *Ibid.* Federal funds were supplied by contract, i. e., a contract was made with the school to care for ten to fourteen Indian children for a stipulated amount per month. The Dexter family of Pennsylvania furnished much of the funds for the school.

See *Appendix D* for a listing of Indian schools among the minor tribes from *RCIA* and *Minor Tribal Documents.*

The school was conducted on both a boarding and a day basis with white families furnishing a majority of the pupils. In 1906 there were thirty boarding and fifty day students enrolled in the school with nearly all the day students being white and paying two dollars per month tuition.[34]

During the administration of Woodrow Wilson, Federal contracts for Indians in private schools were withdrawn and in 1927, Quapaw support for the school was discontinued. Thus, it closed for lack of support and the buildings were sold to private individuals. Homeless orphan children attending the school were adopted by substantial families living in the area. Assorted Documents pertaining to the Quapaw Schools, in *Minor Tribal Documents.*

It is quite obvious that this one school did not meet the educational needs of the whites in the region. For instance, the Indian agent, in 1901 and 1902, reported: "Most whites are without schools of any kind. Federal aid should be given to set up schools open to both Indians and whites until a territorial or state system is set up . . . . Whites are far worse off than the Indians as far as schools are concerned, having to depend on a few poorly managed and poorly taught subscription schools here and there."[35]

In an endeavor to alleviate the situation, the Quapaw Council, in 1902, provided for the establishment of seven day schools on their reservation, open equally to both races. These schools were to be under exclusive control of the council and were to be supported by $1,000 set aside from Quapaw funds plus a one per cent tax on every acre of land leased by whites and a one dollar tax on every transient laborer on the reservation.[36]

That the effort was doomed to failure was obvious. No money was forthcoming from the whites because there was no way to legally collect taxes from them. This fact, coupled with insufficient tribal support caused the endeavor to fail. The whites on the reservation were thus forced to add their numbers to others in the agency who were without educational advantages.[37]

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[34] *ARDI*, 1906, p. 219. The faculty was composed of two academic teachers and a music teacher, all holding degrees from eastern universities. The main building for the school was originally the government commissary that supplied the troops in the area. When troops were no longer needed, the building was moved to the Quapaw industrial boarding school and when it closed in 1900, the structure was donated to St. Mary's. It was a three story affair with the first floor being used for a stage and chapel, the second floor as a dormitory and the third floor for classrooms.

[35] *ARDI*, 1901, p. 218. *RCIA*, 1902, p. 190.

[36] *RCIA*, 1902, p. 189. All seven of the proposed schools opened during the year and for a time it seemed they would be successful. Thirty-two Indian and more than 200 white children were enrolled, box buildings were erected, and six-month school terms enjoyed.

[37] *Ibid.* The report states that there were more than 2,000 such children growing up without cultural influence of the classroom. The Baptist and the Quakers at various times, however, attempted day schools but were unsuccessful. For instance, in 1896, the Quakers conducted three day schools from twenty-one to forty-seven weeks in length, with an enrollment of one hundred eight. The Baptist conducted two such schools for six months with a total enrollment of sixty. *RCIA*, 1896, p. 148.

Reports of the Indian agent for 1904, 1905, and 1906 point out that the white population had reached 8,000 and that the Federal government should allocate funds to establish schools as it had among the Five Civilized Tribes. Except in the city of Miami, there was not a single public school for whites in the entire agency —a situation that was increasingly demanding solution.[38] That the situation was not completely hopeless is borne out by the fact a number of subscription, or "district schools," for whites were scattered throughout the agency. Although most of these schools were exceedingly poor and were in session only a few weeks during the year, some few of them were well organized, in session five or six months and under the direction of skilled instructors. In fact, in a few cases the Indians perferred to send their children to such schools paying one dollar per month tuition, than to send them to the boarding school.[39]

In describing one of these schools, Mr. Blaine Edmondson, an early day teacher in the area, said:[40]

> My first recollection of a school for whites was a subscription built and equipped by the neighbors in the community in and around the William Wyrick farm. School was held there until 1900, when the Moccasin Bend school was established about a mile north. A Mr. Davis taught a term of school here. He was a Friends Missionary and preached, taught school and singing classes. There was also an Indian school a few miles to the east but school was not regular. . . . . School was held when they had the money and could find teachers. . . Teachers were scarce and hard to get.

Various reports indicate that a sizeable number of these schools were established from time to time throughout the agency and that they contributed greatly toward alleviating the educational problem. One such school was located at a place called Jimtown, three miles north of the present city of Miami. It had an enrollment of twenty-five, was taught by a lady identified as Mrs. Moore and was boasted as being a place where they "expected to turn out presidents at the ratio of 16-1."[41]

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[38] *ARDI*, 1904, p. 181; 1905, p. 202; 1906, p. 218. None of the $100,000 Congress appropriated in 1904 for rural school aid in the Five Nations could be spent among the minor tribes.

[39] *ARDI*, 1905, p. 202.

[40] Edmondson to A. G. Sweezy, March, 1934, in Sweezy, A. G., "Development of Education in Ottawa County" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Dept. of History, Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1934), p .51, (Typewritten). Hereinafter referred to as *Sweezy Manuscript.*

[41] *RCIA*, 1896, p. 149. The "16-1" reference pertains to William Jennings Bryan who was seeking the Presidency that year. Other schools of this nature were Council Hollow, Spring River, Moccasin Bend, Mineral View, Scrouge Out, Hard Scrubble, Last Chance, and Coal Creek. Most of these schools were attended only by whites who paid one dollar per month tuition. However, Indian children were welcome to attend. The records indicate that in a few cases the government paid their tuition but generally such was not the case for Indians were expected to send their children to the Seneca Boarding school.

Another institution of this type was the Ottawa school. Miss Georgia McBrian, who taught there in 1898, described it as follows:[42]

> The house was a box car type frame building, home made desks and painted blackboards. The books were whatever the pupils brought with them from Missouri, Arkansas or Kansas. . . There was a local school committee to employ the teacher who was required to produce a teaching certificate. The school was financed by the patrons who paid $1.00 per scholar for 20 days attendance. The boys and girls made up in thoughtful study for what they lacked in equipment—many of whom hold high positions in the teaching and business world.

Supplementing and paralleling the work of these schools were the schools in the town of Miami, the only sizeable community in the Quapaw Agency. Shortly after the town was plotted in 1891, the various churches banded together and organized three or four small subscription schools. Sessions were held daily in church buildings and the old opera house. However, by 1898, the town was incorporated and a free public school was organized. Relative to this enterprise, one of the local publications stated:[43]

> The first free school in the area was located in the progressive city of Miami in 1898. Prior to this children were sent to other parts to attend school or were sent to subscription schools. But the problem was solved by Col. H. H. Butler, the Mayor, who caused the town to be incorporated into a school district and issued school warrants of $100 each that drew 8% interest. . . Business men advanced money to create a school fund. The plan worked admirably and has secured for Miami a school system that compares favorably with that of other towns in the States.

Since funds were, at first, not available, the school board rented the facilities of the first Christian Church and conducted classes in the chapel and Sunday school rooms. Facilities of the old opera house were also utilized. Pupils living in the incorporated limits of the town were admitted free of charge but those living outside were required to secure permits and to pay a small tuition fee.[44] However, the number of paying pupils was never large compared to the total enrollment. For instance, in 1903 there were 560 in attendance and of this number only fifty-five were paying tuition.[45]

Casting further light on the Miami schools, the Indian Inspector, in 1906, reported: "Eleven teachers are employed, 8 months term of school, 557 enrolled, all white, total paid in salaries, $4,440, repairs on buildings, $500, tuition for whites living outside the incorporated limits of the town, $250, amount raised in taxes, $5,400,

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[42] *Sweezy Manuscript*, p. 60.

[43] *The Herald*, Miami, Indian Territory, Jan. 22, 1904. In 1901, Miami had a population of 1,569 while Wyandotte had 724 and Peoria one hundred forty-four. However, public schools were not organized in the latter two communities until after statehood.

[44] *Ibid.* The superintendent announced in 1904 that textbooks were on sale in the stores and would cost the parents of the town about two thousand dollars.

[45] *Ibid.* Superintendent Tarter announced, in 1903, that $2,000 worth of text books had arrived in the stores for the patrons to buy.

no outstanding bonds, value of the buildings and grounds, $15,000.''[46]

Thus, on the eve of statehood, the Miami public schools compared favorably with those in other sections of Indian Territory. However, since there were no regularly organized district schools in the Quapaw Agency and no day school maintained by the Indian tribes, the newly elected superintendent of Ottawa County practically had to start from the beginning in surveying districts and organizing rural schools. He did not have a very strong base on which to graft the state system as was the case with superintendents in counties carved out of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes.

APPENDIX A

SALARIES OF TEACHERS AT THE SENECA SCHOOL, 1898

Name	Position	Yearly Salary
R. A. Cochrane	Superintendent	$1,000
Alice Kingade	Principal	660
A. J. Montgomery	Teacher	600
Emma Johnson	Kindergarten	540
Ema Brenernan	Kindergarten	540
Emily Peake	Teacher	600
Benjamin Eagen	Industrial Teacher	600
Elsie Cochran	Matron	600
Kate Long	Assistant Matron	300
Lucie Guthrie	Assistant Matron	300
Delia Hicks	Seamstress	450
Hattie Winnie	Assistant Seamstress	450
Mary Miller	Laundress	420
Alberta Saralias	Assistant Laundress	180
Hattie Ball	Cook	420
Mary Shields	Assistant Cook	180
Jesse King	Farmer	240
William Long	Indian Assistant	240

APPENDIX B

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE AND PER CAPITA COST IN THE SENECA, SHAWNEE, AND WYANDOTTE BOARDING SCHOOL, 1898-1907

Year	Enrollment	Attendance	Per Capita Cost Per Month
1898	119	84	$10.37
1899	145	120	10.35
1900	147	118	11.83
1901	165	139	10.12
1902	209	158	9.37
1903	155	137	12.51
1904	167	137	12.51
1905	182	128	13.44
1906	168	134	13.45
1907	163	122	15.06

[46] *Report of the United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory* (Washington, 1906), pp. 47-48.

Wyandotte Mission, 1876. Later known as *Seneca, Wyandotte and Shawnee Boarding School.*

APPENDIX C

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE AND PER CAPITA COST IN THE QUAPAW BOARDING SCHOOL, 1898-1900

Year	Enrollment	Attendance	Per Capita Cost Per Month
1898	99	90	$10.34
1899	106	94	11.60
1900	104	98	12.90

APPENDIX D

INDIAN SCHOOLS AMONG THE MINOR TRIBES IN INDIAN TERRITORY

School	Date Established	Date Discontinued
Ottawa Mission	1870	1879
Peoria Day School	1872	1893
Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte Mission	1872	Still in operation
Quapaw Mission	1872	1900
Miami Day School	1876	1893
Modoc Day School	1880	1893
St. Mary's Mission	1893	1926

PROBLEMS IN THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHOCTAW NATION, 1865 to 1907

*By James D. Morrison**

"While shaping our future legislation for our national aggrandizement, we must remember that our sovereign rights depend entirely upon the Sense of Justice of a mighty Nation, which may upon the principle that might makes right compel our allegiance to its authority."

Chief Coleman Cole, 1878

" . . . . if we can possibly keep the laws of the United States from extending over us we will never be cursed with the mortgages of grasping capitalists. We are capable of selfgovernment and only ask to be let alone, and will work out the problem of civilization by education."

Anon., 1890

At the close of the Civil War the Choctaw leaders and those of the other Five Civilized Tribes faced a new era with many serious problems. The first objective of all Indian leaders was to preserve their national integrity with their tribal laws, government, and communal land system. The Choctaws also sought the development of their nation, all prosperity having been wiped out as a result of the War. Since they urgently needed labor to replace that of the negro slaves who had been liberated, there began the importation of white laborers from the adjoining states. This policy, the wisest among Indian leaders knew, was fraught with grave danger for the achievement of their first objective, the preservation of their own government and economic system. By the careful use of a permit system, the Choctaws hoped to be able to control the white element which they allowed to come into the nation.

In theory the status of the Choctaw Nation, as of the other Five Civilized Tribes, was that of a protectorate of the United States.[1] The Choctaws were allowed local self-government but had no foreign relations, unless their dealings with the United States and with other Indian nations might be so considered. In the Choctaw government there was no body corresponding to a cabinet, no

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[1] In 1831 John Marshall called the Five Civilized Tribes "domestic dependent nations." *The Cherokee Nation v. the State of Georgia*, 5 Peters (8 L. ed.), pp. 25-53 (1831).

department of foreign affairs.[2] United States troops established forts, built military roads, and moved at will within the Choctaw boundaries. As early as 1877 the United States court at Fort Smith was given jurisdiction over non-citizen whites in the Nation.[3] The public mail service from the beginning of Choctaw settlement west of the Mississippi was a minor extension of that of the United States and under the United States Post Office Department. The Choctaws had no coinage or paper money of their own, that of the United States being the only acceptable means of exchange other than barter. In 1871 the United States abandoned the legal fiction of making treaties with the Indian tribes. In 1866 the Choctaws had made a *treaty* with the United States when they re-established relations with the Federal government after their defection of the sixties; in 1897, when they finally gave up the last vestige of national sovereignty, it was by an *agreement.*[4]

The Choctaw economy had long been geared closely to that of the United States. Before the Civil War some of the mixed-blood and the intermarried-white planters of the Choctaw Nation had economic interests in the neighboring states of Texas and Arkansas. The Choctaw business men used the same river highways, the Red and Arkansas, the same New Orleans commission merchants, and generally were interested in the same affairs which occupied the minds of their Texas and Arkansas neighbors.[5] Robert M. Jones, Choctaw planter on the Red River, had a mansion in Paris, Texas, and owned pieces of Texas and Arkansas real estate.[6] This community of interest with the nearby states increased after the Civil War, with the coming of the railroads and their accompanying flood of white laborers and intruders. White men had long been able to profit from shares in Choctaw enterprises by intermarriage or through partnership agreements with Choctaw citizens.[7]

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[2] Included in the executive department of the Choctaw Nation were three district chiefs, a national auditor, national secretary, national treasurer, and a national attorney, all elective officers. Joseph P. Folsom (comp.), *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York, 1869), p. 26. These, excepting the district chiefs, were sometimes referred to by the Choctaws as their "cabinet."

[3] Lawrence Mills, *The Lands of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Saint Louis, 1919), p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 37; Loren N. Brown, "The Dawes Commission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1931), p. 97; Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 58.

[5] James D. Morrison (ed.), "Notes from the Northern Standard," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March and September, 1941), pp. 82-93, 269-283, contains many illustrations of the community of interest between the Choctaw planters and those of north Texas.

[6] Mary Thebo Jennings to W. B. Morrison, September 25, 1937 (Morrison Collection); Mary Thebo Jennings to James D. Morrison, January 26, 1939; statement of J. H. Randell, August 30, 1938; T. C. Bass to Robert M. Jones, January 20, 1870 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[7] Mary Thebo Jennings to James D. Morrison, July 6, 1939. Mrs. Jennings possesses the partnership agreement between Robert M. Jones and Joseph R. Berthelet, a white man, signed in 1836.

Non-Choctaws, except intermarried citizens, had no legal rights in the Choctaw Nation, and were at the mercy of any Indian citizens for, through, or with whom they worked. If placed at a disadvantage or cheated, non-citizens had no recourse in either the Choctaw or United States courts.[8] It is to the credit of the Choctaw people that promises made by individual Choctaws were usually kept. For example, the leasing of land by an individual Choctaw to a non-citizen was forbidden by Choctaw law under penalty of a fine ranging from $250 to $1,000 and costs. This law was practically inoperative in the last decades of the nineteenth century by a procedure under which an Indian citizen employed a white farmer to work for him for a period of five to ten years. The Indian citizen then secured a permit, good for one year, for the non-citizen to work on the farm of the Choctaw employer. Such a permit cost five dollars and was signed by four responsible householders of the Choctaw county in which the citizen resided; application was made to the county judge and the permit issued by the county clerk.[9]

The white farmer would then be located on some unused land in the Nation where he would make improvements by building a house and outbuildings, clearing and fencing land, and perhaps digging a well. The United States citizen would receive the full production of the place for the time agreed upon, usually five years. At the end of the contract period the Indian citizen would have possession of an improved farm for the use of himself or one of his children without such labor as clearing land or ploughing in new ground. By such methods it was possible for an enterprising Indian citizen to develop extensive adjoining improvements for himself. There were also *bona fide* Indian farms on which sharecroppers labored, and there were many settlements controlled by intermarried citizens.

Much has been written of the communal landholding system of the Indians which prevented any individual from obtaining absolute title to the land. All land was public domain for the free use of any citizen in any reasonable amount. Under the law, land which a Choctaw had once used but failed to keep in cultivation reverted to the Nation for the use of any other citizen who might have need of it.[10] The Choctaw people in general had no

[8] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1877), pp. 107-108 (hereafter cited, *Indian Affairs*).

[9] A. R. Durant (comp.), *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (Dallas, Texas, 1894), pp. 238-239, 248.

[10] *Indian Affairs* (1887), p. 112. (As early as 1858, allotment of their lands in severalty was thought to be the only solution to hold their national domain, by some Choctaw leaders though the vast majority of the people were opposed to the idea. Both the Confederate treaty in 1861 [Art. VIII] and the Treaty of 1866 [Art. XII], U. S. had provisions for the survey of the country and allotment in severalty whenever the people approved.—Ed.)

desire for an expanding economy; their population remained relatively static, if the increasing white population is not considered. There was felt to be no need for individual land titles where good land was as free for use as the air they breathed. It made no difference to the individual that he had no title to his land as long as he was protected by his government in the unlimited use of the soil. As Robert L. Owen said:

> The holding of land in common, giving to each citizen all he can cultivate and having it revert to the public domain if he fails to cultivate it, and held in further check by the right of the council to limit and control monopoly, gives to every Indian willing to work a certain home and a support. By his own labor, without tax, free grass, wood, and water, and a good soil, he can surely make a respectable living for himself and family in spite of inherited apathy and lack of the shrewd business ability that characterizes his white brother. This system precludes the possibility of unjust pauperism so often imposed on worthy and willing labor by the conditions of highly civilized life, where individuals are permitted to control and substantially monopolize land, without consideration of poorer non-landholders, and I sincerely believe it is the true safeguard of these Indians until they shall have grown, under the educational forces now operating on them and their children, up to the full measure of American citizenship, which they feel sooner or later will be their destiny.

Owen believed that as more and more land was brought under cultivation, with a corresponding increase in wealth, a majority of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes would want allotment of land in severalty. He further pointed out—this was in 1887—that it was the conservative full bloods who feared the change which impended, since they had been "safe and happy nearly half a century" under the system of common land ownership, while the "half-breeds and adopted citizens were more inclined to consider" allotment in severalty:[11]

Obviously, Choctaw ownership of tribal land in common was not akin to twentieth century communism by which every act and thought of the individual is subject to government control. The system of the Choctaws was free enterprise at its best and worst. Under the Choctaw system the energetic and aggressive mixed bloods and intermarried citizens were in possession and use of thousands of acres of the best land. One observer, considering the Five Tribes as a whole, estimated that by 1891 the best lands were occupied by one-fourth of the people.[12] Yet, the fact that land was plentiful and the full bloods were content with their small plots in the mountains where hunting and fishing were good meant there was no hardship. The Indian in the mountain region lived happily on his small acreage in a valley, and without envy of his mixed-blood brother who enjoyed the products of a thousand acres on the prairies. The fact that much land was unused, how-

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

[12] *Ibid.* (1891), I, p. 241. (Some fullbloods lived comfortably, owned large herds of livestock and had good sized farms in operation.—Ed.)

ever, attracted the attention and envy of neighboring white settlers. And the mixed-blood aristocracy assisted in the overthrow of their own happy situation by using more and more of this land with an increasing flood of white employees. Such statements as: "In point of natural resources it is wealthy. Its pine forests, coal, silver, and lead mines are inexhaustible . . . . . " whetted beyond all restraint the white man's appetite for the country.[13] From the time of the Civil War statements such as the following became increasingly numerous, and the pressure which developed over three decades finally became irresistible:[14]

> "The Indians are in possession of vast tracts of country, abounding in precious metals, or rich in sources of agricultural wealth. These invite the enterprise of the adventurous pioneer, who, seeking a home and fortune, is constantly pressing upon the abode of the red man."

At the close of the Civil War the Choctaws and Chickasaws were in much better condition than the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles. Their country had not been the scene of battles and destruction though refugee camps of Southern Indians from the other Nations lived within the region during the War. In 1865, crops were unusually good in the Red River area of the Choctaw Nation and it was reported that the Choctaws could take care of themselves if only several thousand refugees were removed from their midst. By 1876 conditions were approaching normal and the Choctaw herds of cattle, horses, and swine were fast increasing.[15] The Choctaw Census records for 1867, which did not include Sans Bois or Wade counties, listed 18,001 horses, mares, and colts, 820 mules, 55 "jacks and jennies," 59,210 cattle, 51,424 hogs, and 5,970 sheep as property of individuals of the Nation.[16] The number of acres in cultivation by individuals in the counties included in the census ranged from many one-and-two-acre plots to the 9,450 acres reported by Robert M. Jones.[17] Crop production and live stock ownership credited to Jones included "30.00" [**sic**] bales of cotton, 7,500 bushels of corn, 40 bushels of wheat, 50 horses, 60 mules, 2,500 cattle, and 400 hogs. He also reported, other than the immediate family, two male and thirty "female free persons of color" as populating his establishments. Allen Wright, principal chief at the time, reported 48 acres under cultivation,

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[13] *Ibid.* (1877), p. 110. There have been no profitable lead, zinc, or silver ores found in the Choctaw Nation. Lead ores were once mined near Smithville. "Reminiscences by Peter Hudson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XII, No. 3 (September, 1934), p. 303.

[14] *Indian Affairs* (1867), p. I [*sic*].

[15] *Ibid.* (1867), pp. 257, 280, 347, 318; (1868), pp. 279-280.

[16] Choctaw Census of 1867, No. 13559 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[17] *Ibid.*, 13569. Jones was the wealthiest mixed-blood in the Nation, had owned nearly five hundred slaves, and had represented the Nation as delegate to the Confederate Congress.

366 bushels of corn, 30 horses, 2 mules, 205 cattle, and 44 hogs.[18] Henry Hotchkin, white son of the noted missionary to the Choctaws, Ebenezer Hotchkin, reported 100 acres in cultivation, 3 bales of cotton and 200 bushels of corn. Hotchkin also included 30 "freedmen over 60," and 7 "white persons with license and families." In the counties making returns, a total of some 30,000 acres was in cultivation on which were raised 226 bales of cotton, 803 bushels of oats, 1011 of wheat, and 211,595 of corn.[19] The last figure indicates the importance of that cereal in the Choctaw diet and economy.

These figures indicate that the yield per acre for any crop must have been very low, judged by modern standards, and reveal the universally poor farming practices typical of the American frontier. On 1,191 acres only 226 bales of cotton were produced for an average of less than one-fifth bale an acre; on 25,891 acres 213,409 bushels of grain, little more than 8 bushels per acre. These averages appear to be the same for the Choctaw cultivator of a thousand acres or of one acre.

Figures for the next two decades are generally inaccurate and available only from the *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.* In 1872 the Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws confessed: "The statistical part of my report is hardly worthy the name statistical, as it is almost entirely estimated, there being no figures to form a basis, except the reports of the school superintendents and the missionaries whose reports I enclose."[20] But there can be gleaned from these reports a general idea as to conditions. In 1869 Agent G. T. Olmsted reported the people "more prosperous and showing a greater feeling of confidence" than at any time since 1865. Potato production began to be reported along with such crops as barley, turnips, beans, and hay. In 1873, the year after the completion of the first railroad, some 50,000 acres were reported in cultivation in the Choctaw Nation. In addition to the estimates of production of the chief crops and the number of livestock were statements that 4,000 pounds of sugar were made, $8,000 worth of furs sold, 3,000,000 feet of lumber sawed, 300,000 rods of fence made, and 12,000 acres broken by Indians during the year. The Choctaws were "opening new farms, building thousands of rods of fence, and preparing in every way to extend their agriculture."

Wealth in individual property, exclusive of land, was estimated at $3,500,000 in 1876. In the same year, it was judged that 82,000 acres were in cultivation, of which 10,000 acres were new ground. The Choctaws were credited with producing 51,500 bushels

[18] *Ibid.*, 13567.
[19] *Ibid.*, 13559, 13569.
[20] *Indian Affairs* (1872), p. 237.

of vegetables in that year, twice as much as all the other Civilized Tribes combined.[21] Each year thereafter, for several years, the "number of acres tillable" is listed with the other figures. Since this number was 3,000,000 and was located very near the "number of acres cultivated . . . . by Indians," a few thousand in every case, it must have served as a subtle means, deliberate or not, for whetting the land hunger of any white man who perused such government documents. Another item of significance in this connection is the inclusion of the "number of whites unlawfully on reserve." As the "number of acres cultivated by Indians" rises with each succeeding report, so does the "number of whites unlawfully on reserve."[22] The estimated figures fail to show how much help the Indians were getting from across their national boundaries in the opening of new land to cultivation.

Evidence of the American hunger for this land of the Indians is seen in the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887. This Act established the official United States policy of persuading the Indians to take lands in severalty.[23] The Five Civilized tribes were not affected by this law but their future was clear. Irregularities in the Choctaw national election in 1892 added weight to the arguments of their covetous neighbors that the Indian governments in Indian Territory were corrupt and inefficient. The Indian Appropriation Act of the next spring carried a "rider" which established a United States commission to persuade the Five Civilized Tribes to agree to the termination of their own governments and the division of their national domains by allotment of land in severalty.[24]

The Dawes Commission, as this Commission was popularly called, met with determined resistance from the Five Civilized Tribes. The Indian leaders knew that eventually the proposals of the Commission must be accepted; yet they hoped for some years of grace, at the end of which their people might be more ready for citizenship in an American commonwealth where they must meet the full competition of aggressive white men. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were the first to succumb to the pressure put upon them. They came to terms with the proposals of the commission in a document known as the Atoka Agreement of 1897, after the issue had been forced by threats of further Congressional action. Ratification of the Agreement by popular vote of the Choctaw and Chickasaw people was undoubtedly influenced by the passage of the Curtis Act in 1898, which demonstrated

[21] *Ibid.* (1869), p. 408; (1873), pp. 208, 346; (1876), pp. 212, 228.

[22] *Ibid.* (1879), p. 250; (1880), pp. 262-263; (1883), pp. 290-291; (1884), pp. 308-309.

[23] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* XXIV, pp. 388-391.

[24] Loren N. Brown, "The Establishment of the Dawes Commission in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1940), pp. 179-181.

the determination of Congress to force the Indians to accept allotment and give up their tribal sovereignty.[25]

By the Atoka Agreement the Choctaws and Chickasaws secured some delay before the extinction of their governments which were to continue in modified form for eight years. They expressed a hope that there would be no territorial government, that the eight-year period would be so satisfactory that the "lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall . . . . be prepared for admission as a State to the Union."[26] This was the desire of the leaders of all the Five Tribes: an Indian state in which something of their traditional self-government might be preserved under their own leadership. In the meantime United States courts had been established in the Indian Territory with jurisdiction over the white intruders who had streamed into the country with the construction of railroads and as the end of the Indian governments approached. In 1898 these United States courts were given jurisdiction over the Indians also, with laws of the state of Arkansas to apply where necessary.[27]

By 1907, the year the Choctaw Nation became part of the new State of Oklahoma, the population of the region was at least 200,000. When it is remembered that the Choctaw rolls included only 8,000 full bloods, together with some 19,000 others, mixed bloods, intermarried whites, and freedmen, the size of the white influx is apparent. The total land reported in cultivation in 1907 was almost 500,000 acres, a tenfold increase over the 50,000 acres of 1873; the total value of crops produced in 1907 was more than $6,000,000, while total value of the livestock in the area approached $7,000,000. A study of the statistics for 1907 reveals more diversification of crops than ever before. Figures for apple, pear, plum, peach, and cherry orchards appear, as well as for peanuts, honey and beeswax, and commercial vegetables.

But buried in these figures, compiled from the first biennial report of the Oklahoma State Department of Agriculture, is evidence of a disease chronic in the South, farm tenantry. The cotton yield of an acre had not improved in the Red River country; it was still one-fifth bale an acre. Only in the Arkansas valley did cotton production average a half bale an acre in 1907. By comparison with Oklahoma Territory figures, the production of most crops was smaller by the acre and there was less diversification. Fewer milch cows per capita, few or no acres of alfalfa, cowpeas, small fruits, or vineyards are listed for the Choctaw country

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[25] Brown, "The Dawes Commission," pp. 97-103.

[26] C. J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (3 vols., Washington, 1904, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 654.

[27] Brown, "The Dawes Commission," p. 99.

when compared with the western side of the new state.[28] The situation was such that tenantry, fastened on the South as a transition stage between the old slave society and ownership of land by small farmers, flourished in the Choctaw Nation and was aggravated by the Indian ownership of the land. Even after the allotment of the land to the Choctaws in severalty, little good land remained for purchase by the whites and the tenant and sharecropper system remained.

Choctaw agriculture was plagued by the faults of pioneer agriculture in general. The use of an abundance of land with apparently inexhaustible fertility, adequate crops from little effort, little or no rotation of crops or use of fertilizer, all led to the destruction of the soil so common on every American frontier.[29] Shallow ploughing, and poor cultivation of crops were customary.[30] Too many of the white tenants who came into the Choctaw country were ignorant and shiftless, albeit shrewd, cheerful, hospitable souls, who merely followed the line of least resistance. Their ignorance, since they came from Southern states with poor educational opportunities into a land where they had none at all, and their failure to work hard to improve land which they could not hope to own, are both understandable.

Lack of adequate transportation facilities for crops and the abundance of free pasture on the public domain made cattle raising a more important cash industry for some years than farming.[31] The vast pastures, the profusion of prairie hay, and the mild climate which permitted a year-round range, all attracted the interest of non-citizen cattlemen. It was estimated that 300,000 cattle were stolen from the Indian Territory during the Civil War. The Choctaws lost their share. In 1865 Isaac Colman, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Agent, reported that the white residents in the region were driving cattle out to Little Rock and Fort Smith. Since he was "entirely unable to check this illegal traffic," he

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[28] *First Biennial Report of the Oklahoma State Board of Agriculture*, 1907-1908 (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1908), pp. 90-91, 108-167, 186-213. Figures given are based on the Oklahoma state census of March 1, 1908, and compared with the federal census of July 1, 1907. Since boundary lines of the new Oklahoma counties did not exactly coincide with the boundaries of the Choctaw Nation, ten Oklahoma counties were used, all of which, except Coal and Bryan, were entirely in the Choctaw Nation. To compensate for the parts of those counties not in the Choctaw Nation, Hughes, Johnston, and Pontotoc counties were omitted from consideration although parts of all three were in the Choctaw country. See also, *Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed* (Washington, 1894), pp. 255-257.

[29] Norman Arthur Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Eastern Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1945), p. 238; *Extra Census Bulletin, the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory* (Washington, 1894), p. 8.

[30] John Edwards, "The Choctaw Indians in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), pp. 411-412.

[31] *Extra Census Bulletin*, p. 8.

suggested that a "sufficient force be stationed at different points" within the Indian country to stop the wholesale thefts.[32] A law passed by Congress in March of 1865 made it a felony, punishable by three years imprisonment, five thousand dollars fine, or both, to drive stock from the Indian country. During the early postwar years Plains Indians, particularly Comanches, troubled the Choctaws and Chickasaws by raids on their livestock.[33] The Chickasaw Nation was most affected, since their prairie grass lands lay between the Plains Indians and the Choctaws.

As in the case of their farm land, the exploitation of the Choctaw range and pasture land by white non-citizens was made possibile only by the connivance or the indifference of Choctaw citizens. Recognition of this resulted in the passage of a law by the Choctaw General Council in 1870 to prevent any citizen of the Nation from leasing the public domain for grazing purposes.[34] The penalty was set at a fine of $150, of which half was to go to the informer. An act of 1880 prohibited non-citizens from engaging in the stock business within the limits of the Nation.[35]

Ways and means were found to avoid the letter of the livestock laws. Evidence appears in a Choctaw law of 1882 that non-citizen drovers on their way through the Nation were tempted to linger with their herds on the lush Choctaw range. A tax of ten cents a head was therefore levied on transient cattle, horses, and mules, and two cents a head on sheep, hogs, and goats. An additional levy in the same amounts was to be collected for every day longer than necessary for a herd to make a reasonable crossing of the national limits. Exceptions were made for high water and "families moving through [the] nation with less than twenty head of stock."[36]

In 1885 Chief Edmund McCurtain stated in his annual message that there was danger of the country being overrun "by stock belonging to non-citizen cattlemen, but held . . . . under the guise of Choctaw ownership." He suggested passage of a law to prohibit Choctaw citizens from putting cattle under non-citizen herdsmen to be raised on shares. The chief described the situation as a growing evil which might soon result in the destruction of the Choctaw ranges.[37] The Choctaw Council agreed and made it illegal for a Choctaw citizen to hire a non-citizen as herdsman under any cir-

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[32] *Indian Affairs* (1865), pp. 252, 280.

[33] *Indian Affairs* (1865), p. 269; (1908), pp. 78-79.

[34] Acts of the Choctaw Nation (Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma), Vol. I, p. 53.

[35] Acts, Vol. IV, p. 124.

[36] Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, pp. 257-258; Acts, Vol. V, p. 71.

[37] Edmund McCurtain to Council, 1885 (Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma).

cumstances whatever.[38] In spite of the veto of Chief Thompson McKinney, this unequivocal stand was modified in 1887 to allow the hiring of non-citizens to feed stock in a pen or pasture.[39] A similar vacillation occurred when a law prohibiting the introduction of steer cattle into the Nation except in November and December was passed in 1888 only to be repealed the next year.[40]

By 1890 it was customary, in defiance of the Choctaw laws, to overlook the holding of small herds of about ten cows by non-citizens, if these had permits to remain in the Nation and they sold the yearlings so that the herds would not increase.[41] A much more effective method by which non-citizen cattle men utilized Choctaw pastures was through the establishment of citizenship rights in the Nation. Ebenezer Hotchkin, pioneer missionary, recalls that the improvements on his father's place on Red River were sold to a Texas cattleman in the 'nineties. The Texan sent one of his retainers into the Nation to marry a full-blood woman and thus become an intermarried Choctaw citizen. The old Hotchkin place was then used as ranch headquarters while large numbers of Texas cattle were fattened for the market on the nearby public domain. Many intermarried citizens were in the cattle business, of course, whose matrimonial motives were above reproach. J. J. McAlester, an intermarried Chickasaw whose primary interests were in coal claims and merchandising, raised cattle as a side line. As late as 1901 his records show that he was specializing in shorthorn cattle.[42] Two complaints against the introduction of foreign cattle, particularly from Texas, were that they brought in diseases such as blackleg and Spanish fever and that the large non-citizen herds absorbed—the process was called "drifting"—the small herds of citizens and permit-paying non-citizens.[43] Many small owners thus lost their cattle, a serious matter which might mean pauperization for many.

In 1900 large herds of cattle owned by non-citizens were still roaming the Choctaw domain, shielded by Choctaw citizens in violation of their own laws. When such a case was reported to the Indian Agent so that the herds might be removed by United States action, some Choctaw citizen always claimed to be the

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38 Acts, Vol. VII, p. 56.

39 Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, p. 274.

40 Acts, Vol. VIII, p. 108; Vol. IX, p. 53.

41 *Extra Census Bulletin*, p. 58.

42 J. J. McAlester Collection, (University of Oklahoma Library, Division of Manuscripts), Invoices and Ledger, 1874-1875, p. 3. McAlester's letterhead in 1886 described him as a "Dealer in General Merchandise and Live Stock." Choctaw Timber (Indian Archives Division), 23299. As an intermarried Chickasaw, he had reciprocal rights in the Choctaw Nation.

43 Acts, Vol. XV, p. 34.

owner.[44] The Department of the Interior took over the collection of tribal taxes during the transition period following the Atoka Agreement. Cattle owners wishing to graze cattle on unallotted lands had to get the permission of the Indian Agent, use authorized brands, and pay one dollar a head annually. If the cattle used allotted land, the fee was fifteen cents an acre, paid to the Choctaw titleholder.[45]

The use of brands and other identifying marks had long been the practice on the Choctaw open range.[46] The brands were usually the simple initials of the Choctaw owner, as in the case of Wilson Jones who used a WJ.[47] Each county had an officer called a ranger, who took charge of all stray livestock. If the owner of a lost animal could not be found after twelve months of advertising the age, brand, mark and color, the animal was sold to the highest bidder.[48] Other laws designed to protect owners of livestock prohibited the skinning of dead animals on the open range and required butchers to keep marks and brands of all cattle slaughtered by them to file monthly with the county clerk.[49]

The rangers began to have less business after the introduction of barbed wire in the seventies.[50] Chief Jackson McCurtain told the Council in 1883 that unless some restraint was placed on the fencing of pastures "our whole country will soon be fenced up."[51] In response to the urging of McCurtain the council made the use of barbed wire illegal and limited the size of any rail-fenced pasture to one square mile, with the further limitation that no one person might have more than one such pasture in a county.[52] Persons who already had barbed wire fences were declared liable for all damages to the stock of others and were required to have a gate for every half mile of fence. This law was amended in 1884 to allow wire fences if rails or boards were fastened firmly along the top.[53] The gradual disappearance of much of the open range is reflected by a law of 1887 which required that no pastures were to be connected and directed the sheriffs to cut down connecting

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[44] Green McCurtain to Council, 1900; Choctaw Courts, Third District, 15645; Choctaw Cattle, 13441-13444, 13446, and 13456 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[45] *House Ex. Doc.* No. 5, 60 Cong., 1 Sess., II, p. 338.

[46] Folsom, *Constitution and Laws*, pp. 149-150; Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, p. 220.

[47] *Caddo Herald* (Caddo, Indian Territory), December 4, 1903; Choctaw Cattle, 13446, 13487, 13491 *et passim* through 13548, (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society). Wilson Jones was principal chief for two terms in the nineties.

[48] Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, pp. 181, 255.

[49] Acts, Vol. X, p. 38; Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, p. 220.

[50] Norman A. Graebner, "History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 308-309.

[51] Jackson McCurtain to Council, 1883.

[52] Acts, Vol. VI, p. 78. The penalty was a fine of $1500 to $2000.

[53] Acts, Vol. VI, p. 114.

fences, if necessary, in order to keep twenty-foot lanes open.[54] The appearance of barbed wire in the Choctaw Nation coincided with its first use in Texas and neighboring states and opposition to its barbs arose for the same reasons.

Drouth in the Texas cow country which caused phenomenal price rises, as between 1880 and 1883 when the value of an ordinary range cow rose from $7 to $25, caused the Choctaw cattle and fencing laws to be evaded or ignored.[55] At the time of his election in 1890, Principal Chief Wilson N. Jones was reported to have had some seventeen thousand acres under fence, between Boggy River and the town of Caddo. Of this, five hundred and fifty acres were in cultivation while the rest was pasture.[56] At his death the estate of this mixed-blood Choctaw was valued at more than $200,000.[57]

Prairie hay was another natural resource concerning which white and mixed-blood cupidity forced the Choctaws to take legal action. In 1880 an act was passed to prevent the cutting and shipping of prairie hay from the Nation; but the drouth in the Texas cattle country made this resource so valuable that the law was changed in 1882 to allow non-citizens with legal permits to "cut, ship and sell prairie hay or wild grass' from the public domain on the payment of fifty cents a ton. This law was repealed in 1887 and a substitute passed which provided that non-citizens could buy hay only for their own use and then exclusively from a Choctaw citizen who controlled a claim. A further revision of the law in 1890 increased the royalty to one dollar a ton whether the hay was cut "upon Public Domain or within citizens' enclosures."[58]

Other laws which attempted to alleviate abuses of Choctaw pasture land were: in 1885, a prohibition of the burning of woods and prairies except between March 15 and April 15 of any year; and in 1888, an act which made it unlawful for *any person* to lease a pasture to *any other person,* the penalty to be fine of from $250 to $500.[59]

As already stated, these laws to preserve the grass lands from non-citizen exploitation were constantly evaded and the growth

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[54] Acts, Vol. VIII, p. 40.

[55] See Wayne Gard, "The Fence-Cutters," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. LI (July, 1947), pp. 1-15, for an account of troubles arising from the coming of barbed wire to Texas ranges.

[56] John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Wilson Nathaniel Jones," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December, 1936), p. 423. This pasture was used as a landmark in establishing the boundaries of Jackson County in 1886. Durant, *Constitution and Laws,* p. 262.

[57] *The Sherman Daily Democrat* (Sherman, Texas), February 14, 1928.

[58] Acts, Vol. IV, p. 96; Vol. V, p. 69; Vol. VIII, p. 57; Vol. X, p. 17.

[59] Acts, Vol. VII, p. 35; Vol. VIII, p. 107. In June of 1901 the editor of the *Sterrett Banner* complained that he was unable to buy three tons of hay for home use although fifty to one hundred tons were being hauled into Sterrett daily for export from the Nation. Quoted in the *Caddo Herald,* June 26, 1901.

of the cattle industry did its share to aid the whites in overrunning the Choctaw patrimony. In 1901 a Choctaw intermarried citizen boasted of the thousands of acres of finest grazing land enclosed in pastures. Every spring, he asserted, "thousands of head of cattle that can scarcely walk, so poor are they," were shipped into the Nation from Texas; but after four months of grazing on the "succulent grasses" of the Choctaw range, these former bovine skeletons brought top prices on the Kansas City, Chicago, and Saint Louis markets. The cowboys of the Nation were no longer "wild and wooly," according to this booster, but mainly "gentlemen from other states, educated, courteous and social."[60] Not all the cattle tended by these model cow hands were range stock, either; another writer reported that many large pastures were "stocked with Durham, Hereford, Polled Angus and Galloway imported cattle . . . . ."[61]

The economy in the Choctaw country then, as now, was basically agricultural and pastoral. Farms and dwellings ranged in size from a small log cabin with one acre in cultivation to a large mansion surrounded by thousands of acres of tilled fields and prairies covered with hundreds of cattle.[62] Before the coming of the railroads there were no towns of any size, only small agricultural villages, few and scattered. As the railroads brought in more settlers, towns of some size were established, particularly in the mining areas. The old villages became ghost towns as their inhabitants moved to sites along the railroads.[63] Doaksville became the nearby town of Fort Towson, Skullyville disappeared into Spiro, Boggy Depot became Atoka, Perryville's inhabitants moved to McAlester.

The railroads also made it possible to add a much greater industrial facet to the economy, as the coal mines were opened and the timber resources of the Nation began to be exploited as never before. The railroads tended further to make the economy less self-sufficient. Such a common necessity as salt heretofore of expensive local manufacture, was now imported at reduced cost, along with many other items previously unobtainable because of prohibitive freight rates.[64] The imported goods were not necessarily better than those of local manufacture. It was said of the salt from Thompson's salt works three miles south of Old Boggy Depot that it cost two dollars a bushel, but when it was used, meat did not spoil.[65]

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[60] D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* (New York, 1901), p. 2.

[61] H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), p. 53.

[62] *Indian Affairs* (1876), p. 62.

[63] For a notable example, see Muriel H. Wright, "Old Boggy Depot," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1927), pp. 4-17.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 11; Grant Foreman, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 4, (December, 1932), pp. 498-499.

[65] Wright, "Old Boggy Depot," p. 11.

The most important industrial development of the period was the opening of the coal mines. Edwin James had noted in 1819 that the "coal beds in this region are of great thickness, and are apparently extensive and numerous"; the developments of the post-Civil War period proved him eminently correct.[66] The mines were developed with some difficulty at first, especially while Coleman Cole was chief (1874-1878). This chief, leader of the National Party, saw clearly the effect of the mining development on the future of his people and opposed anything which would allow the admission of more white people into his country.[67] He represented the full-blood, conservative element of the population which backed the passage of laws to stem the influx of whites, such as heavier license taxes and stricter marriage laws. This chief attempted to enforce a tribal law which carried the death penalty for any citizen who alienated any of the national domain. As usual, the white man was successful in getting his way and the development of the coal mines continued with increasingly large operations for the next few decades.

The first mining operations were carried on by strip pits, after the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad reached the vicinity of McAlester.[68] Soon the Osage Coal and Mining Company, organized when the railroad was first built, began to develop deeper veins and to build more spur tracks to mines farther from the main line. It was this which Coleman Cole tried to stop in 1875 without success, and after the end of his term as chief in 1878 the coal development continued apace. By 1907, there were nearly fifty mining companies operating over one hundred mines in the whole Choctaw area, producing what was called the "best steam coal west of Pennsylvania" and employing 8,000 miners.[69] More than 3,000,000 tons of coal were mined in that year from eleven different veins of coal which averaged from two feet to six feet in thickness. The largest producing veins were the McAlester, with 893,999 tons, the Lower Hartshorne with 799,055 tons, and the Lehigh with 674,408 tons.[70]

The first mines were opened under a provision of the Choctaw constitution by which a citizen of the Nation had the right to work any "mine or mines" which he should discover "within one mile in any direction from his works or improvements." Intermarried citizens, such as J. J. McAlester, took advantage of this provision

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[66] Edwin James (comp.), *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (Cleveland, 1905), Vol. IV, p. 215.

[67] John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Coleman Cole," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 18-19; *Indian Affairs* (1875), p. 56.

[68] Paul Nesbitt, "J. J. McAlester," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), pp. 760-764; Meserve, "Chief Coleman Cole," pp. 19-20.

[69] Nesbitt, "J. J. McAlester," p. 761; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 5, 60 Cong., 1 Sess., II, pp. 388-390.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 392.

Old No. 9 Coal Mine, North McAlester, early 1870's.

to lease their claims; they also received all the royalty. One result of the controversy between Chief Cole and the coal men was to secure for the Nation a part of this royalty. By 1876 the coal from the Choctaw mines was not only supplying the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad, but was being shipped out of the Nation. Several railroads in Texas were entirely dependent on Choctaw coal. The royalty paid at that time was one-fourth cent a bushel to the Choctaw Nation, one-eight cent to the Chickasaw Nation—by agreement the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations shared three fourths and one fourth in these royalties—and one-half cent a bushel to the citizen who owned the claim.[71]

The mining of coal was held by Choctaw law to be public works, and contracts had to be approved by the proper legal authorities of the Nation. Later the law provided that the National Agent should collect one-half cent a bushel in royalty on coal.[72] Under the Atoka Agreement collection of this royalty was assumed by the Department of the Interior of the United States government. It was under an interpretation of this provision that the Department took control of the Choctaw school system, since the royalty money was used to support the schools of the Nation.

Regulations for leasing the Choctaw mineral land under the Atoka Agreement were made by a commission appointed by President McKinley on the recommendation of the Choctaw Chief and the Chickasaw governor. This commission at first set the royalty at fifteen cents a ton; but this amount was protested and was first reduced to ten and later to eight cents a ton. The output of the Choctaw mines more than doubled within five years after the Atoka Agreement and the royalties paid to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations climbed accordingly. In 1899 royalties were $110,145.25; in 1904, the greatest year, $277,811.60; but by 1907 they had dropped to $240,199.23.[73] The Atoka Agreement had also provided that the coal and asphalt lands should not be allotted to individual citizens but should remain the common property of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, with the income from leases and royalties still to be used for the education of Choctaw and Chickasaw children.[74] Some five hundred thousand acres were set aside as segregated coal lands.

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[71] Folsom, *Constitution and Laws*, p. 21.

[72] Durant, *Constitution and Laws*, pp. 106, 132; Acts, Vol. VIII, p. 125; Vol. III, pp. 18-19.

[73] *Indian Affairs* (1899), pp. 98-100, 330-331; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 5, 60 Cong., 1 Sess., II, p. 329.

[74] Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 652. (Choctaw-Chickasaw coal lands amounting to 433,950 acres were segregated from allotment in severalty in five counties in Oklahoma. The surface of these lands was sold in tracts to bidders by the Act of Congress of February 12, 1912, the coal and asphalt reserved in the joint ownership of the two tribes.—Ed. [M.H.W.])

The title to the subsurface coal remained with the Indians until 1950 when these coal holdings were purchased by the United States for $8,500,000. This made a per capita payment of about $300, but the older Indians wanted it because most of the mines were closed during recent years; depression, labor troubles, competition with oil and gas, and other difficulties led to this result. The older Indians wanted something in their own lifetime and sold the title to a coal reserve estimated at nearly two billion tons.[75]

Organized labor first came to the Choctaw country with the railroads and the subsequent opening of the coal mines. Railway labor unions and the Knights of Labor early had some membership in the region but the United Mine Workers were the first really effective labor organization. Organized in 1898, this union brought better working conditions to the Choctaw mines by its efforts combined with those of a United States Inspector of Mines.[76]

Oil and gas figured little in the economy of the region. Some natural gas has been tapped in the northern part of the Choctaw country, but paying oil wells have been non-existent. A number of wildcat wells have been drilled over the years, the first in 1885 some twelve miles west of Atoka. This was drilled to a depth of 1400 feet by Dr. H. W. Faucett of New York, who had a contract with the Choctaw Oil and Refining Company, incorporated in 1884 by leading men of the Choctaw Nation under Choctaw law. Although a showing of oil and gas was found, this attempt, like many later ones, came to naught.[77] Coal has remained the mineral resource to which the residents could point with pride. Its heyday was between 1903 and 1922. No modern mineral exhibit from the region would be as spectacular as that of 1904 when sixteen coal companies showed specimens of their products at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis. Also displayed were some coke and samples of carbonate, land, galena, and native lead ore, the last coming from the neighborhood of Antlers.[78]

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[75] Frederick Lynne Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1935), pp. 42-43, 61-76; statement of Harry J. W. Belvin, principal chief, January 31, 1950. (Choctaw-Chickasaw coal and asphalt properties were sold by contract to the U. S., approved by Congressional Act June 14, 1948.—Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* [Norman, 1951], p. 114.)

[76] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, pp. 29-31, 46-47. For details on strikes and other union activities in the Choctaw Nation, see *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* (1901), pp. 64-65, 200-203, 371.

[77] Muriel H. Wright, "First Oklahoma Oil Was Produced in 1859," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (December, 1926), pp. 323-328; Acts, Vol. VI, pp. 87, 104.

[78] Charles N. Gould, "The Oklahoma Mineral Exhibit at the Saint Louis World's Fair," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI (June, 1928), pp. 153-154.

(Photo early 1890's)

One of the first store buildings in Atoka, Choctaw Nation.

There was one other natural resource of the Choctaw country which attracted a number of whites and began the development of an important industry. This was timber. Stephen H. Long remarked the abundance of Osage Orange or bois d'arc in 1819, noted its toughness and elasticity, and suggested the possibility for its use as a dyewood.[79] A mill for removing and cleaning bois d'arc seeds, to ship to Missouri and Kansas for the planting of farm hedges, was operated at Old Boggy Depot by a white man just after the Civil War.[80] The primary importance of Choctaw forest resources was for the manufacture of lumber, however, and this could not flourish until after the railroads furnished adequate transportation to markets in the nearby states. There were small sawmills, especially along streams, before the railroads. Chief Allen Wright requested a thousand dollar loan at seven per cent "or more" from Robert M. Jones in the winter of 1868. He hoped to repay the amount in the spring by the sale of lumber from a steam sawmill at Boggy Depot. Wright reported 60,000 feet on hand but no immediate sale possible "on account of poor stock in dead winter." If there were no sale for the lumber in the spring, he hoped to have the means to repay the loan from some other source.[81] A Choctaw law of 1870 granted Wilson N. Jones a charter for a steam sawmill in Atoka County.[82] J. J. McAlester built his first store with lumber hauled from sawmills on the Poteau River, and there were other small sawmills in the Nation during the pre-railroad era.[83]

The railroads brought a decided accentuation to the exploitation of the Choctaw forests. The first important lumber center on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, after its construction in 1872, was Stringtown, so called by a traveler who observed the village to "string" out along the base of the hills near its site. Pine logs were cut in the Pine Mountains to the east and hauled to the saw, planer, and shingle mills on the railroad. Soon there were "as

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[79] James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 123-124. A plant at Durant made dye from bois d'arc wood during the shortage of World War I.

[80] Wright, "Old Boggy Depot," p. 11. Among the "Items from Boggy," October 30, 1874, the *Oklahoma Star* (Caddo, Choctaw Nation) had this note: "Bois d'arc seed for the northern market will soon be ready for shipment." (One of the first forest laws within the boundaries of Oklahoma was for the preservation of hickory and pecan trees in the Choctaw Nation under a law enacted by the Choctaw Council in 1842.—Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law, 1834 to 1884," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 [Spring, 1953], p. 92, editorial fn.)

[81] Allen Wright to Robert M. Jones, February 22, 1868 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[82] Acts, Vol. I, p. 85; *Oklahoma Star*, March 27, 1874.

[83] Nesbitt, "J. J. McAlester," p. 760.

many as fifteen or twenty saw mills going at full blast . . . . ."[84] The Stringtown mills supplied the needs of early entrepreneurs like J. J. McAlester within the Nation and shipped lumber to the States as well.[85] The building of the Saint Louis and San Francisco Railroad from Fort Smith to Paris, Texas, opened a new lumber territory, as did each new line of railroad constructed. Large lumber operators were not common at first, most of the lumbering being done by small sawmills. The two largest royalty payments made to the official Choctaw inspector along the Frisco in 1893 were those of the Long-Bell Lumber Company and the Fort Smith Lumber Company. The largest company in the Choctaw forests after statehood, the Dierks Lumber and Coal Company, first came into the country with the Kansas City Southern Railroad and had a contract to manufacture, sell, and ship Choctaw lumber along the line of that railroad in 1898.[86] The Dierks organization did not move into the Choctaw forests for large-scale operations until after 1907.[87]

Railroad ties, bridge timber, shingles, telegraph poles, fence posts, piling, pickets, staves, cord wood, mining timber, and all kinds of lumber for building construction poured from the woods via the railroads to the surrounding states. The great majority of this was pine, but oak, ash, walnut, hickory, cypress, cottonwood, bois d'arc, and other varieties of timber were also represented.[88]

Choctaw leaders became alarmed at the exploitation of their timber resources and took steps to establish controls as they had tried to do for pasture and agricultural land and coal. Only authorized agents of the Nation could legally sell timber, rock, coal, or stone to any railroad company according to a law of 1873. Five years later it was made illegal for any citizen to sell timber to noncitizens, an evidence that the earlier law had not been observed.[89] In 1879 Chief Isaac Garvin recommended without success that no shipments of timber be allowed, only the finished lumber.[90] Chief

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[84] J. Y. Bryce, "Some Notes of Interest concerning Early Day Operations in Indian Territory by Methodist Church, South, "*The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), pp. 238-239. Another version of the origin of the name states that the settlement was named "Springtown" and became "Stringtown" through a post office error in registering. V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1952), p. 170.

[85] J. J. McAlester Collection, Ledger, 1874-1875, account of Robinson and Priddy, Stringtown; also S. B. Scratch and Company, Atoka, to J. J. McAlester, February 20, 1885 (Division of Manuscripts, the University of Oklahoma Library).

[86] Choctaw Timber, 23357, 23374, 23512 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[87] John M. Craig to James D. Morrison, April 28, 1950; *Texarkana Gazette,* Texarkana, Arkansas-Texas, August 28, 1949.

[88] Choctaw Timber, 23279-23545 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[89] Acts, Vol. II, p. 66; Vol. IV, p. 84.

[90] Garvin to Council, 1879 (Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma).

Jackson McCurtain informed the council in 1882 that non-citizens from the States had stolen a great deal of walnut and cedar timber and asked for a law authorizing the United States Agent for the Five Civilized Tribes to collect for all timber stolen.[91] A schedule of timber royalties was set up to be collected by a hierarchy of Choctaw officials, but royalty collection remained difficult until the end of the national period.[92] If the timber was taken from the claim of a citizen, one half of the royalty went to him.[93] The selfishness of some Choctaw individuals entered the picture and made the devastation of the Choctaw forest harder to control.

In common with lumbering operations all over the United States at this time, wasteful methods were used so that much valuable forest land was completely denuded of timber.[94] Attempts were made to raft timber out of the Nation which resulted in loss because of the small size and rough courses of the Choctaw streams. Since this also made the theft of timber without payment of royalty relatively easy, a law to prohibit the floating of timber was passed in 1893. It is significant that provision was made to publish this law in the newspapers at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Paris, Texas.[95]

Millions of feet of timber were cut annually after the coming of the railroads, much of it illegally in spite of the attempts of the Choctaw government to prevent it and with the connivance of intermarried and mixed-blood citizens.[96] After the Atoka Agreement all Choctaw acts authorizing the shipment or sale of timber were repealed, except for mining purposes within the Nation or for the use of citizens in the form of boards, rails, and firewood. The federal government then took control of the Choctaw forests and issued regulations under which lumbering might be continued by non-citizens. The collections of royalties were thereafter made by United States officials.[97]

For a while after the allotment of land in severalty began, pine-timber areas were withheld from allotment with the intention of establishing a forest reserve. Protests came from the Choctaws, however, because many full-blood Choctaws would have been displaced from their lifelong homes, and some pine land was allotted.

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[91] Jackson McCurtain to Council, 1882 (Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma). For a complete account, see Angie Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), pp. 134-136.

[92] Acts, Vol. V, p. 70; Vol. VI, pp. 13, 59, 79, 113; Vol. VII, p. 59; Vol. VIII, pp. 1, 70; Vol. XI, p. 19: *Indian Affairs* (1895), p. 108.

[93] Choctaw Timber, 23286 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[94] Green McCurtain to Council, 1907.

[95] Acts, Vol. XI, p. 84.

[96] Indian Affairs (1883), pp. 290-291; *Report of the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes* (1907), p. 297; *Extra Census Bulletin*, p. 58.

[97] Choctaw Timber, 23550, 23551, 23553 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

During the period when the pine lands were withheld from allotment, the majority of Choctaw citizens and freedmen selected their allotments outside the pine lands, which thus remained largely unclaimed. The majority of this land was of poor grade, the appraised value of the timber sometimes being ten times that of the land alone. Since the value of the timber was included in the value of the land allotted, it meant that any allottee who had pine land would lose his estate with the cutting of the timber and remain the owner of a small tract of nearly worthless land.[98] This became the fate of many full-blood allottees in the mountains.

The entire area of the Choctaw timber land was 2,304,000 acres, of which 930,676 acres were allotted or included in the segregated coal lands. This left an area of 1,373,324 acres of land valuable for its timber, which a government estimate in 1911 rated as having 1,043,898,000 feet of pine and 141,239,000 feet of hardwood of various varities. Although much of this land was sold at public auction, some of it eventually became part of the Ouachita National Forest which now extends from Arkansas into Oklahoma.[99] After 1903 adult Choctaws were allowed to dispose of their timber without restrictions. Indicative of relations between Indian and white is the fact that many lumber men preferred to deal with individual Choctaws and waited until after allotment before making contracts for lumbering.[100]

One difficulty which business men encountered in the Choctaw Nation was the lack of banking facilities. A few private banks, such as that of Gus A. Gill in McAlester in 1894, were established after the coming of the federal courts to Indian Territory.[101] Gill's bank, advertised as the "South McAlester Bank," received deposits subject to check, made loans and collections, and advertised an "individual responsibility" of $25,000.[102] Even before the Atoka Agreement foreshadowed the end of Choctaw sovereignty, national banks began to appear. The First National Bank of South McAlester opened for business on December 12, 1896. President C. C. Hemming felt it necessary to include this statement in his advertising: "No man has a right to invite public confidence and shun the responsibility it incurs, therefore my individual property is responsible to the depositors of this bank so long as I am president of it."[103]

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[98] *Indian Affairs* (1904), Vol. II, p. 42; Green McCurtain to Council, 1907.

[99] *Report of the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes* (1911), pp. 15-16; (1914), p. 25. (A total of 1,373,324 acres of Choctaw-Chickasaw timber lands in Southeastern Oklahoma were segregated from allotment in severalty by the Department of the Interior in 1906-07, and most of the acreage sold to large lumber companies operating in the region.—Wright, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, p. 112.)

[100] *House Ex. Doc.* No. 5, 60 Cong., 1 Sess., II, pp. 344-345.

[101] *Extra Census Bulletin*, p. 13.

[102] *South McAlester Capital*, September 13, 1894; May 28, October 8, 1896.

[103] *Ibid.*, November 19, 1896; March 11, 1897.

For some time, many residents of the Choctaw region as well as the Choctaw government itself, continued to do their banking business in Arkansas, Texas, and other nearby states.[104] J. J. McAlester apparently did his banking during the 'seventies in Sedalia, Missouri.[105] Traders and storekeepers cashed checks for Both the First National Bank of Parsons, Kansas, and the Drovers and Planters Bank of Denison, Texas, advertised in the *Oklahoma Star,* Caddo, for August 17, 1876. J. R. Harris, a non-citizen resident of Atoka in the eighties, who advertised himself as "Indian Trader and Contractor for Railroad Ties, Piling and Sawed Material, for the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company in the Indian Territory," gave as references to the treasurer of the Choctaw Nation in 1886 the Laclede Bank, Saint Louis, the First National Bank, Omaha, Nebraska, and the First National Bank of Denison, Texas.[107] Officials of the Choctaw Nation kept the money entrusted to their care in any banks outside the Nation which were convenient to them. Choctaw accounts were to be found particularly in the banks of Denison, Sherman, and Paris, Texas, and Fort Smith, Arkansas.[108]

The coming of banks to the Choctaw Nation was another sign that the semi-independence of the Indians was nearly gone. In their society credit and barter, with a little cash from annuities, had been enough. The policy of "national aggrandizement" with the aid of white men, which Coleman Cole and others had hoped to be the salvation of the Choctaws by making them strong enough to keep their independence, had led to the other result feared by Cole and other Choctaw leaders. Their calculated risk, their gamble, had failed to preserve the national integrity yet had paved the way for the new era that brought Oklahoma statehood in which the Choctaw people had all rights as state citizens and many of them were outstanding leaders in the new commonwealth.

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[104] *Ibid.,* January 6, 1898. See advertisements of the State National Bank and the National Bank of Denison, Texas, and the Merchants Bank of Fort Smith, Arkansas.

[105] J. J. McAlester Collection, Ledger, 1874-1875, p. 106.

residents or took them in payment of outstanding accounts.[106]

[106] *Ibid.* McAlester listed a check from J. S. Murrow on the "Natl. Ex. Bank . . . Augusta Ga."

[107] Choctaw Timber, 23299, 23300, 23311, 23332 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

[108] *Ibid.,* 23305, 23309, 23317, 23320, 23402; Choctaw Principal Chief, 19442-19450; Choctaw Students in the States, 22255, 22271, 22369, 23390, 23404; check stubs, Disbursing Officer's Checks, on Assistant Treasurer, Saint Louis; Choctaw Treasurer's Book, list of warrants, October 1880, p. 48 (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society); *The Indian Citizen* (Atoka, Indian Territory), November 23, 1893.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Order Index for 1953—*The Chronicles*

The Index for Volume XXXI of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1953, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk-Archivist, is now ready for free distribution among those receiving the magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Miss Martha Mulholland, Chief Clerk, 1924 to 1954, Oklahoma Historical Society

At the fourth quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in Oklahoma City on Thursday January 28, 1954, Miss Martha Mulholland who has served this institution through much of the period of 1924 to 1954, offered her resignation, as Chief Clerk of the Society. Upon the departure of so valuable a member of the staff of this Society through the years, the Board expressed their profound regret and set forth the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

The resignation of Miss Martha Mulholland as Chief Clerk of the Oklahoma Historical Society through a long period of years, is received with deep regret. She has discharged her duties with such efficiency, honor and faithfulness that have made her name and place in the Oklahoma Historical Society the very substance of profound ability.

Each member of the Board of Directors extends to her a feeling of strong personal friendship and assures her that her health and happiness through the years to come will be of sincere interest and attended with the hope she may enjoy many more years of fine living which has markd her long and useful life.

This resolution sealed and signed by the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, this 28th day of January, 1954.

W. S. KEY, President

Attest: Charles Evans, Secretary.

Journal on the Establishment of the Pawnee Agency in Indian Territory

Barclay White was in charge of the Northern Superintendency, 1871-76, and had jurisdiction of several tribes including the Pawnees.

His *Journal* of over a thousand pages is in the possession of his family, and a microfilm copy of it is in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

The *Journal* has not been published, and Dr. B. B. Chapman is the first Oklahoma historian to use it. He edited lengthy extracts in the *Tulsa World Magazine*, May 10, 1953, and January 3, 1954. These concern the establishment of the Pawnee Agency in Indian Territory, the carrying of annuities to the agency, and the means of travel from the agency to Coffeyville. A segment of the *Journal* concerns the years White was superintendent. It tells of political problems and Quaker policies.

Reports of Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Oklahoma

Published reports on archaeological excavations in Cherokee County (1951-52) and in Grady County (1948-1952), sponsored by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, have been received in the Editorial Department of the Historical Society. These are in the form of two reprints from the *Bulletin of Texas Archeological Society*, Vol. 24, October, 1953 (Austin, Texas), brief notes from which are as follows:

(1) "The Morris Site, CK-39, Cherokee County, Oklahoma," by Robert E. Bell and Charlene Dale, 71 pages. Illustrated with many photographs showing pieces of pottery and artifacts of stone, bone and shell. Bibliography.

The Morris Site is located about fifteen miles south of Tahlequah in Cherokee County and about one-half mile east of the old bridge which crossed the Illinois River at Standing Rock. This site is one of forty-three known archaeological sites located within the Tenkiller Reservoir in eastern Oklahoma that will finally inundate nearly twenty miles of the Illinois River Valley in Sequoyah and Cherokee counties between Gore and Tahlequah. Archaeological field activities were carried on at the Morris Site under the supervision of Dr. Robert E. Bell, Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. Excavations revealed that this site was occupied by two different peoples in prehistoric times. The earliest of these was a semi-nomadic hunting people that existed between 2,000 and 5,000 years ago, the latest—400 to 600 year ago--a sedentary, agricultural people. The village location showed scattered house sites, a burial cemetery area, storage (cache) pits, fireplaces; yet *no mounds,* and no evidences of European trade.

(2) "The Brown Site, Gd-1, Grady County, Oklahoma," by Karl Schmitt and Raymond Toldan, Jr. 35 pages. Illustrated. Bibliography.

The Brown Site is located on the left bank of Winters' Creek near its junction with the Washita River, in Grady County. Excavations were carried on here at different times from 1948 to 1952, under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Bell and the late Dr. Karl Schmitt, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. The material from the Brown Site show that the inhabitants were an agricultural, hunting people of the late Prehistoric Period, pre-dating the earliest European contact. Bone digging implements and storage pits were found, also charred kernels and cobs of corn, besides beans. Houses were plastered with a mixture of mud and grass.

These two reprints in the archaeological field are interesting contributions that add to the growing knowledge of the life of prehistoric peoples in Oklahoma.

M.H.W.

The Old Vann House in Georgia

In a pleasant conversation with Mr. Robert H. Vann, 645 N. E. 35th Street, Oklahoma City, he gave into my hands a paper which has been read recently by Mrs. B. J. Bandy, a splendid exponent of southern womanhood, before the Rotary Club at Dalton, Georgia.

It is valuable in relation to the story of Will Rogers, perhaps Oklahoma's most distinguished son. The reader will find this paper interesting because it throws light upon "the rock from which Will Rogers was hewn, the hole or pit from whence he was digged." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* extends its thanks to Mrs. Bandy and to Mr. Robert Vann for this contribution.

(Charles Evans)

Mr. President, and Members of The Rotary Club:

When Carl called and asked me to talk to you about **The Vann House**, I immediately tried to get Dr. Kelly, who heads the Department of Archaeology at The University of Georgia, to speak to you on this subject, but failed. I have always been interested in the Indians and Indian Affairs, and I remember several years ago, when my good friend, Judge Tarver was in Congress, that there was a great deal in the newspapers about the Indians in the West being practically on starvation. I wrote the Judge a letter, asking him if something could not be done to help those Indians. He answered immediately to this effect. "Dear Dicksie, I think that The Committee in charge of Indian Affairs is handling the matter referred to in your letter, in the best way possible." The Judge was right. The subject was indeed too big for me to be meddling with it.

In thinking of **The Vann House**, I am reminded of the little girl in Adairsville who was going to her Aunt's wedding. It was the second marriage for the Aunt, and she was not so young as she once was. When the little girl came home we were asking her all about the Wedding and wanted to know how the bride looked. She studied for a while, and then said,

"Well, she was just old and looked it." And that is the way of **The Vann House**; it is just old and looks it.

For years I have watched this old land mark of a civilization that has passed into history, deteriorate and crumble away, and I have wished from the bottom of my heart, as I am sure many of you have, that something could be done to save it for future generations. Knowing that the late Will Rogers was of the Vann Family, I wrote a letter to Will Rogers, Jr., and tried to describe this old **Vann House** in its fading grandeur, and saying that I wished that it could be saved. He answered my letter stating that his people came from Spring Place, and then this thoughtful sentence, "Mrs. Bandy, I don't know what to do about the old house."

Time passed on, and public interest finally became aroused in saving this relic of the past. A group of ladies, including Mrs. W. M. Sapp, Mrs. Gertrude McFarland, and I, with Mark Pace, began negotiations with Dr. Bradford, who owned the property, to buy the house and a few acres of land. He gave us an option on it for $5,000.00, and through gifts of public spirited citizens of Whitfield and Murray Counties, friends from other parts of the state, and the good publicity given by Mark Pace in *The Dalton Citizen*, the money was raised.

Mr. Watt Kennemer, President of Whitefield County Historical Society, Mrs. W. M. Sapp, Mr. Chambers, President of the Cohutta Bank in Chattsworth, and I, with Sam Calhoun along to take care of the legal details of the matter, handed $5,000.00 in cash to Dr. Bradford and he, in turn, deeded the house and land to the Historical Commission of Georgia. This commission was appointed by your legislature and is composed of five men, Dr. A. R. Kelly of The University of Georgia, Milton Fleetwood of Cartersville, C. E. Gregory of *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Alexander Lawrence of Savannah, and H. A. Alexander of Atlanta.

The Vann House and the stated number of acres now belong to the State of Georgia, and your legislature has voted $30,000.00 for restoring it. I believe that you can rest assured that it will be done authentically. Dr. Foreman and Dr. Billeau have been working on the project, and I understand that they are now ready to accept bids on the work to be done.

Now as to the history of **The Vann House**.[1] James Clement Vann was born in Scotland in 1698. He came to America and lived for a while in South Carolina, coming to Georgia in 1720 and establishing a trading post at Spring Place.

He married a Cherokee girl, Ruth Gann, and they reared a family whose thrift and achievements made not only Cherokee History but American History. James, the second was born at the trading post in 1735. He inherited thousands of acres of beautiful and fertile land in the rich valley near the blue Cohutta Mountains. He invited the Moravian Missionaries to build a church and school near his home, and today a marker stands designating that site.[2]

He went to England, and while there visited the great cathedrals, as well as many other places of historic interest. He also had an audience with the King. James was making plans to build this home at that time, shipped by boat and then hauled by wagons from Savannah to Spring Place.

[1] "The Home of Chief Joseph Vann" is described in the admirable article by Leola Selman Beeson giving much of the history of "Homes of Distinguished Cherokee Indians" published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (September, 1933), pp. 927-41.

[2] This was Springplace Mission founded by Moravian missionaries in 1801, the first Protestant mission among the Cherokees in Georgia.—Muriel H. Wright, "*Springplace, Moravian Mission, Cherokee Nation* (Guthrie, 1940), 93 pages, illustrated.

Everywhere Vann displayed his love and appreciation for the beautiful and historic things of the world. It is from this James Vann we had, a few generations later, Will Rogers, the great humorist and most beloved man of his times. I still think that the wittiest thing Will Rogers ever said was that he could not brag about his ancestors coming over on "The Mayflower," because they met the boat. It is said that the Vann Men were all tall and handsome, with clean, sturdy habits.

Joseph, the son of James II, and Margaret Vann, and the one we are most interested in, was born in 1775 at Vann's Trading Post. When his father died, he took over this house and his holdings and added to them until he became known as "Rich Joe Vann." Dr. A. Jobe, an uncle of Mrs. C. D. McCutchen, was born October 9th, 1817, kept a diary relating the events of his life. Mrs. McCutchen has this diary and allowed me to read Dr. Jobe's references to Joseph Vann. This is what he recorded, and what I read: "Joe Vann was not a public man, but he was exceedingly wealthy and influential. He owned 150 negro slaves and a great deal of stock when I knew him. All the prominent Indians owned slaves, but none so many as Joe Vann." It would be interesting for us to know how he made so much money.

We know that John Howard Payne, the Author of "Home Sweet Home" was arrested and held as a prisoner in the Vann House. He was accused by the Federal Government of being an Indian sympathizer and agitator, simply because he made the remark publicly that the government agents looked more like bandits than the Indians did. Listen to Dr. Jobe's account of this arrest in his diary: "I bade Mr. and Mrs. Wallace farewell, after paying a reasonable bill, and resumed my journey over Sand Mountain, and on to John Ross's five miles from Ross' landing. Mr. Ross had moved on the Tenn. side preparatory to leaving for the Indian Territory. I followed on to his new home, for I was compelled to see him. John Ross was Principal Chief of The Cherokee Indian Nation, and when I arrived at his home, I was informed by his wife that he was not there, but would be home that night, and I awaited his return. When he reached home, John Howard Payne was with him. Ross and Payne were fast friends. Mr. Ross paid me the next morning for the flour, and I took my leave of the two gentlemen that I found to be sociable and friendly. Sometime afterwards, I learned from the newspapers that the night I left the Ross house, two federal officers came and arrested both Ross and Payne to take them to prison in Milledgeville. All four traveled on horseback, one officer riding by the side of Ross, and other by the side of Payne."

No doubt but they stopped enroute with the prisoners, and held the two captive at Joe Vann's house, as it was on the old Federal Road to the south.

You all know the sad story of the removal of the Cherokees. How they were a nation of some 20,000 men, women and children, living within the confines of a state and that state, Georgia. That they had become highly civilized, farmed their land, raised bees, traded in furs, had looms, and learned to worship God. That one, Sequoyah, through his own ingenuity invented an alphabet for his people, had a crude printing press and published a newspaper called *The Cherokee Phoenix* at New Echota, the capitol of the Cherokee Nation, now Calhoun, Georgia. The scriptures were also printed in the Indian language.

It is recorded in an old book I possess, named *Old Frontiers*, that a copy of the scriptures was brought to Old Chief Drowning Bear, and after hearing some of the passages read, said, "It seems a good book. It is strange that the white man who has heard it so long is no better than he is." I am positive that this Drowning Bear was the one who lived on the creek just south of Dalton, and for whom Bear Creek is named today.

To the lasting shame and disgrace of the United States, and to the State and while in England, bought much material and furnishings, these being shipped by boat and then hauled by wagons from Savannah to Spring Place. of Georgia, these people were literally driven from their homes. United States soldiers, and Georgia militiamen rounded them up, as you would cattle, herded them in stockades, and then loaded part of them on flat boats and floated them down the river. More than 10,000 were sent by wagons and horse-back, but mostly on foot. It is said that they were divided in groups of about one thousand each with two leaders to each group. An eye witness to the removal states, "It was mid-winter, the sick and feeble were in wagons, but by far the greatest number was on foot, a great many with heavy bundles strapped to their backs. The part averaged about ten miles per day. Twelve to fifteen dead were buried at each stopping place. When I witnessed the last detachment leaving, and thought that my countrymen had expelled them from their native soil, and the homes that they loved, I felt that every scalp, every burning, every massacre had been expiated. The Cherokees had given their country." More than 4,000 of these Cherokees died from disease, exposure, and I am sure, heart-break, on "The Trail Where They Cried."

Before the first company took up their march to the west, John Ross, that great Cherokee Chief of the Nation, called a solemn council meeting for the last time in their old home land. They drew up and adopted the following resolution to be sent to Washington. I have read no finer language. Pathos, realization of futility in contesting further insurmountable barriers, injustice heaped upon a helpless people, literally streams from every sentence. Listen to it:

"The title of the Cherokee people to their lands is the most ancient, pure and absolute known to man. Its date is beyond the reach of human record; its validy confirmed by possession and enjoyment antecedent to all pretense of claim by any portion of the human race.

"The free consent of the Cherokee people is indispensable to a valid transfer of the Cherokee title. The Cherokee people have neither by themselves nor their representatives given such consent. It follows that the original title and ownership of said lands still rests in The Cherokee Nation, unimpaired and absolute. The Cherokee People have existed as a distinct national community for a period extending into antiquity beyond the dates and records, and memory of man. These attributes have never been relinquished by THE CHEROKEE PEOPLE and can not be dissolved by the expulsion of the Nation from its own territory by the power of THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT."

The State of Georgia, as you know, divided the Cherokee Indian land into 160 acre lots with the exception of the land around Dahlonega, where gold had been found, and those lots consisted of only 40 acres. The lots were numbered and the numbers put in a barrel, and any citizen of the state of Georgia could draw a lot by paying $25.00. I brought with me today, one of these land grants that is indeed a part and parcel of The Cherokee Nation. This land grant accompanied some old deeds that came with a tract of land B. J. bought from Lawrence Roney that is now a part of the Bandy Farm at Hill City.

Someday, in the not too distant future, we hope to see the old **Vann House**, that has been standing on this wind swept hill for more than one hundred and fifty years, restored to its former stateliness and grandeur, with ground landscaped, not with tree roses, burfordi holly, nandinas, pyracantha laden with red, red berries and Cherokee roses banked on the roadside, all planted from near by Fort Mountain, with an herb garden in the rear, redolent with the sweet smell of sage, thyme, catnip, sweet basil, mint, etc.

I hope that car loads of tourists will be wandering through the house and over the grounds, studying a civilization that has passed into history, and perhaps buying small sacks of the herbs from the garden to take as a souvenir from the real home of a real Indian Chief, Joseph Vann.

Now, today I know that you are all as proud as I, that we are going to keep Joseph Vann's house to treasure as a memorial of a proud people, who once owned this land that we now call ours. **The Vann House** is not all that they left and that we now have. They stamped their names on the creeks and rivers, and so long as civilization shall last, people will speak and hear the beautiful resonant and hauntingly sweet names of the Connasauge, the Etoway, Cooahulla, Talulah, Oostanaula, Oolteway, Chattachooche, and one will be reminded of the proud people that are gone—The Cherokees.

A Legend of the Choctaw "Squirrel Stick"

Recently, Mr. Coleman J. Ward, of Smithville, Oklahoma, presented the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum collections with two old mauls, a wooden glut and an old fro, these implements having been used by his father, J. L. Ward in building his house on North Boggy Creek, in the Choctaw Nation in 1886. He also presented an old "pashofa" mortar and pestle used for pounding corn and given him by Aunt Feby McKinney, an aged fullblood Choctaw, who had said the mortar was made in 1848 by her mother who had recently arrived in the Indian Territory from Mississippi, the pestle having been made since that time. Another gift was an Indian hunting club, known long ago among the Choctaws as a "squirrel stick." In lieu of notes on this hunting club, Mr. Ward has given the Society his own version or story of its origin as follows:

Nani Nia (Fat Fish)

He was born, this Choctaw baby, very fat, and continued in this condition until near grown, and because of this fact he was named Nani Nia (Fish Fat or Fatty Fish). And as generally the way with very fat folks, Nani Nia was not prone to too much activity. Not that the boy lacked industry; he was ambitious, but until he was goaded by his contemporaries, especially that of the male side, he let nothing stir him beyond easy breathing.

"You are nothing as a man! You will not even do the work of a worthy Ohoyo (Choctaw woman). You will not hunt nor fish; you will not dress game that the hunters bring in for all to eat. You can't keep the babies while the women plant the corn; the babies all cry when left in your care; even they know that you should be at some manly work. Even fat white men try to do something; if they can't care for the babies or weed the gardens, they will make many days of study, so they will know how to trade and swindle their brothers, thereby making their brothers wiser while they are being swindled. One as fat as you could at least sit on a log and make bows and arrows for the hunters. Such work by you would be welcomed by all the hunters; they could always use more bows and many more arrows when they go among the flocks and herds of the whites."

All this and much more was said to Nani Nia. Even the girls and women would at times, by sly words and gestures, intimate Nani Nia as being some lazy, and as Nani Nia began reaching near maturity, his resent-

ment grew apace. However, for the longest time there seemed to be nothing that he cared to do about the matter.

He one day, sat on a log. The weather was very pleasant. It was in the fall of the year. The squirrels, birds, all small game of such kinds were very active.

There was a steady foot-fall approaching. Nani Nia feigned sleep, but with nearer approach of the foot-steps, Nani Nia squinted through half closed lids. One of the elders of the tribe was approaching; Nani Nia knew what to expect—he thought—when found asleep anywhere in daylight hours!

"You are here Nani Nia and not asleep as you would have one believe. I know that you are aware of all the wild activity that is going about you here and I know that there is something in your mind now besides your natural bent of forever wanting your fat self to be asleep or lolling in lazy comfort. There is something very deep within you; something that is of highest worth. Had you ever known where to look for inspiration, the belittlement of you by others would have never penetrated your outer-skin, much less the inner soul!

"There is one, some younger than you, that you have never as much as exchanged smiles with, that has all faith in you. This one is my younger daughter. Now this message brought to you by one who knows, and that you know never indulges in idle talk, would you look and confirm for yourself this hope and expectation for you? I will pass on now with the feeling and hope that this one of whom I spoke to you has intuition that does not fail!"

Nani Nai sat long after the old Choctaw had passed on. Yes, there was a something, deep and stirring, that would never be satisfied until Nani Nia took some definite action. "But why take action?" thought Nani Nia, "until there is a definite knowledge as to what action to take?"

As the boy sat thus, without any plan in mind, he began whittling on a stick with his long knife. First he rounded one end of the stick then cut the end squarely across; this end resembled the bottom end of a whiskey bottle, and with some more whittling Nani Nia fashioned the shoulders and neck of the bottle. (Whiskey bottles, even made from wood, should be good for something.)

A squirrel was running along a fallen log. Nani Nia threw the bottle-shaped piece of wood at the squirrel; the throw was accurate, the squirrel was killed. For an hour, or more, Nani kept throwing his wooden bottle at the squirrels and birds; he killed several of these but he would throw many times when he would not make a kill; there were many clear misses. He soon saw that his new weapon was out of proportion; the neck was too short for the body—it would not balance right. He made another wooden bottle and made the neck much longer. This one was better but the lower end being flat it would not slip through the air when thrown, as it should. He rounded the lower end to much the shape of the whiteman's rifle bullet. This was better, too.

Nani Nia was tiring but his efforts had rewarded him with several squirrels and some three or four rabbits, also numbers of quail and lesser birds. These would make meat for a number of people.

The boy walked toward the village, that was composed of some dozen or so cabins, inhabited possibly by fifty Choctaws.

Nani Nia had thrown his club into some thick bushes before reaching the village. He was carrying nothing in his hands but his game. There were wondering looks from all those seeing him enter the village; he had meat for many at one time, but he carried nothing showing how he had pro-

cured his game. True, many boys had gone out into the woods and brought in game that they had killed with rocks and clubs, but those boys had ordinary industry. This fellow, Nani Nia, had no getup and go about him at all, and the question in every mind was "Why and how?"

No, there was one mind without question. Nani Nia looked toward the girl that he had never looked toward before. There he saw triumph. There was a smile, ever so shallow, but with all the meaning in the world to Nani Nia. It was answered in kind by the boy as he passed on. He dropped his game, careless like. The girl snatched it from the ground and disappeared. Soon there was a meal prepared for all that did not consist altogether of corn dishes. There was meat too!

Nani Nia now had all the incentive one needed to try doing things. A day did not come that he would not slip away to the woods by himself to hunt. He had found the club he had made while idly whittling, to be one of the best game getters, and too, it required no expensive ammunition; it made no roar through the forest as the rifle when discharged. Up to within twenty-five to thirty yards it was a most deadly weapon when used by an expert as Nani Nia was getting to be. And he found that by having two or more clubs in his left hand served to give him balance and leverage, making for better aim and power. The rabbit, squirrel or much larger game that lingered time enough, if such were required, for a second throw had but little chance of surviving. When a pot-throw could be had at quail, ducks or wild turkeys, there was but little chance that there would be no meat.

For several years Nani Nia used nothing but his clubs for hunting. Always though, he had kept his clubs a secret. He had heard of the long-ago when the Choctaws and other tribes of Indians had used clubs as war weapons and he had reasoned that those clubs might have been something like his. Of their efficiency with such use he had no doubt. He had killed deer with his clubs; some of these he had knocked over with a single throw. An animal's size or weight made but little difference; the club, when striking big end first, would crush the skull of a bull and being silent in use as they were, why not use them in war?

By constant exercise with his hunting Nani Nia became slim and lithe; there was no superfluous flesh. The girl with whom he had exchanged smiles was a very proud woman; her man was one of the most honored of any tribe. Mostly he went alone and kept his own counsel. When he would bring in several fowls of the domesticated kind, a hog or a cow, all dressed in convenient hunks, or carcasses for carrying, none would ask questions. All knew that much meat only came from some of the white settlements, and that there had been no sounds made nor tracks left as evidence.

When war broke out between the states Nani Nia enlisted under General Stand Watie. He served mostly as a scout; his duties as such, kept him back and forth between lines, and these, as it happened to be his pleasure, he would penetrate mostly at will and there were many Yankee soldiers found with bursted skulls but who had "busted" no one knew.

The war being over and Nani Nia coming to the end of his days, he called about him his sons and nephews. He gave into their hands his remaining clubs. "Take these and use them for the procurement of meat," he said. "There will be days again when you will have nothing with which to buy rifle and ball. Use these until you are stirred by high ambition; when this comes you will know how and what to do—maybe you will reach your goals by whittling, inspired by a smile!"

During the latter part of the 1800's and some few years of the 1900's, the Choctaw boys going to school at Spencer and Jones Academies used such clubs for hunting. They named the clubs "Spencer Rifles," after the once famous powder and ball rifle of that name.

—Coleman J. Ward.

BOOK REVIEW

Firearms in the Custer Battle. By John E. Parsons and John S. du Mont. (The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pa. 59 pp. $2.75)

Few incidents in American frontier history have held the interest and imagination of Americans as has Custer's renowned last stand on the Little Big Horn. Although the subject of enumereable paintings, dramas and "personal reminiscenses," the actual events have been so obscured by all of the subsequent tradition, reaching the level of a permanent chapter of our national folklore, that it is refreshing and pleasureful to pick up anything dealing with such a matter-of-fact and practical subject as the ordnance and firearms actually used by the army personnel in this engagement.

As the authors point out, the matter has been the subject of considerable license in connection with the "relics" and souvenirs of the battle, all with their respective claims to authenticity. Only by careful checking of Ordnance Department records in the National Archives, even as to the highest serial number that could permit any individual weapon to be old enough for use in June, 1876, have the authors cut away the confusion and inaccuracy relating to this aspect of the event.

Published in quarto size, and resembling a hand book or pamphlet, the volume is well printed on fine stock and lends itself to the superior reproduction of the many drawings and illustrations. The various pictures of Custer, not only at Fort Lincoln but on several of his hunting expeditions, are excellent. Such illustrations may serve well as a supplement to any study of our own Battle of the Washita; and it is hoped that some day the authors will extend their research back through some eight more years of history and provide us with a similar report on the weapons used by the Seventh Cavalry on that memorable day of November 27, 1868.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

OMAR ELLSWORTH NULL
(1862-1954)

Omar Ellsworth Null, one of Ellis County's most eminent and important citizens, died at the Shattuck Memorial Hospital, January 11, 1954, at the age of nearly 92 years. Funeral services were conducted by the Reverend B. P. Harrison and were held in the Methodist Church at Arnett, on January 14, 1954. Interment was in the DeBolt Cemetery, beside his wife, Melissa, who preceded him in death July 20, 1935.

He was born in Delaware County, Indiana, near Muncie, the county seat, May 23, 1862. The son of George Andrew Null and Mary Ann Miller Null. When in his early teens, he immigrated with his parents to Cowley County, Kansas, where they homesteaded near Red Bud. He engaged in various activities as a youth, among them he was employed as foreman on a cattle ranch in the Indian Territory operated by Carlton, Van Buskirk and Couch some twelve miles northeast of where Stillwater now stands. He joined Payne's Colony in 1882 and planned to make the run with them, but never made a go with any of them.

Mr. Null was united in marriage with Mary Melissa Walck, daughter of Adam Walck and Mary Walker Walck of Red Bud, Kansas, on March 15, 1885. To this union there was born seven children: Chester A. Null; Mrs. Laura A. Plank; Mrs. Mary Ida Cooley; Weaver F. Null, deceased; Bonnie Null, deceased; Mrs. Zella Velma Vincent; and Robert H. Null, deceased.

In August 1894, Mr. Null immigrated with his family to Day County, Oklahoma where he homesteaded a claim on Mosquito Creek six miles north of Grand. His first home was a dugout. The next thing of importance was establishing a school district, with some four families with thirteen children. Ike Killion, John Fowler, David Moorhead and O. E. Null met out on the prairie and proceeded to organize a school district in the rough. Their first school home was a dugout. Mrs. Emma Fowler was the first teacher at $20.00 per month. A Sunday School was organized next, for he believed that the foundation of society rested in schools, churches and Sunday schools. In his early youth he was united with the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. Null soon became identified with the County government. His first official capacity was deputy County Clerk. He was also County Surveyor helping the newly arrived settlers locate the corner stones to their claims. Looking into the future he realized that these settlers would have to have abstract of title to their land, should they want to sell or mortgage their possession. To meet this future demand, he organized the first abstract office in Grand, in 1902. His first abstracts were written in long hand. He also introduced the first typewriter in Grand. At Grand he served as Deputy District Clerk, under federal jurisdiction, resigning that job to Chester, his son, he was given a Commission as U. S. Land Commissioner, a position he held until Statehood.

Mr. Null has been in the vanguard for everything that advanced his community's interest. He was active in the support of his home town, Arnett, for the County Seat as shown by his activities in purchasing and platting the Town of Arnett.

After Statehood he transferred his abstract business to Arnett, and with his son, Chester, incorporated under the present title, O. E. Null and Son,

OMAR ELLSWORTH NULL

Inc., Abstracters. As an abstracter he was a deep student of Oklahoma law in regard to land titles. A prominent attorney once said to me in confidence, "I would rather have the opinion of O. E. Null on the merits of a land title than any lawyer in Oklahoma." He had a cool analytical mind and no legal point escaped him.

All classes of people came to him to straighten out their land titles, to examine the records at the court house; a lot of this work would be free. A poor homesteader trying to get a loan, in these cases O. E. Null was a soft touch. A friend joked him about the free advice he handed out. His reply, "You know the adage about 'bread cast upon the water'?" In his case it returned a thousand fold. Maybe not in a material way, but in love and friendship and high regard he was more than compensated.

At Statehood election he was elected Clerk of the District Court and twice re-elected, quitting that office in 1915, the only such officer Ellis County ever had. In 1917 he organized the first National Farm Loan Association and has served our people with long time, low interest farm loans.

In politics, Mr. Null was a staunch Republican. When he first came to Day County, it was not popular to be a Republican, most of the first settlers being Democrats from Texas. Day County officials were elected by petition for anyone who could get fifty signers to a petition could run for office. When the settlers began to flock in from the North about the time that Flynn's "Free Homes Bill" was enacted by Congress, the political picture of the County changed. It was here that O. E. Null showed his pioneer spirit. He called a meeting of all the Republicans in the County to perfect an organization. It was well attended and a spirited one. The next election was held on party lines, each party with a full ticket.[1]

After the death of his wife, Melissa, he made his home with his daughter, Mrs. Zella Vincent. About this time he turned over most of the work in his abstract business to his son, Chester, and paid more attention to the National Farm Loan Association of which he was Secretary-Treasurer.

He was a member of the I.O.O.F. for more than fifty years, and a Woodman of the World, both associations with the friends that he loved. His hobby was carpentry for he liked to build things. He was a great student of history, especially Oklahoma History, and a life long member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, always interested in its activities as a close observer. His newspaper stories entitled, "I Remember," recalled some of his interesting early day experiences with the human touch.

Mr. Null wishing to preserve the early history of Day County moved the first log house built in the area of Arnett, to serve as a museum. The home was built by Asa Derrick for Tom Black on Turkey Creek in 1893. It is made from cedar timbers, hewn out of native red cedars. The house was torn down and each log marked, before being hauled to Arnett where they were re-assembled in their original position. This cabin is standing adjoining his abstract office, showing the contrast between the primitive and modern buildings.

Through adversity and prosperity, Omar E. Null was always the friend when called upon. At his passing, one who had known and loved him many years said of this old pioneer, "They don't make 'em any more; they have lost the moulds."

—O. H. Richards

Arnett, Oklahoma

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[1] *Northwest Oklahoman*, Shattuck, Oklahoma, January 14, 1954, "Obituary."

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
November 12, 1953 to January 28, 1954

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held on Thursday, January 28, 1954, at ten o'clock A.M. in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Okla., with Gen. W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which shows the following members present: Gen. W. S. Key, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge Baxter Taylor, Col. George H. Shirk, Mrs. Jessie R .Moore, Mr. George L. Bowman, Justice N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. S. E. Lee, Dr. T. T. Montgomery. Dr. E. E. Dale and Mrs. Garfield Buell have not returned from foreign journeys. Illness and road conditions prevented attendance by Mr. W. J. Peterson, Dr. John W. Raley, Mr. Thomas A. Edwards and Mr. Thomas J. Harrison; Dr. I. N. McCash is residing in Columbia, Mo., and these seven Board Members were excused for good and sufficent reason.

A motion was made by Dr. Harbour that the five Directors whose term of office expire in January 1954, be re-elected; seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and carried unanimously. These Directors are Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle.

President Key then presented a letter from Dr. I. N. McCash who tendered his resignation because of his advanced age and the fact that he now resides in a Home at Columbia, Missouri, for retired Christian ministers; he had submitted his resignation several months ago, but the Board deferred action, suggesting he remain as a Board Member, but he now asks to be relieved of all responsibilities. Judge Baxter Taylor moved that Dr. McCash's resignation be accepted with regret and that he be made an Honorary Director of the Society. Motion seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously. This left a vacancy on the Board of Directors.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught then presented the name of Mr. John F. Easley, owner and publisher of *The Daily Ardmoreite* of Ardmore, Oklahoma, one of the most "interesting characters" of the State; who has a wonderful record as Editor, interested deeply in the Oklahoma Historical Society and keeps the values of this Society before the public as much as possible. Mr. Henry Bass then commented that the Board of Directors should secure members from over the State as much as possible and not too many from the Oklahoma City area; there were no members from Ardmore, Blackwell, Ponca City and other regions which should have recognition, and that whoever is placed on the Board to fill this vacancy, should be some one interested in promoting the welfare of this Society and who would regularly attend the meetings, etc. Dr. Montgomery then seconded the motion for appointment of Mr. Easley, whom he knew to be one of the State's finest men and genuinely interested in this Society. Mr. R. G. Miller stated he had known Mr. Easley for some 34 years and outside of two newspapers, whose names he would not mention, "The Daily Ardmoreite" devoted more space to Oklahoma history than any other paper in Oklahoma; he believed Mr. Easley would attend the meetings and do everything in his power for the

building of this Society. Mr. Milt Phillips moved that nominations be closed, the rule be suspended, and the Secretary authorized to cast the ballot for Mr. John F. Easley of Ardmore; seconded by Mr. Bowman, Mr. Easley was elected by acclamation.

President Key then announced the next order of business was the election of officers, whereupon Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Society, arose and said, "I know at this time no reason why you would not honor me again as you have always honored me in my service of almost ten years, by re-electing me. No man has been treated with more courtesy and affection, and I reluctantly take the attitude and say to you, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, I here lay before you my resignation as Secretary of this Society, to take effect on or about August 1, 1954. The pressure of years together with the desire to spend more time with my family, to do individual writing and to travel, are the reasons I hold for this action. I reach this decision with reluctance. I offer each of you my profound best wishes and that God may keep you blessed and happy to the end of your days. If you will oblige me, I would be glad to go on to this point of completion of service which you may mark out. I will discharge my duties as I always have until that time and under those conditions, Mr. President, I submit my resignation to you for consideration."

President Key said he had discussed this matter with Dr. Evans and concurred in his action; he further stated that Dr. Evans was held very high in this Society; in the estimation of the people; that Dr. Evans recognized the fact that "Father Time" was moving on him the same as on the rest of us; that six or seven months will practically complete his 10 years of service to this Society and he was most favorable toward the desires expressed here by Dr. Evans.

Mr. Bowman then arose and said he had been a member of the Board of this Society for a long time and Dr. Evans and he had been as close friends as any of the Board and knows the splendid work Dr. Evans has performed for this Society and the great influence he has had in the building of the Society. Dr. Evans had talked to him about this matter and said he was going to rest awhile and I do not blame him for that; but I want to express in the Minutes, our great appreciation of his efforts as Secretary of this Society and I move we concur in the wish of Dr. Evans in the resolution and make a motion that his resignation be received on those terms.

In turn, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. R. G. Miller, Judge Vaught, Mr. Milt Phillips, Dr. Harbour, Mrs. Jessie Moore, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Judge Baxter Taylor, all spoke at length paying tribute to Dr. Evans for the splendid service and leadership he had displayed as Secretary-Manager of this Society, through the almost 10 years of service. General Key at the conclusion of Judge Taylor's remarks stated that time forbade any further eulogy at this time because of the essential business before the Board, and he suggested that those who wished to pay tribute to the Secretary, send them in by letter to the Society and at a future date all would be printed and placed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. To this all of the Board agreed.

Col. George Shirk then addressed the Board and presented a motion that all present officers be re-elected and that Dr. Evans be re-elected with the other officers, and his request for retirement be considered at a future meeting. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

Dr. Evans at this point asked for a few minutes of time which was granted and he stated that "words cannot express my appreciation for all of the fine things spoken of me here; you have said my service has been good; all I can say now is that you will never know how I appreciate all that has been said by each and all of you, about my life and service. I have said and will say it again: in the long experience of mine with Boards of

Control, Directors, Trustees, etc., I have found no body of men and women equal in character and exalted station as those I found in this Board; it has been more than an honor to serve you and the State."

Gen. Key remarked, "I too, appreciate along with you, these testimonials to your work and life the members of the Board have offered; you and I have been very close in this program."

Mrs. Moore took the floor with reference to the resignation of Miss Martha Mulholland, chief clerk, saying, "she (Miss Mulholland) was elected in 1924 as chief clerk of this organization. The growth of the Society has complicated finances and I think the Board should realize the efficiency she has revealed in taking care of important papers and the money that is collected and spent. She has served this Society well and at this time, we should perhaps, make her an honorary member of this Society for life, as I feel it is going to be very difficult to find anyone to take her place."

Col. Shirk moved that Miss Mulholland be extended appreciation for her long term of service, and appointment of her successor be referred to the Executive Committee, and that a suitable resolution to this effect be made of record and a copy furnished Miss Martha Mulholland. Motion seconded by Mrs. Moore and carried unanimously.

Gen. Key reported on the matter of the "Lew Wentz Portrait." He had taken the matter up again with Mr. Long and others who do not agree on the portrait now; they want to present a bust and this new offer is being given consideration. Judge Vaught moved to accept the bust of Mr. Wentz; seconded by Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and carried.

Judge Vaught then reported on the matter of the Waltons' unmarked graves, saying, when he returned to his office, he called a number of people who were close friends of the Waltons, and they were very much surprised. What they thought first was to make contact with the daughters who lived away from here and find whether or not they would contribute. But Mr. O. A. Cargill and Mr. Gomer Smith, Jr., and three or four others said they would be glad to provide this marker. I think it will not be necessary for the Society to do anything further unless they do not meet this need. Mr. Stanley Draper of the Chamber of Commerce is also interested and is working on this proposition. In connection with this matter, Judge Vaught's attention was called to the fact that Mr. Thoburn who was Secretary of this Society, is now reposing in Rose Hill Cemetery in an unmarked grave. There are few men who did more for this Society than Mr. Thoburn. Also, it had been brought to Judge Vaught's attention, that there is no marker at the grave of Jesse Chisholm on the river west of Grandfield in Blaine County. Certainly we ought not to let these things pass in event the families of these men cannot provide markers.

Mrs. Korn stated that she thought Mr. Thoburn was one of the greatest historians our State has ever produced, and believes the State of Oklahoma would be very glad through proper presentation, to allow us the money for that grave; the Society could handle it and have dedicatory services and this should be done through the Legislature, and I think the Oklahoma Historical Society should take steps to bring this before the Legislature.

Judge Baxter Taylor advised that of all the men he has been associated with, he believes Mr. Thoburn contributed more to our historical library than any one and his memory should be kept alive; he had a fine personality, he was a good student and a loveable man and it was through him that he became a member of this Society; he was an able historian and writer and his name ought to be preserved.

Gen. Key appointed a committee composed of Judge Vaught, Mrs. Korn and Judge Taylor to look into this matter and develop interest and funds

under the leadership of the Society, rather than ask the Legislature to appropriate funds for this purpose.

Gen. Key then started discussion on the repair of the Murals on the fourth floor of the Society building. It was reported at the last meeting a cost of $400.00 but now finds this amount was only for repair of the plaster; repairs to the Murals will cost another $400.00. It was thought well to defer action on this matter until we have another thorough examination made of our physical needs in the building. Instead of repairing the plaster, it might be possible to use cellotex or something of a permanent surface; then new Murals could be painted on both walls of the hallway to include all Five Civilized Tribes. He thought we should leave that to the committee to make proper recommendations.

At this point Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, gave her report revealing that there was now unexpended balances that would take care of every expense of the Society for the year ending July 1, 1954. She reported at this time there was a Series G United States Savings Bond No. 19191 in the amount of $1,000.00 maturing February 1, 1954, and the First National Bank & Trust Company of this City who handles these bonds for the Society, wishes to know what should be the action of the Board concerning it. President Key stated that the First National Bank had called his attention to this and he was arranging to re-invest the $1,000.00 in a "K" bond with interest at 2.76% with the consent of the Board. A motion was made by Judge Taylor, seconded by Judge Cole that such investment should be made and Gen. Key was authorized to act accordingly, the motion being carried unanimously.

Judge Vaught developed a discussion as to the use of some Special Fund monies for buying essential furnishings needed throughout the various departments, such as shelves in the Newspaper Room, new typewriters, repair of the Murals, etc. He believed that this should be done. Col. Shirk, Dr. Harbour, Mrs. Moore and other members of the Board supported this view. President Key stated that he would ask the same committee that surveyed the needs of the Society last year, to make another survey of the needs and submit a report and recommendations based upon their survey. This committee is composed of Directors Shirk, Bass and Miller. At the request of Mr. Milt Phillips, Director S. E. Lee was added to the committee. Judge Hefner suggested that the committee also, in making a thorough survey of the needs, talk to the heads of the departments and make up a concise recommendation of the things that should be submitted to the legislature a year hence and using the Special Fund for those things which should be provided now. Gen. Key then suggested to each member of the Board to give their recommendation to the committee who would make a complete survey of all the items.

The Secretary then presented to Gen. Key, President of the Board, the framed Oklahoma Flag, presented to this Society by Mr. O. R. Miller of Rt. 1 Box 348-A, Lakeport, California. The motion of acceptance was made by Mr. R. G. Miller, seconded by Mrs. Korn and carried unanimously. The Board was warm in its praise of this gift and asked that the words describing this Flag be taken from the card or description given by Mr. Miller which was as follows:

"Rev. O. R. Miller (Oakley R. Miller) was a member of the Tenth Legislature (1925-26) and, along with others, signed a resolution proposing a new State Flag. He displayed before the members of the House the artist's conception of the Flag and spoke for its adoption. Two miniature copies were made and one was placed in the Governor's office. Adj. General Baird H. Markham gave the other copy to Mr. Miller and he recently presented it to the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was officially accepted by the Board at its first meeting in 1954."

At this time there was also presented a rare map of Arkansas Territory published in 1822 which included all the present Oklahoma region, titled "Map of Arkansas and other Territories of the United States, respectfully inscribed to the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, by S. J. Long, Major T. Engineers," given to this Society by Very Rev. Urban de Hasque, S.T.D., LL.D. of Oklahoma City. An offer of a collection of vases to be given by Mrs. J. H. Lasley of Stigler, Oklahoma, and a photograph of Miss Alice Robertson to be given by Mr. Charles H. Moon of Muskogee, Oklahoma. At this point, Dr. Harbour moved that all gifts be accepted and the donors be thanked by letter; motion seconded by Mr. Bass and carried unanimously. This motion was amended to include acceptance of Life and Annual Membership applications submitted to the Board received since the last meeting. The Secretary reported the following list of applicants for membership received since November 12, 1953:

LIFE: Mr. Kenneth G. Bandelier and Rt. Rev. Victor J. Reed, Tulsa; Mr. Hugh A. Carroll and Mrs. E. L. Oliver, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Carroll G. McCorkle, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Earl G. Bowles, San Carlos, California; Mrs. M. Gordon Clarke, Okmulgee; Dr. Myron C. England, Woodward; Rev. Emil Ghyssaert, Ponca City; Mr. Henry C. Hitch, Guymon, Okla.

ANNUAL: Mr. L. G. Acree, Mrs. Esther V. Borden, Mr. Charles Bill Callum, Mrs. Raymond Friedlander, Mr. Robert W. Gericke, Mrs. M. I. Jayne, Rev. Royal J. Gibson, Mr. Joseph Levenson, Rev. T. H. McDowell, Mr. Stewart E. Meyers, Mrs. Charles Julian Monnet, Mrs. Lela Perry, Mrs. Wannah Prigmore, Mrs. R. A. Rogers, Bishop W. Angie Smith, Mr. E. C. Spenny, Mr. George R. Taylor, all of Oklahoma City. Mr. Russell Adams, Guthrie; Mr. Bill J. Anthis, Claremore; Mr. Robert B. Sweet, Haileyville; Mr. Edward F. Walsh, Mr. Jim Heydrick, Bartlesville; Mrs. C. W. Arrendell, Mr. Clyde E. Muchmore, Ponca City; Mr. Hubert A. Wright, Mr. Robert Merle Hoisington, Duncan; Mrs. Mollie Melton Ayers, Miss Gladys Gayle, Edmond; Mrs. Madge Osborn Walker, Hugo; Prof. Donald J. Berthrong, Mrs. Altha L. Bass, Mr. S. G. Ambrister, Mrs. Beulah Dutt, Norman; Dr. R. M. Shepard, Mr. D. N. Phillips, Dr. Frank J. Nelson, Mr. Edwin B. Moffett, Jr., Mr. Joseph Harold McLaughlin, Mr. J. Earl Griffin, Mr. Wm. B. Duckworth, and Miss Mary Bailey, all of Tulsa. Mr. Oyton Bennett, Bethany; Mr. C. A. Billingsley, Heavener; Mr. Homer B. Cluck, Guymon; Mrs. Anna Semple, Mr. Charles F. Fuller, Durant; Dr. N. E. Cobb, Mooreland; Mr. Leslie L. Craig, Meeker; Mrs. E. W. Dalrymple, Okmulgee; Mrs. Sam T. Palmer, Okemah; Dr. D. B. Ensor, Alva; Mr. Ayliffe Garrett, Erick; Com. & Mrs. Wm. R. Giddens, Grove; Mr. J. M. Graves, Perkins; Mr. John Edwin Grigsby, Clarita; Mrs. Theodore B. Hall, Pawhuska; Dr. W. T. Hawn, Binger; Mrs. Hal J. Hixson, Hugo; Mrs. J. M. Rule, Hobart; Mr. Orville J. Prier, Sperry; Mrs. O. T. Pearson, Pawhuska; Mr. Henry L. Neal, Wanette; Mr. J. A. Nash, Jennings; Mr. and Mrs. Elmo Kelly, Shawnee; Mr. James T. Jackson, Pauls Valley; Mr. Ben Hudgins, Chickasha; Rev. Wm. Huffer, Muskogee; Mr. Ernest Kirby, McAlester; Mr. F. F. Acree, Perry, Ark.; Mr. F. C. Barnhill, Marshall, Mo.; Mr. Robert Lee Cotton, Wichita, Kansas; Mrs. Martha Heiston Curtis, Galveston, Texas; Mr. Wm. L. Evans, Dorchester, Mass.; Mr. Earl E. Ferguson, Valley Falls, Kansas; Mr. Walter H. Gray, Kansas City, Mo.; Mr. Joseph G. E. Hopkins, New York City; Rev. Francis T. Kramer, Merrill, Wis.; Mr. Charles F. Adams, Clayton, N. M.; Mr. W. P. Matheney, Dallas, Texas; Mr. O. R. Miller, Lakeport, Calif.; Mrs. Eleanor Moore, Denver, Colo.; Mr. W. G. Phillips, San Diego, Calif.; Mr. W. P. Pike, Charlotte, N. C.; Mr. Dolph Shaner, Joplin, Mo.; Miss Evelyn Elizabeth Shidler, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Clarence Stone, Detroit, Mich.; Mr. A. W. Wright, Kilgore, Texas, and Mr. Orville K. Wright, Cheverly, Md.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received since November 12, 1953:

Pipe used by a McAlester druggist for 50 years, a framed letter and two iron wedges, donor: Mr. Coleman J. Ward. Wedding dress and manikin to

display same, donor: Mrs. Harry Newbill. Miniature monitor of the Blue Lodge of Masonry, presented to Hon. Ben Parke by Rob Morris, February 1863 and presented to this Society by Mrs. Otis Brown. Three filing case drawers of Dr. Grant Foreman's letters, etc., presented by Mrs. Grant Foreman. Pictures received: Frank Eaton, Eva Gilhouse and Rolla Goodnight, Frank Eaton, three pictures of Rolla Goodnight, Eva Gillhouse and Frank Kent, Iowa Indian, Frank Eaton and Rolla Goodnight, Frank Eaton, Rolla Goodnight and Frank Kent, Frank Eaton, Eva Gillhouse and Rolla Goodnight, Fort Gibson and six negatives, graup picture of Convention of Peace Officers, and newspaper clipping, donor: Mrs. Eva Gillhouse. Picture of the old Joe Vann House at Spring Creek, Ga., donor: Mrs. W. M. Sapp, Sr. Glossy print showing portrait of Thompson McKinney showing condition before restoration, donor: Mr. Abbott of the Uptown Art Co. Pictures and certificates of Judge Douglas, donor: Mrs. Sadie Maude Douglas Thompson. Picture of the pioneer home of Robt. Ranson and family, donor: Mr. R. F. Ranson.

Mr. R. G. Miller, chairman of the committee on Historical tours, composed of Mr. Miller, Mr. Harrison and Col. Shirk, advised of a tentative tour arranged for May 6th, 7th and 8th through the northeastern part of the State.

Judge Hefner moved that Mr. R. G. Miller be commended for his interest in the Society by arranging these tours and for him to proceed with this one in his own good way; seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously.

The matter of Historical Markers was then brought to the attention of the Board. President Key stated two markers, the Whipple and Fort Holmes, have been removed from their original sites and are unaccounted for. Also the Society has to change locations of three markers by reason of changes in highways. Two markers are being prepared for the Southwestern State College in Custer County and for the Sayre Chamber of Commerce in Beckham County, at their request; they are being paid for by private subscription. Mrs. Moore stated the two markers in her vicinity were in good shape and she has planted small cedars to make them more attractive and suggests the County Commissioners in the counties where the historical markers are located be asked to do the same thing.

President Key then presented a request from the City Art Museum of St. Louis for this Society to send an "Oklahoma Exhibit" to the historical exhibit in St. Louis in October, 1954. Mrs. Korn suggested if we could send them something, when we get ready for our exhibition, they might return the service. Judge Vaught suggested that we should investigate further and find out exactly what they want and ascertain what means could be employed to indemnify us in case of loss, etc.

The matter of a gift of a clock left to this Society in the will of Mr. F. E. Turner of Muskogee, was brought up by Mr. Mountcastle who advised as soon as distribution had been made, he would assume the responsibility of accepting the clock for the Society and having it delivered. This clock was used in the first Federal Court in Oklahoma.

Dr. Chapman took the floor and said that Congressman John Jarman had introduced a Bill in Congress concerning the extension or development of a Veteran's Cemetery at El Reno, and moved that the Secretary be authorized to write a letter to Congressman Jarman, expressing our interest in the matter. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Upon motion of Judge Redmond Cole, seconded by Mr. H. B. Bass, the meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

W. J. KEY, President

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date_____ 19____

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $_____.

(Signed) _____

P. O. Address_____

_____

_____

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), two dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $25.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of twenty-five dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

_____

Nominated by

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION
In The
RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

.....

Scholastic degrees, if any:.....

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations:.....

.....

.....

.....

Military service:.....

.....

.....

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

.....

.....

Native state:.....

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma:.....

.....

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT
EDWARD EVERETT DALE
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H. MILT PHILLIPS
GEORGE H. SHIRK
THE SECRETARY

Summer, 1954

Volume XXXII **Number 2**

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DR. CHARLES EVANS, SECRETARY OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICL SOCIETY, LAYS DOWN HIS WORK

By William S. Key, President

Oklahoma Historical Society

At the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors on January 28, 1954, Dr. Charles Evans, who has served the Society as Managerial Secretary for almost a decade, startled the Board with the following announcement:

"I know at this time no reason why you would not honor me again as you have always honored me in my service of almost ten years, by re-electing me. No man has been treated with more courtesy and affection, and I reluctantly take the attitude and say to you, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, I here lay before you my resignation as Secretary of this Society, to take effect on or about August 1, 1954. The pressure of years together with the desire to spend more time with my family, to do individual writing and to travel, are the reasons I hold for this action. I reach this decision with reluctance. I offer each of you my profound best wishes and that God may keep you blessed and happy to the end of your days. If you will oblige me, I would be glad to go on to this point of completion of service which you may mark out. I will discharge my duties as I always have until that time and under those conditions, Mr. President, I submit my resignation to you for consideration."

The Board expressed regret upon receiving Dr. Evans' resignation but after re-electing him along with the remaining members of the staff, agreed to release him from further service to the Society during the late summer in accordance with his request.

This action by Dr. Evans and his subsequent retirement was viewed by the Officers and Directors as an historical event worthy of special recognition. It was thought fitting that a brief story of his service to the State covering a period of almost 50 years should be recorded in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

The writer has known Dr. Evans for a long time and has been closely associated with him in the work of the Historical Society.

He feels himself honored to sponsor this biographical sketch and record of achievement of this distinguished citizen.

Dr. Charles Evans was elected in October 1944 to perform the important duties of Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which duties include the management of the affairs of the Society including its program of research, collection and preservation of the history of Oklahoma. Also included in the Secretaryship, is the editing of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* and such leaflets, brochures and printed papers and documents sent out under the

CHARLES EVANS, LL.D., 1870
Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society
1944-54

direction of the Board of Directors. Dr. Evans was chosen for this work because he was an active force throughout the State in spheres of education, religion and historical research.

Coming to Ardmore in 1905, as Superintendent of City Schools, he built so well a modern system of schools from primitive beginnings that he attracted national attention. He represented Oklahoma Education Association as an appointed Committeeman to place before the State Constitutional Convention in 1906 the fundamental need of education in coming Oklahoma. This work called for such respect and approval that he was elected in 1908 the first President of Oklahoma Education Association.

In 1911 the State Board of Education called him to the Presidency of the oldest and largest of State Teachers' Colleges, the Central State Normal School, Edmond, Oklahoma.

He found an ill-defined and unaccented body of pupils of 550, with little impact on the State's thinking. Central State College, under his Presidency, grew to an enrollment of 3420, lacking but a few hundred of being the largest State Teachers' College in America. This unprecedented enrollment surpassed that of the State University. This attracted the attention of America and Dr. Evans was called to State and National conventions to explain it. Before the Southern States Education Association, Nashville, in 1914, he gave three reasons—Great Men, Great Measures, Great Movements. He inaugurated a program of bringing nationally-known leaders in education, business life and public service as lecturers to his students.

In 1916 he accepted the Presidency of Kendall College, now Tulsa University. At Kendall College he set up the same program as at Edmond and the records show that in a few months he increased the endowment fund by one half million dollars and quadrupled the enrollment.

Receiving a call for editorship and authorship from a publishing company, Dr. Evans left Kendall College in 1917 to make his home in Oklahoma City where he has since developed his authorship, lecturing and miscellaneous writing.

Believing that he could interpret the purposes, functions and service of the A. & M. College at Stillwater in the State's greater expansion in the rich growing years of the 1920s, the Board of Agriculture developed a special sphere of action by setting up a division of Educational Extension and Dr. Evans was made dean of this work. In his visitations, county surveys and lectures on the present service and proper support of a greater A. & M. College from June 1921 to July 1926, he entered every county and all leading cities and towns, meeting schools, churches, conventions of teachers, and civic clubs.

Called again by the publishing company that he had served, he spent the years 1926-1930 as Vice President and Educational Editor of Harlow's Weekly, placing that Journal in hundreds of school systems of Oklahoma, where his articles and current news column were read by thousands of Oklahoma High School youth.

As an author Dr. Evans enriched not only the fields of history but those of philosophy, pedagogy and the world of newspapers and magazines. In the first State adoption of textbooks for public schools, July 1908, his "Oklahoma History and Civics" was adopted for six years; in 1912 he wrote "Growing A Life", a treatise on child growth. This, published by Rand McNally & Company of Chicago, was adopted by thirty-five States for teachers' reading circles. The Oklahoma City Public Libraries recently placed this work among recommended reading in Philosophy. In 1920 his "Lights on Oklahoma History" was adopted by the State Text Board for reading in Junior High School grades. His "American Patriotic Reader" was issued in 1916-17 and reached eleven State School adoptions. It told the story of World War I. His contribution to the biography of such leading Oklahomans as Senators R. L. Owen, Thomas P. Gore, Ed Moore; Governor Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle and others, has won the highest praise over the State and Nation as they appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

His contributions to the religious and club life of Oklahoma and Kentucky were almost as full and far-reaching as his educational work. From his 27th year when he entered the lecture field, he became noted for combining pedagogy with Christianity. In Oklahoma, as early as 1905, he was placed as a State Board member of the Y. M. C. A., serving 19 years. Because of this devotion and service he appeared in the pulpit of nearly all of the leading churches of Oklahoma.

On leaving Kendall College in 1917 Dr. Evans was induced by the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City to take charge of its Men's Class. In a short time this class outgrew its quarters and a tabernacle was erected for its use. The attendance averaged 400 or more over a period of years and it was rated as the second largest Men's Bible Class in America.

As a lecturer from his early career in Kentucky where for eight years from 1897 to 1905 he spoke annually in counties embracing most of the area of western Kentucky, to the present hour, he has been a commanding figure in Kentucky, Oklahoma and across the Nation. His speech before the teachers in Tulsa elected him the first President of the Oklahoma Education Association (1908) though he had been in the Oklahoma country less than three years. His speech that same year at Cleveland, Ohio, before the National Education Association brought him a Vice-Presidency of that great national body of teachers.

So, in the fields of education, religion, masonry, civic clubs, government and business, this man has perhaps spoken to more people from Miami to Mangum, from Idabel to the Panhandle, than any other citizen of our State. Some men had larger contacts in politics, some in church or education, but Dr. Evans held a high place of leadership in all these and more.

These days, though in his 84th year, he drives his own car, addressing Masonic bodies in leading cities and centers over the State, churches, schools, historical societies, anywhere and everywhere. He asks no quarter of age and he gives none.

Honors have been heaped upon him. Who's Who in America, where he has been recorded longer, perhaps, than any living Oklahoman, (35 years), tells this in a plain way. In 1953 the Ardmore Board of Education, upon building a $250,000 school, named it the Charles Evans School. In dedicating it on December 10, 1953, Dr. Evans told his people, for he has always called Ardmore home, he held this honor as the dearest of his life.

When, in 1932, the Federal Emergency Relief Association was set up by Governor William Murray, he called Dr. Evans to organize and direct Federal Relief to thousands in Oklahoma City and County who must find work or starve. For some eighteen months this organization which embraced thousands of workers and received over $1,000,000, was directed by Dr. Evans with a skill that received strong tribute from Governor Murray and the public.

After spending some five years (1937-1942) in travel in the United States, Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean area, he was called in 1944 to take the Secretaryship of the Oklahoma Historical Society. On October 1944 Governor Robert L. Williams presented him to the Board of Directors composed of: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Hon. George L. Bowman, Judge Harry Campbell, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Dr. E. E. Dale, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. J. B. Milam, Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, Gen. William S. Key, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Dr. James H. Gardner, Mr. Jim Biggerstaff, Mr. W. J. Peterson, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell and Mr. Edward C. Lawson. Governor Williams said, "We know you are in your 74th year. This demands a brief time of service—the war is on— and at its end, perhaps, a younger man will take your place." Dr. Evans, in his reply of acceptance, said, among other things, 'Something has been said here about my age and length of service. From my first job, some fifty-eight years ago, to this hour, I have not been concerned for one day as to *how long* I may serve; my whole service has rested upon the firm foundation of *how well* I shall serve. It shall be so in this position. When I feel at any

time my health or happiness demands, I will turn this work back to you—you will be given immediate notice."

So, after a long stretch of service as Secretary, during which Judge Williams, General Barrett, Judge Doyle, Hal Muldrow, Judge Campbell, James Biggerstaff, Mrs. John R. Williams, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, J. B. Milam and Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Directors, have passed on, Dr. Evans asks not for retirement but a release that he may travel, study and write in other spheres.

The Board of Directors was surprised by this decision. Motion was made that he with members of the Staff, be elected for two more years. This carried unanimously. Dr. Evans thanked them for this great trust and honor and stated that after a few months, when the Board had time to choose his successor and he had rounded up his work, he would move out on a journey to other fields of endeavor.

The Directors expressed regret upon his going. A few of these remarks are appended hereto:

REMARKS OF JUDGE GEORGE H. BOWMAN

Mr. Bowman then arose and said he had been a member of the Board of this Society for a long time and Dr. Evans and he had been as close friends as any of the Board and he knew the splendid work Dr. Evans has performed for this Society and the great influence he has had in the building of it. "He talked to me about it and said he was going to rest a while and I do not blame him for that; but I want to express in the Minutes, our great appreciation of his efforts as Secretary of this Society and I move we concur in the wish of Dr. Evans in the resolution and make a motion that his resignation be received on those terms."

REMARKS OF R. M. MOUNTCASTLE

R. M. Mountcastle said, "It is with reluctance that I second the motion of Mr. Bowman. I was on the Board when Dr. Evans came on and I think there is no question but that he has made it one of the outstanding societies of its class in the country. He is the one the Society, its President and its members depend on; we know nothing of the details that arise and decisions that must be made from day to day. Through almost ten years of service, he feels in fairness to his family and to himself, he should have some time to devote to them and do the things he wants to do. Since he became Secretary, he has been burdened with details and innovations which has bound him to the Society, the Board and the State, and the Oklahoma Historical Society owes him a great honor for serving it the way he has. I want to express my appreciation along with others, for his unselfish service and for himself as a man. He is one of the finest gentlemen I have had occasion to meet and Oklahoma has been better by his having passed our way and with reluctance I second the motion of Mr. Bowman to permit him to resign as set forth in his letter."

REMARKS OF M. R. G. MILLER

Mr. R. G. Miller took the floor and stated, "The resignation of Dr. Evans should be changed to request for retirement. He has done a good job in the two or three years I have been here and if he had had the firewood and where-with-all to do this job, he could have done it twice as well; let him retire instead of resign."
Mr. Bowman said he would accept that amendment.

REMARKS OF JUDGE EDGAR S. VAUGHT

Judge Vaught then arose and said he wanted to reiterate all the things that had been said here; "Dr. Evans has made this Society—he has done a wonderful job, and the only reason I have in my mind to vote for this motion is because it is his own request. I hate to see Dr. Evans leave us."

REMARKS OF MR. H. MILT PHILLIPS

Mr. Milt Phillips was acknowledged by President Key and said, "I was on the Board when Dr. Evans was employed; I think I might speak as one of the 'new members' of the Board but as one who has had the opportunity to witness the internal working of this Society in recent years and the great esteem in which this Society is held throughout Oklahoma in educational as well as informative and civic leadership. I want to say that Dr. Evans has rendered to us a service that is beyond expression and the means to express our appreciation to him. I am going to vote for that motion wholly because it is the request of Dr. Evans, my dear friend and friend of my father."

REMARKS OF DR. EMMA E. HARBOUR

Dr. Harbour stated, "No one loves Dr. Evans like I do; he started me on my teaching career and I have loved him ever since."

REMARKS OF MRS. JESSIE R. MOORE

Mrs. Moore took the floor and remarked, "I was elected to this Board of Directors in 1920, that is 34 years ago this month, and I have seen many Secretaries come and go; they all have been fine gentlemen; They all had admirable qualities that fitted them for the job or position, it is in truth a job, and I think it is my opinion after all these years, that Dr. Evans is the best Secretary this Society has ever had; as they say when they decorate a soldier 'he went beyond the call of duty;' that is what Dr. Evans has done. He has instituted proceedings in this Society that we never had before and he has extended the influence of this Society all over the state of Oklahoma in a most gratifying way. We are very proud of the work that he will be leaving us to carry on. I do not know who we will have as Secretary, this is all news to me, but I feel it is going to be a hard matter to get anyone to take the place of this fine gentleman and teacher. As you will recall, about a month or so ago, Ardmore honored him by dedicating one of its fine schools to him and I feel that was a great honor to this Society. As to his years, I will be 83 years old tomorrow and so I know what that means, he is ten years 'younger' than I am in actions, though some months older in years, I feel he has served us well."

REMARKS OF MRS. ANNA B. KORN

Mrs. Korn remarked that Dr. Evans came upon this Board and into the Society through her. Judge Williams wrote her a letter and said that Mr. Moffett was resigning to take over as dean of a girl's school in Tennessee and the Society needed a Secretary immediately and asked for suggestions. She wrote and told him "of Dr. Evans, who lived on a street near her and with his qualifications, she felt he would be the man if they could secure him to take over this work. Judge Williams wrote he would like to see Dr. Evans and she immediately wrote Judge Williams, giving him the address, etc.: "Judge Williams was very gratified and wrote me, thanking me for my interest and that is how Dr. Evans came as Secretary in 1944. I think it is very nice that he intends to retire but he may still help the Society. There is no one more qualified than this man," concluded Mrs. Korn.

REMARKS OF DR. B. B. CHAPMAN

Dr. B. B. Chapman was recognized by the President, who said he would not speak as a member of the Board, but as a member of the faculty of Oklahoma A. & M. at Stillwater, where he has what is called the 'Doctor Evans Lectures.' "Every year he comes and spends a day or two with us; he usually comes to us in the afternoon and speaks that night and early in the morning at 8 o'clock he is on the job in Old Central lecturing to a class on the Oklahoma Historical Society and we all bring up questions in every class he meets. The students never fail to ask 'what was done from 1911-1916 while you were President of the College at Edmond, when that State School led the University and A. & M. College in enrollment?' He lectures at 8, 10 and 11 o'clock classes and then makes a recording; then he drives back home and continues with the splendid work he has been doing here. Members of the Board, I want to express appreciation for the work this educator has done and I hope he goes on for another 50 years. To you Dr. Evans, Dean of Extension of A. & M. College from 1921-1926, I want to say: words cannot express the high regard I have for you.' "

REMARKS OF JUDGE REDMOND S. COLE

Judge Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa rose to remark: "I cannot add anything to what has been said here, but I do not want this occasion to pass without expressing my personal appreciation. I think I can brag of being the oldest life member (1911), becoming one when the Society was in its infancy; I watched it grow; I have been a member of this Board fully half that time and I say to you that this Society has made tremendous progress while this man has been Secretary. Maybe I am getting the cart before the horse; should we not elect the officers and staff for another two years along here and it is our thought now to elect all staff officers and I suggest in line with what has happened, that we re-elect Dr. Evans with the understanding we accept his resignation as he suggests." Upon the motion of Col. Shirk this was done.

REMARKS OF DR. T. T. MONTGOMERY

"I want to express my personal appreciation to Dr. Evans of his splendid service to this organization and the State of Oklahoma. I agree with all that has been said and I am glad to hear so many fine things said about Charlie Evans and of his work past and present. I had hoped to see him go on and serve this organization for another ten years. I don't think he is so old but what he can serve effectively a long time. A man who can get in his car and drive to Kentucky alone and make a series of addresses and drive back as he did last May, is certainly not old. Recalling what someone said, 'as we go through this world, I think is all too true; we do not express to our friends the appreciation for them that we feel.' It is said that 'flowers on the grave cast no sweetness back over life's weary way.' So I think our congratulations ought to be brought out, while the individual still lives so he can enjoy these friendships; that is my feeling at this time. Knowing Dr. Evans since he was Superintendent of schools in Ardmore, which was not day before yesterday, he has filled with distinction many positions in this State; he has filled each position with dignity and integrity; he is a gentleman, a fine scholar and a fine friend to have and through the years I have been most happy to call him my friend. I like you, would not even consider this proposition except as it comes from him and I am willing to go along with him in this Society or out of it because he has done a wonderful work for the State and Society. So I salute him and congratulate him; I am happy with him in his successful life of splendid achievement."

REMARKS OF MR. BAXTER TAYLOR

Judge Taylor rose and addressed the Board, saying, "I think it is timely and proper that those who know Dr. Evans on this occasion give kind expressions to their feelings and to their estimation in proper eulogy. His attitude and his desire was a surprise to me. I had resolved in my mind that as long as I was a member of this Board and I was here, never to consent for him to leave. I don't believe in retirement. Here (pointing to Judge Vaught) is an estimable Christian gentleman and an outstanding member of the Judiciary of the United States, whom I have known for all the years since I have been here. I say to him every time I see him 'don't retire, keep up, don't admit your age.' I was 25 again on the 20th of this month! There is something that touches the heart as you go down the road, to see this one and that one retire and then the next thing, his retirement into eternity. I have known Dr. Evans since he came from Kentucky and I came from Tennessee. I have known this man for almost fifty years; he is delightful to associate with, and about the greatest educator a people could have; and we all should deem it an honor to talk to some person who can talk to us and tell you something of his life. He has always been that sort of man. It hurts my heart to see that the time has come when he decided to step aside and I hope he will be spared for many years. God Bless him and God bless such men."

REMARKS OF DR. EVANS

Dr. Evans arose and asked for a few minutes time which was granted. "Words cannot express my appreciation for all the fine things spoken of me here. You could have kept me from speaking further if you had kept still, but this is a serious occasion in my long life. I know I am not worthy of the honor you pay me," he said. "You have said my service has been good. I can say you will never know how I appreciate all that has been spoken here today."

REMARKS OF GENERAL W. S. KEY—PRESIDENT

General Key remarked, directed to Dr. Evans, "I, too, appreciate along with you, these testimonials to your work and life by members of the Board. You and I have been very closely associated in this program of the Society for several years."

LETTER WRITTEN BY DIRECTOR H. B. BASS

General W. S. Key
Oklahoma Natural Gas Bldg.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dear General:

It was with the most profound regret that I listened to Dr. Evans read his letter of resignation as Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Even though our firm put in a bid for the construction of the Historical Building in the late '20s, the Society meant little to me until I began visiting with Dr. Evans in the Lobby of the Skirvin Hotel. Through him I became interested and I gained an interest which I know will remain close to my heart all the balance of my days.

Dr. Evans has served well his Country, his State, and our Society. He deserves everything that was said about him yesterday. I was glad the eulogies were stopped before it became my turn. Such "eloquence expressed was beyond my capacity and the poor remarks I might have made would have measured up poorly with those uttered by so many masters of oratory. I heartily concur in everything that was said and only hope Dr. Evans will have many years to enjoy the retirement he has so justly earned.

Most sincerely yours,
/s/ Henry B. Bass

I conclude this article by repeating the statement made at the beginning, that the retirement of Dr. Charles Evans from a half century of public service in Oklahoma is no ordinary historical event.

I join the other Officers and Directors and the Staff of the Historical Society in wishing Dr. Evans an abundance of good health and good fortune throughout many more happy and fruitful years.

DARTMOUTH ALUMNI IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Kathleen Garrett**

The *Dartmouth College Bulletin* for the year 1952-1953 contains the following statements: "Ever since its founding 183 years ago Dartmouth College has had two unbroken traditions; one that it is predominantly an undergraduate college and not a university, and the other, that it offers a liberal arts education preparing men for useful citizenship."

The *Bulletin* also quotes a portion of King George III's Royal Charter which stipulated,

> "that there be a College erected in our said Province of New Hampshire . . . . for the education & instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading writing & all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing & christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences; and also of English Youth and any others. . . . ."

The purpose of this study is to show how certain youths of the Cherokee and Choctaw tribes availed themselves of this liberal arts education meant to prepare men for useful citizenship and returned to their Indian Territory homes to become commissioners of education, teachers and heads of educational institutions, lawyers and codifiers of law, and editors.

Dartmouth College is today and has been primarily an institution for the education of white youth, yet for 125 years a fund existed in connection with the institution for the sole purpose of educating Indian youth, a fund which did in fact educate Indian youth.

The writer has known all her life of the "Dartmouth fund," but it is only recently from reading an essay by Professor Leon B. Richardson, published in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*[1] in June, 1930, that the details of the fund became known to her, details which appear not to be generally known to historians of Indian and Oklahoma matters.

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* Author's note: "I am deeply indebted to Miss Hazel E. Joslyn, archivist of the Dartmouth College Library, for her kindness in supplying information and in making available much valuable material. Dr. Angie Debo, curator of maps at Oklahoma A. and M. College, merits my sincere and grateful thanks for generously checking the manuscript for facts and for giving excellent editorial advice. Mrs. Rella Looney, archivist, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, has graciously checked records in her department for details. I have drawn heavily on Professor Richardson's essay in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*. I am glad to acknowledge the debt."

[1] Leon B. Richardson, "The Dartmouth Indians," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, XXII (June, 1930), 524-27.

Dartmouth College was the outgrowth of a school founded for the "Christian education" of Indians in 1754 by the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock at his home in Lebanon, Connecticut, and named Moor's Indian Charity School to honor a Joshua Moor, who had made a gift of a house and two acres of land to the school. The school was so successful in its aim of training Indians for missionary work among their own people that it was decided to move the school to more spacious surroundings nearer to the Indian tribes and to extend its activities into the college field. In 1767-68 a deputation was sent to England to collect funds. It was made up of a colleague of Wheelock, the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker and a Mohegan pupil, Samson Occum. Occum had proved a successful pupil and had become a "Christian preacher of much force and distinction" and he proved a successful fund gatherer. Over ten thousand pounds was raised—eight thousand in England, two thousand five hundred in Scotland. And therein lies a fact of much interest and some amusement to those considering the problem years later, of some trial and tribulation to school officials of the time, and of much importance to Indian students.

The money raised in England was under the control of an English board of trustees headed by the Earl of Dartmouth, for whom Dartmouth College was named, when in 1770 Moor's School was reorganized, chartered, and became a college. The Scottish money was under the control of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

As Dartmouth grew and the educating of Indians became secondary (Moor's School had been soon dissociated to facilitate the drawing of foreign funds), the need for money for buildings and for faculty arose and was met by the English fund. And by the last quarter of the eighteenth century the English collections had been entirely dispersed and the English fund came to an end.

Not so the Scottish fund. It had been raised to educate Indian youth, and for the education of Indian youth it was to be used. No matter how hard the early presidents of the college (Eleazer Wheelock and later his son John) tried to "dislodge" the Scottish funds for other legitimate uses, they were met with Scottish obstinancy. No matter how great the need (and what college does not have great needs) the Scottish fund—for any other purpose than educating Indian youth—was inviolate.

Nor was it always easy to draw funds to pay for such items as room and board for the Indian students themselves, for all that the money had been given for such purpose. Professor Richardson has some revealing remarks to make on the correspondence that passed between Scotland and New Hampshire in those early years.

The history of the fund is somewhat checkered: At one period it was withheld by the Scottish society as a result of the famous

Dartmouth College case; at some periods it seems to have lain idle; at others it was reluctantly paid. But in 1826 an annual sum was set (increased in 1840) and continued to be paid until 1893.

At the last date the college president endeavored to bring about a change in policy with respect to the fund. Moor's School had been closed in 1849, and the president considered reopening it. He wrote to the Scottish society asking that the fund be used to pay teachers for the institution which was to receive both white and Indian students. But the society answered in what Professor Richardson calls "very cold terms." This letter, refusing to give consent to the plan and withdrawing the grants until the whole matter could be reconsidered, is, recorded Professor Richardson in 1930, the last document concerning the Scottish fund in the Dartmouth archives. And any further knowledge of the fund Professor Richardson thought at that time must be found in Scotland.

But the intervening twenty-odd years have apparently brought some adjustment, for a recent report from the Treasurer's office of the College states that of June, 1953, the principal of the Scottish fund was $21,454.97, that the income was $1,092.49, and that the income is used for general purposes (and that these facts are listed in the Treasurer's report, 1952-1953, under Moor's Charity School).[2]

So it would seem that what the Wheelocks, father and son, had not been able to do has at last been accomplished. The Scottish fund seems to have been converted to the general fund. And although no special fund is now ear-marked for the education of Indians, money for scholarships has been increasingly available at Dartmouth in recent years, and some of the scholarship money would go for the education of Indians, if any enrolled.[3]

Although Moor's School closed in the mid-nineteenth century, Indian students continued to be educated at Dartmouth and its branches, specifically the Chandler School of Arts and Sciences, established in 1857 and now known as the Chandler Scientific School, and the Agricultural College, then located at Hanover with the College proper. Various academies, among them Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, New Hampshire, and Thetford Academy, Thetford, Vermont, also accommodated Indian students. The number participating in the fund at any one time during its most stable period ranged from one to five.

Concluding Professor Richardson's essay is a valuable list of the Indian students who attended Dartmouth and its associated schools as participants in the Scottish fund from 1800 to 1893. A brief survey of the list may be of interest.

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[2] Information courtesy Miss Hazel E. Joslyn, Archivist, Dartmouth College Library.

[3] *Ibid.*

The list consists of the date the student was received, his name, the date he left, and a comment, varying in every case, but including for the most part his tribe, his age, the school he attended (Moor's School, Academic Department, Kimball Union Academy, etc.), and in some cases the reason for leaving, his activities after leaving, and pertinent statements on the student's character and ability made by the president at the time.

In the early part of the century the pupils participating in the fund were, with one exception, members of northern tribes—Mohawk, Algonquin, Seneca, Oneida, and especially St. Francis. Of the thirty-two who were recipients between the years 1800-1844 nineteen were from the St. Francis tribe.

These early pupils were for the most part teenagers, attending Moor's School rather than the college. Their ages varied from eight to seventeen, excluding two little fellows of four, placed as an experiment in a private home to be brought up as members of the family. This experiment was a revival of an earlier idea of "capturing" the boys young," but was not a success.

With lads in their early teens, attending probably with no real wish of their own, with youth thrust into an environment wholly different from its native sphere, with a language barrier to overcome, with little tradition for "campus living" it is not surprising that comments such as "A poor student" and "Fickle and unstable" and "He will be another instance of Indian fickleness and lawlessness which have always been proverbial on this ground" are to be found.

Yet the same president (President Lord, 1828-1863) who wrote the last comment wrote of another Indian student, "The best Indian I have ever seen, intelligent, pious, stable, a good scholar" and of a third, "He excelled all those who have been under my care during my term of thirty-four years."

Under the date 1838 appears the first Indian student from the Five Civilized Tribes—a Choctaw. However of the twenty-six students listed as attending between the years 1844-1893, fourteen are Indian Territory Indians. Twelve are definitely listed as Cherokee or Choctaw; one listed as a "Western Indian" has been identified as Cherokee; one is listed "From Indian Territory, tribe not specified."

The students attending during this period were in truth college men: They were of college age; some were nearly fitted for college when they arrived; some were already graduates of their national seminaries. The comments that follow these students' names make to glow the hearts not only of those of Indian ancestry, but of all who appreciate scholarship and character wherever it is found. Perhaps the most widely known name on the list is that of Charles A. Eastman of the Sioux tribe, but within the former Indian Territory

SIMON R. WALKING STICK
Non-grad., 1918

DEWITT DUNCAN
Class of 1861

ALBERT BARNES
Class of 1861

ALBERT CARNEY
Non-grad., 1875

DARTMOUTH STUDENTS

Courtesy of Dartmouth College

itself many names on the list arouse pride at their mention: Jonathan E. Dwight, Joseph P. Folsom, De Witt Duncan, Rollin K. Adair, Harvey W. C. Shelton, Ellis Cornelius Alberty.

Another of the pleasing aspects that a study of the list reveals is that some of the students were sons of former pupils. The famous chief of the Six Nations (Iroquois), Joseph Brant, who had attended the Lebanon, Connecticut, school later sent his two sons, Joseph Jr. and Jacob. Father and son by the name of Annance were also pupils, and John Stanislaus and John Jr. were in attendance at the same time. In later years Mavis Pierce and his son Edward both attended Dartmouth. It is also interesting to note that in one or two cases when students were sent home for lack of funds or other reasons they returned for further study or to complete their courses.

Indian students have attended Dartmouth since 1893, but the fund raised in Scotland in 1767-68 by Occum and his associate has not been available to them. Cherokees who have attended Dartmouth within the present century are David Hogan Markham of Tahlequah, who entered in 1911 and was graduated in 1915 and Simon Ralph Walkingstick, formerly of Tahlequah, but now living in Syracuse, New York, who entered in 1914 and is a non-graduate of the class of 1918. And Oklahomans attend Dartmouth today; five of the student body of 2,600 men are from Oklahoma.

The first Cherokee to make use of the Scottish fund was apparently Jeremiah Evarts Foreman. Although listed in Professor Richardson's list as a "Western Indian," he was the second son of the Reverend Stephen Foreman, a figure well known and respected in the Cherokee Nation.

Evarts, as he was called by the family, was named for Jeremiah Evarts, a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with whom Mr. Foreman had had contact personally and by letter. Mr. Foreman had bestowed on his children, or at least most of them, the names of important people whom he admired; one he named Jennie Lind Foreman after hearing the famous singer in Boston.

Evarts was graduated from the Cherokee National Male Seminary in February, 1856, in the second graduating class of that institution. He is listed as being received at Dartmouth the same year. There seems to be confusion as to when he left, one source giving the date at 1857, another listing him as a special student in 1858 and a non-graduate of the class of 1859. It seems possible that he ceased to be a beneficiary of the fund in 1857, a fact which would account for the former date, and became a special student, being financed independently of the fund, a fact which would equally account for the latter dates. His granddaughter, Ann Foreman Graham, has a photograph of him as a member of the Dartmouth Canoeing Club, and in the crossed oars of the symbol on the jacket are the numbers

59. Back in the Cherokee Nation he joined the Confederate army and served under General Stand Watie when the Civil War involved the Indian tribes of the Indian Territory.

In 1862 Evarts Foreman was married to Celestia Stidham, a Creek Indian, whose father had held many official positions in the Creek Nation. The Reverend Mr. Foreman, who married them, has left an interesting account of the wedding—a wedding similar, one suspects, to many a pioneer wedding:

> This (March 13, 1862) being Evarts' wedding day, we started pretty early in order to make the trip before night, the distance to the Creek Agency being about thirty miles. We stopped a short time at Ft. Gibson and made some purchases necessary for the wedding . . . . . We got to the Agency about four o'clock P. M. just in time to escape a heavy rain which began to fall soon after we arrived. The wind also blew very hard and cold from the North. About dark the people from the town and country side began to come to witness the ceremony and to help eat the supper. Some considerable time after dark notice was given that the wedding would take place. The parlor was put in order, candles were lighted, and the guests were seated to overflowing around the room. A center table was placed in the middle of the parlor on which two lighted candles were placed. Soon after the bride and groom appeared and halted near the table. I then arose and took my stand on the opposite side of the table and performed the ceremony, making two persons one. In about three minutes all was over, and the young married couple took their seats among the crowd. Not a great while after, supper came on, and all that could seated themselves around the table loaded with all the good things the country afforded. Altogether the affair was a novel one: —the wedding was in the Creek Nation; the couple married were Indians, one a Cherokee, the other a Creek, and the minister who performed the ceremony was a Cherokee, and the father of the bridegroom.

Evarts Foreman's contribution to his community was to be made through his descendants, for unfortunately poor health forced his withdrawal from the army and caused his death two years and nine months after his marriage. He died before the birth of his twin sons, only one of whom survived birth. This son, named Evarts for his father, grew to manhood and raised a family of eight children, who in turn had families of their own. Of Evarts Foreman's grandchildren, his granddaughter says, "We all have tried to be good citizens."

In 1857 another Cherokee entered Dartmouth. He was Albert Barnes, a cousin of Evarts Foreman, his mother being a sister of Evarts' father. There is no record of Albert Barnes having graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary, but he probably attended. The Seminary closed in October, 1856, for lack of funds and did not reopen until after the Civil War, and he might well have been one of the students affected by the closing. He enrolled in the Chandler School and received his degree in 1861—sharing with De Witt Duncan, who was graduated the same year from the Academic Department, the honor of being the first Cherokee graduates of Dartmouth.

Albert Barnes merited the comment by college authorities of his time of "Assiduous and faithful, liked by his fellows."

What meager records exist show him at home again in the Indian Territory devoting himself to the cause of education and evidencing interest in the political efforts of the Indian tribes to establish a central government.

He too was affected by the Civil War. He is reported in 1862 as coming from Dwight Mission to Park Hill and commenting on the general feeling of alarm—a feeling of danger with no explanation for it. During the war period both the federal and confederate Cherokees maintained a government. Unlike his cousin, Barnes espoused the federal cause and served the federal government, not as a soldier, but as superintendent of education (jointly with Henry Dobson Reese).[4]

In a more stable period (1875) Barnes as Commissioner of the Third Educational District wrote from Fort Gibson to Colonel William P. Ross, principal chief, expressing grave concern over the condition of the schools of his district. Barnes' first concern in his letter was illness:[5]

> The schools have been in the usual flourishing condition until the commencement of the present session. The present sickly season has had a very injurious effect upon the schools, some of which have been suspended temporarily by the sickness of the pupils or sickness in their families which compelled absence. The season still continues very sickly especially on the main water courses and the school located there are still languishing, though most of them are now in operation.

He himself had been disabled in the summer by "a sudden and severe attack of sickness" while on his rounds visiting the schools in Sequoyah District. His recovery had been slow, but had not hindered him from "communicating with the different schools."

His second concern was with the school buildings themselves and the care of the school supplies. "More uniform construction of comfortable school rooms" and means for the "better preservation of school books and parliae during term time and vacation" were suggested as "absolutely essential to the due usefulness of our common schools."

He is further concerned that the "blank books" with which the Board of Education had decided to supply each school so that the teacher might keep a "weekly record" of every pupil had not been furnished his office for distribution. He urges that they be supplied as he feels they will be a "very serviceable expedient to insure better attendance and work." The bright spot in the letter

[4] Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 299.

[5] "Copies of Miscellaneous Papers," *Cherokee Biography*, (unpublished), collected and arranged by T. L. Ballenger, p. 22. This letter is quoted by courtesy of the Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

is Barnes' remark about "good teachers." The Third District had been and was well supplied in this respect.

In 1870 and the years following an attempt was made to bring all the Indian Territory tribes together into "one consolidated government" and in pursuance of this ideal an inter-tribal council was held at Okmulgee. Although the attempt was not successful, the council continued to meet annually from 1870 through 1875. Albert Barnes may or may not have been at the 1870 meeting; he was certainly at the meetings held in 1873 and 1875. He attended with his uncle, braving cold, anxiety over sick relatives, and unprepossessing lodgings!

Another Dartmouth graduate was present at the Okmulgee Council, serving his tribe as delegate and interpreter. Although the Choctaw Joseph P. Folsom had graduated from Dartmouth some three years before Barnes entered, might the two not have paused during the political deliberations to recall days at their Alma Mater?

It was of De Witt Clinton Duncan that President Lord made the statement quoted above, "He excelled all those who have been under my care during my term of thirty-four years." And it is of him too that Professor Richardson's list records, "His standing as a student was excellent." He was "nearly fitted for college" when he arrived (1857). He entered the Academic Department with the class of 1861 and graduated with his class.

R. Roger Eubanks knew D. W. C. Duncan (he was always known by the three initials) when Mr. Duncan was in his sixties, "I remember him as a handsome man with gray hair and beard and piercing black eyes. He wore his hair in ringlets that reached his shoulders. He wore black-rimmed nose glasses with a black silk cord attached."

But it is Mr. Eubanks' further statement that stimulates the imagination and shows that human nature is the same, Indian or white: "It is said that when he returned from college he returned to the home-spun hunting coat with its broad strips of brilliant red and blue and to beaded moccasins. He was a candidate for solicitor [prosecuting attorney] for Saline District, but was defeated by an illiterate!"

D. W. C. Duncan served his nation as teacher, lawyer, and writer.[6] He was language teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary

[6] *A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers* by Mary Hays Marable and Elaine Boylan (Norman, 1939), pp. 55-6, gives details of Duncan's literary activities and statements of his position as a writer. Poems presenting subjects from the Indian's point of view seem to have been his contribution. "He was one of the most powerful writers in this part of the country" state the writers of *A Handbook*. "So great," they write, "did his influence become both by pen and word that rarely were questions pertaining to tribal affairs or educational questions discussed without his being present."

and at one time principal of the Seminary.[6] He taught English, Latin, and Greek. "He was exceptionally proficient in these subjects," writes Mr. Eubanks. "His pronounciation was perfect and he could talk indefinitely without making a grammatical error."

Dr. Angie Debo and her researches into Creek history offer a happy illustration of Duncan's legal ability in the employ of his fellow Indians. The occasion was an episode in the "Boomer invasion" during those years when David L. Payne and his followers made determined effort to open a portion of central Oklahoma to white settlement. The outline of the invasion is well known: the forced ceding of portions of the land of the Five Civilized Tribes to the United States to be used as a home for other Indians, the assignment to tribes removed from Kansas and other states and to the hunting tribes of the Southwest of portions of the lands for homes, the contention of the Boomers that the remaining unassigned portion was public lands subject to homestead entry, and the subsequent numerous attempts at settlement.

Through various acts and proclamations, the United States government was under obligation to remove the intruders and it did so. But no sooner had the soldiers removed one group than another, or perhaps the same, made its appearance, or reappearance. In 1880, the soldiers arrested Payne and sent him up for prosecution. The concern of the Indians was acute, for they saw that if the court decided in favor of Payne and established that the lands were in fact public lands, those lands would be open to settlement. For with one foot in the door and a portion of the Indian Territory open to white settlement, total entrance would follow, and their own turn would come as eventually it did.

At the suggestion of Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead, chief of the Cherokees, the five chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, or their representatives, met for considration of the problem. A member of each tribe was appointed to attend the trial, and the group was authorized to employ an attorney to aid the Department of Justice in the prosecution of the case against Payne. The group decided not to engage outside counsel, "but to entrust the Indian cause to D. W. C. Duncan, the Cherokee member." The decision came in May, 1881, and established that Oklahoma was not public lands subject to homestead entry:[7]

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[6] Duncan is listed by Professor Richardson as teacher, lawyer, and editor, but of what he was editor search has not revealed. Carolyn Thomas Foreman's comprehensive volume *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936) does not list him, but interestingly enough it does list his wife, Helen Rosencrantz Duncan. in an editorial capacity. The August 30, 1888, edition of the *Tahlequah Telephone* contains the name of Mrs. Helen R. Duncan as the "editress" not of a women's department as might be expected but of an educational department. The editor of the paper at that time, it might be noted, was H. W. C. Shelton, a Dartmouth alumnus.

[7] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), p. 258.

The conduct of this case offers a pleasing contrast to the usual murkiness of Indian litigation. The [Creek] Council had appropriated five hundred dollars to compensate Grayson [the Creek member], and the Creeks had expected to pay $1,040 as their share of the estimated five thousand dollars to an attorney. Grayson thriftily returned $320.70 of his allowance to the treasury, and reported that no attorney's fee was due except a voluntary payment to Duncan. The Council therefore voted to pay the able Cherokee four hundred dollars. The Creeks had paid and were yet to pay excessive fees to attorneys for rendering no service and equally excessive fees for services that should have been freely rendered by the Federal government, but for $579.30 they won the most important victory in the history of their relations with the United States.

Mr. Duncan and his wife, Helen R. Duncan had no children. But Mr. Duncan's brother, the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, was founder and superintendent for many years of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum. Surely Mr. and Mrs. Duncan were frequent visitors and concerned themselves with the welfare of the children. Certainly, Mrs. Duncan wrote a little poem[8] especially for the *Cherokee Orphan Asylum Press*, the small four-paged newspaper printed at the Asylum and containing the children's compositions and various items concerning the boys and girls:

THE SNOWFLAKES

Little snowflakes, light and fair,
Dancing, laughing in the air;
Come and rest upon my hand.
Tell me; where's thy native land?

"Far above the ether's glow,
Far beyond this land of woe;
Souls up there forget to mourn
There, dear mortal, I was born."

Thank you for the answer given;
Thou hast come just down from heaven.
Tell me of my sainted mother!
Hast thou seen my little brother?

"Little brother? yes; and mother—"
Then the snowflakes spoke no further,
Died away, and, as a balm,
Left a tear-drop in my palm.

The evidences of success are legion; perhaps not the least is the complimentary bestowal of one's name upon the young or the taking on occasion by the young themselves of the names of those they admire. Nephews De Witt and nieces Helen Rosencrantz, as well as other De Witts and Helens, not by blood bound, attest to the esteem in which the Duncans were held in the Cherokee Nation.

Rollin Kirk Adair entered the Agricultural College, then a part of Dartmouth, in 1874. His early education had been obtained in

[8] Poem from a scrapbook made around 1881 by the Reverend W. A. Duncan's step-daughter, Florence Caleb, and now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. C. F. Korthank.

the elementary schools of the Cherokee Nation, but any advanced education had to be sought elsewhere, for the Cherokee Male Seminary had not yet been reopened after its closing because of financial difficulties and the Civil War.

Not only had Rollin Adair the universal stimulus for obtaining education held by the Cherokees; he had a particular stimulus in his uncle William Penn Adair, who cared for and educated him and his three brothers under a promise made to their dead soldier-father, killed during the first year of the Civil War. William Penn Adair[9] was a graduate in law, a senator of the Cherokee Nation, a member of the Supreme Court, a delegate to Washington, being there in the terms of three presidents; and he might well have inspired his young nephew to further his education.

Three years after entrance, Rollin Adair was graduated with the class of 1877. After graduation he "followed the career of teacher." But in 1881 when he married he gave up the career of teacher for that of farmer, taking over his father's estate which had been managed by his uncle. Later he added the career of merchant to his activities by establishing a store at Chelsea, the town near which his farm was located.

As mayor of the town of Chelsea, as townsite commissioner, appointed with two others to lay out townsites in the Nation and to prepare "correct and proper plats" of each town so laid out, as councillor to the national legislative body, Rollin K. Adair proved himself a useful citizen to his community and his nation. From 1895 to 1899 he was superintendent of the Cherokee Male Seminary, a position involving the purchasing of supplies, managing of appropriations, collecting of bills, and managing of the domestic department and one in which his varied experience must have proved of value.[10]

Estimates of Rollin Adair's character show an admirable consistency. The first, dating from his college days, comes from Professor Richardson's Indian list, "President Smith had a high opinion of his merits." His daughter-in-law (Janie Ross Adair) says, "My husband's father was considered a very well educated man and was always interested in civil and national affairs." A cousin, Cherrie Adair Moore, in whose home Rollin spent a part of his youth writes of him, "He had a natural dignity and always took life very seriously." One comment reads: "Mr. Adair . . . . is a wide awake, progressive, energetic man, educated far above the majority and it may be added that he is one of that type of men whose ex-

[9] Cherrie Adair Moore, "William Penn Adair," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXLX, No. 1 (Spring, 1951), pp. 32-41.

[10] Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

ample invariably stimulates a new country, or a young settlement, to rapid development in civilization."[11]

It was through Harvey W. C. Shelton, who spent four years in school in the East and returned to teach in his native territory, that at least one little girl in Oklahoma was made to sense the place in human experience of sheer intellectual brilliance.

Two teachers were a part of her experience long before she had any teachers of her own. One was Miss A. Florence Wilson, long-time principal of the Cherokee Female Seminary, stern and highly respected and in a degree beloved, who had been one of her mother's teachers; and the other was Harvey Shelton, who had taught her father. What Harvey Shelton had said and done and thought permeated the academic side of her childhood. Not only was his name always on her father's lips in quotation, but an experience of her own contributed to her belief in Mr. Shelton's mental powers.

Books were very much a part of the home and she had many of her own, but one day she was investigating the family books and came across a small, thin volume. Since she was a little girl, all little books were hers by right and she appropriated this one. Unbounded was her disappointment when she found that she could not make heads or tails out of its contents. In despair she took it to her parents. "Oh, that," said her father, "is a book that Harvey Shelton had us study in English at the Seminary." And the book that Harvey Shelton had chosen for his English classes at the Cherokee Male Seminary? De Quincey's *Flight of a Tartar Tribe.*

Harvey Wirt Courtland Shelton was graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1882 and attended Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, New Hampshire, during the academic year of 1882-1883. He entered the Academic Department of Dartmouth College with the class of 1887, but did not graduate, having to leave college in his junior year (1886) because of illness in his family.

That Dartmouth did her work well in stimulating her young men to inquire into their own beliefs and to do their own thinking is illustrated by a delightful story of Harvey Shelton and his Uncle Hooley Bell, which Mrs. T. L. Ballenger of Tahlequah tells, and which she has very kindly given permission to be retold here.

Lucien Burr Bell, known throughout the Cherokee Nation as Hooley Bell because "hooley" is the Cherokee word for "bell," was a man of standing; he was a delegate to Washington, a member of the "convention" which set up the Cherokee confederate government, a sheriff of Delaware District, a senator from Delaware Dis-

[11] H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men.* (St. Louis, 1892), p. 375.

trict several times, a clerk of the senate, and a president of the senate. He was a brother of Mrs. Ann Shelton, the mother of Harvey, and he helped his nephew financially with his college education.

After Harvey Shelton had been in college for a time, he wrote his uncle that he had been doing some serious thinking and that he felt he could no longer accept some of the religious doctrines he had been taught, that he could no longer subscribe to some of the beliefs he had formerly held. He was somewhat disturbed and asked his uncle what he should do. Uncle Hooley lost no time in sending his advice. "Come on home," he wrote his nephew. "You can go to hell in Tahlequah as easily as you can go to hell at Dartmouth."

Among the twenty definitions of the word "smart" listed in *The American College Dictionary* is the following: having or showing quick intelligence or ready capability. Perhaps no other word has as often been used to describe a person as has the word "smart" been used to describe Harvey Shelton. Impractical, perhaps somewhat eccentric, he impressed his students with his conspicious mental ability. And Mr. Shelton married an equally smart wife. Mary Anna Elizabeth Duncan was the daughter of the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, educator and preacher, and founder of the national orphan institution. She, like her husband, devoted her life to teaching. It was "Miss Mae," gentle and kind, who took the girls of the Cherokee Female Seminary through their Caesar and Cicero and Vergil. The names of Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Shelton must surely be added to any list of those who have inspired and guided youth.

Although not an alumnus of Dartmouth, Ellis Cornelius Alberty took advantage of the Scottish fund administered by Dartmouth authorities and went to Kimball Union Academy for advanced study. He and Harvey Shelton enrolled in the same year (1882), but Alberty continued at the Academy, graduating from it in 1885. His daughter believes he enrolled in the Dartmouth law school, but attended only a short time (perhaps in the autumn of 1885) because of the illness of his aunt and foster-mother.

Cecil E. Alberty, a son, remembers hearing his father tell of working in the New Hampshire hay fields during the summer to earn extra money for college expenses. He remembers hearing that his father pitched for a basball club; the catcher on the team was Dr. Charles A. Eastman, physician, lecturer, author, whose "subsequent career," Professor Richardson points out, "is too well known to require comment." There must also have been picnics or trips to the beach, for the family had for many years a shark's tooth which had been picked up on Nantucket Beach.

Richardson lists Alberty as being at the Academy from 1882 to 1887, but apparently the latter date is incorrect for in 1886 on his return Alberty became a teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary.

He taught at different periods at the Seminary as he also did at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, serving as its last superintendent on its unfortunate destruction by fire in 1903. Mr. Sam J. Starr, who was a pupil of Mr. Alberty, says, "I liked Professor Alberty as an instructor. He took special care and patience to help me."

In 1891 Mr. Alberty left the teaching field for the legal field and was elected prosecuting attorney for Cooweescoowee District, a position he held for four years. He has been characterized as "a fine, tall, intelligent-looking gentleman of good manners and address." Their comment continues, "He is well educated and as a prosecuting attorney has given every satisfaction gaining the confidence and respect of his people."[12]

Apparently no Cherokees after H. W. C. Shelton and E. C. Alberty made use of the Scottish fund. Two Choctaws attended Kimball Union Academy between the years of 1891 and 1893, Zachariah T. Carshall, attending for two years, George H. Hughes, for one year. But for some years after 1893 the Scottish fund seems to have become a Scottish mystery.

Education had long been a tradition among the Choctaws. Missions and schools were established among them in the early nineteenth century and the elders of the tribe, themselves with little or no formal education, encouraged attendance of the young at the mission schools. The story is told of an aged Choctaw who took his grandson and daughter to a school conducted by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and said to the missionary, "I now give them to you, to take them by the hand and heart, and to hold them fast. I will now only hold them by the end of their fingers."[13]

Education was a tradition too in the Choctaw family of Folsom. David Folsom, the first chief elected of the Choctaws under a written constitution, himself the recipient of only six months of schooling, but whose epitaph recorded him as being a promoter, among other things, of education, was writing to a minister friend in 1818 of the "great work" that had "just come to hand" in the "establishment of a school" and of his advising his people to turn their attention to industry and farming and to lay aside their hunting.

Writing to another friend in 1822 he says of the scholars at Mayhew Mission School, "The children go out to work cheerfully and come in the school cheerfully and mind their teacher cheerfully and on the whole I think they improve most handsomely."[14] Folsoms have provided their nation with ministers, judges, editors, doctors, and lawyers.

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 377-8.

[13] H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians*, (Greenville, Texas, 1899), p. 147.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

Joseph P. Folsom was received at Moor's School in 1844 and remained there until 1850. He then entered Dartmouth College and was graduated with the class of 1854, being the first and only Choctaw to graduate from the College, unless some have done so since 1893. Professor Richardson quotes President Lord as saying of Folsom, "He conducted himself with great propriety; a truly Christian man, a respectable scholar, and truly faithful to all trusts."

An opinion attributed to Folsom and quoted in the Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1870, brings a smile and gives a glimpse of the effect of classical education. "He is profound," says the Report," in Latin and Greek and thinks the English nothing but a borrowed language."

After his ten years' schooling in the East, Folsom returned to take a very active part in the political life of the Choctaw Nation. Because he was a lawyer, he is found in historical books and studies drawing up and presenting resolutions to the Council; he is found, too, serving as delegate on some occasions when his nation's business needed transacting at home or in Washington.

He was a Choctaw delegate and the interpreter for the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes at the inter-tribal council held in Okmulgee in 1870 for the purpose of consolidating the Indian Territory tribes into one government. Folsom was chosen one of the twelve members of the committee to draft a constitution. The result was the "Okmulgee Constitution," which has been termed "a model of brevity and conciseness," counted as the first constitution drawn up and considered for the territory that later became Oklahoma.

Richardson's list of Indian Students states that Joseph P. Folsom" was much respected and esteemed by his people." Folsom's greatest achievement was codifying the Choctaw law in 1869. All the laws enacted before that date and still in effect were compiled by him and published "in a neat printed volume" as *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation and Treaties of 1855, 1856, and 1866* (New York, 1869). This is one of several codes published at different times by order of the Choctaw General Council, and is particularly known as the "J. P. Code" remaining the basic law book for the Nation until the close of the Choctaw government just before Oklahoma became a state.[15]

Richardson lists the name of the first Choctaw student at Dartmouth as "J. S. Dwight," the middle initial being a typographical error.[16] The student referred to here was Jonathan Edwards Dwight, who 116 years ago so shortly after the Choctaws had made their tragic journey west, ventured east alone when many of the Indian

[15] Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law, 1834 to 1884," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953), *fn.* 5 p. 78; and the facsimile of the title page of the "J. P. Code," opposite p. 88, *ibid.*—Ed.

[16] Correction here by the Editor, Muriel H. Wright.

students went in pairs for their education. Professor Richardson tells us that "he was a man of maturity," and he is further spoken of "as one of the Indians who justified the expense of his training."

There are many references in records relating to the Choctaws on J. E. Dwight, or Jonathan Edwards Dwight, as a preacher, interpreter and editor among his people. He read proof on various Choctaw publications in the 1840's for the Mission Press at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation; he was co-editor of the *Choctaw Intelligencer* through 1850;[17] he was "continued in the employment" of the Choctaw Nation by order of the General Council in 1857, to translate the acts and resolutions of the council session, in colaboration with Jacob Folsom;[18] and he translated hymns for the sixth edition of the Choctaw Hymn Book, compiled by the Rev. Alfred Wright in the early 1850's.[19]

To the Reverend Jonathan E. Dwight goes full praise that he aided his fellow man not only by his work with the printed word but also by his interpretation of Biblical passages. Fourteen-year-old Dickson Durant, a Choctaw youth who years later became a minister, was so impressed with Dwight's interpretation of the fourteenth verse of the Third Chapter of John that he became a convert to Christianity and determined to learn English in order to penetrate the "mystery of Christ."[20]

And to Jonathan Edwards Dwight, listed as "J. S. Dwight," goes praise too.[21] He is the first of any of the Five Civilized Tribes from the Indian Territory to participate in the Scottish fund, attending no doubt Moor's School or one of the academies, for he did

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[17] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 40. (Also, see "Jonathan Edwards Dwight" in list of assistant translators to the Presbyterian missionaries, A. B. C. F. M., whose works were published at the Park Hill Mission Press, in Lester Hargrett's *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835 to 1890* [New York, 1951], p. 41; and for a list of Choctaw publications at the Park Hill Mission Press, see Worcester's report in Commissioner of Indian Affairs' *Report, 1843*.—Ed.)

[18] Resolution of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, "authorizing J. E. Dwight and Jacob Folsom to translate the laws," approved November 4, 1857 (*Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, published by Joseph P. Folsom commissioned for the purpose, Chahta Tamaha, 1869, pp. 161-2)—Ed.

[19] The sixth edition of the *Choctaw Hymn Book* was compiled by the Rev. Alfred Wright before his his death in 1853, and was published at Boston in 1858, for which "Rev. J. E. Dwight, a native" contributed translations of several hymns. This sixth edition was reprinted at Richmond, Virginia, in 1872, by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication under the direction of the Rev. Allen Wright, of Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation. For references to these two printings see James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages* (Washington, 1889), pp. 98-99.—Ed.

[20] H. F. O'Beirne, *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory* (Chicago, 1891), Vol. I, p. 33.

[21] J. E. Dwight was a member of the Choctaw Convention at Skullyville, Choctaw Nation, that wrote a new constitution for the Nation, known as the "Skullyville Constitution," in 1857. —Ed.

not attend the College.[22] But the courage and ambition of the lone Choctaw, making his long and tedious journey east for his education, fire the imagination and elicit pride.

In 1848, ten years after Dwight's entrance and four years after Joseph P. Folsom was received at Moor's School, another Choctaw, Simon James, was received at Kimball Union Academy, and remained there six years. He enrolled as a freshman in Dartmouth, but did not continue beyond the freshman year, leaving in 1855. It is a pleasure to read after his name on the Indian list the words, "Highly commended."

Albert Carney was in New Hampshire from 1867 to 1873, attending first the Agricultural College, then Kimball Union Academy, then enrolling in the Academic Department and remaining there for two years.

An entry in the Kimball Union Academy Catalogue lists Albert Carney as a Commissioner of the Court of Claims, Indian Territory. This court of claims has been identified as the Choctaw Court of Claims of 1875 and 1876; and the fact of Carney's being a member is indeed interesting.

The Court was the result of long effort on the part of the Choctaws to obtain compensation for losses sustained on their removal from Mississippi in the early 1830's. Complicated legal proceedings both within the tribe and with the United States government prolonged the payment of compensation. However in 1875 courts of claims, one for each of the three districts—Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Apukshunnubbee—of the Choctaw Nation were formed, and commissioners were chosen by the principal chief and the senate (the commissioners were to elect one of themselves to be chief commissioner). The commissioners were to hold court in places convenient to claimants and to receive and adjudicate claims.

These claims, assembled during the years 1875 and 1876, seem to have fallen under three heads: (1) lost property, which included live stock left behind or lost by death or otherwise on the way, growing crops abandoned on removal, even lost iron pots, (2) self-emigration, which was a charge of $46.50 for subsistence for each member of the family and slave and a claim of $25 for a rifle promised to each Indian man, (3) land, which was not allotted to some members who chose to remain in Mississippi.

And although the money promised by the United States government was not forthcoming at the time the adjudication was completed, the individual claims were so carefully judged that when at last the

[22] "Jonathan Dwight, a Choctaw young man who has spent some years in the northern states, and the latter portion of the time at Moore's [*sic*] School, Hanover, N. H., returned to his own people . . . . where it is hoped he may be useful as a teacher, for which his education well qualifies him" (*The Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXXV, No. 12 [December, 1839], p. 484).—Ed.

appropriation was made in 1888 and a commission was created to make final determination, there was little left for it to do in the way of adjudication but to examine a few claims that had been overlooked and determine the heirs to claimants who had died in the intervening years.[23]

Albert Carney was thirty-three years of age when the Court of Claims was set up. He had been home from college for two years; he had returned after six years of study in New England. It is not surprising that the chief and the senate appointed him a commissioner —for the Pushmataha District—nor that his fellow commissioners elected him chief commissioner.

His signature and statement of attestation on claims in the Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, are not examples of the world's best penmanship, but it is not ignorant nor labored writing; it is rather the poor writing that educated people sometimes allow themselves to lapse into.[24]

Z. T. Carshall, a student in Kimball Union Academy from 1891 to 1893, was by 1899 the county clerk of Sugar Loaf county, Choctaw Nation. Endorsed checks and receipts in the archives of the Historical Society[25] indicate some of the financial transactions of "Zach Carshall (student)" in respect to his schooling in New Hampshire.

In any group of students there are unfortunately casualities. But of the fourteen Cherokees and Choctaws who attended school or college on the Dartmouth fund only one is labeled "Not a success." Tragedy in the form of insanity seems to have overtaken one. The Indian list says of him, "Commended for his diligence although his scholarship was not good" and gives President Bartlett's comment, "Some of his actions indicated almost a case of insanity."

In 1885 a student recorded by his surname only—Miles—was received and remained until 1888. He is listed as being from the Indian Territory, but the tribe is not specified. He had wished to study medicine, but President Bartlett had not thought such use of the fund legitimate. A Cherokee, Alonzo H. Mitchell, was in school in 1865-66, but the records of the Dartsmouth fund during the war years are very incomplete, even the date in question, and no identification of him has as yet been made at the Oklahoma end.

Dartmouth College's motto is *Vox Clamantis in Deserto* ("The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness"), chosen by its founder almost two centuries ago when he set up in the woods of New

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[23] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic,* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), pp. 205, 207, 210.

[24] Records of Choctaw Court of Claims, No. 15911, 1875-1876, Indian Archives Division, OHS.

[25] "Choctaw Students in the States," Indian Archives Division, OHS, Nos. 22300, 22315.

Hampshire the institution which was to have as one of its traditions the preparing of men through a liberal arts education for useful citizenship. The voice sounded two thousand miles away and was answered by fourteen Cherokee and Choctaw youths who almost without exception gave concrete illustration of this education for useful citizenship in their own Indian Territory.

GENERAL DOUGLAS H. COOPER, C. S. A.

By Muriel H. Wright

The career of General Douglas H. Cooper, Confederate States Army,[1] is interwoven with the story of Fort Washita abandoned at the close of the War between the States. Established by General Zachary Taylor in 1842, this United States military post on the edge of the prairie east of the Washita River in the Choctaw Nation, with commodious officers' quarters and barracks of limestone, commissary and storehouses, barns and other buildings was at its height in history as the rival of Fort Gibson to the north when Lieutenant A. W. Whipple recorded meeting Douglas H. Cooper in 1953, at the Choctaw Agency in the Indian Territory.[2] Both men were serving in official capacity by recent appointment under the new administration at Washington, through Secretary of War Jefferson Davis: Whipple was in charge of the Government expedition for the Pacific Railroad Survey along the Thirty-fifth Parallel in the Indian Territory; Cooper was United States Agent to the Choctaws, his service in the Mexican War and his acquaintance with Choctaw affairs in Mississippi having placed him in line for a position in the Office of Indian Affairs, an appointment that was sanctioned, if not directed, by the War Department. These appointments for government service on the frontier were a part of the new movement to develop the South in competition with the North, the bitter rivalry that arose between the two sections in the economic ad the political fields finally leading to the War between the States, in which the Indian Territory was of strategic importance in the Southwest.

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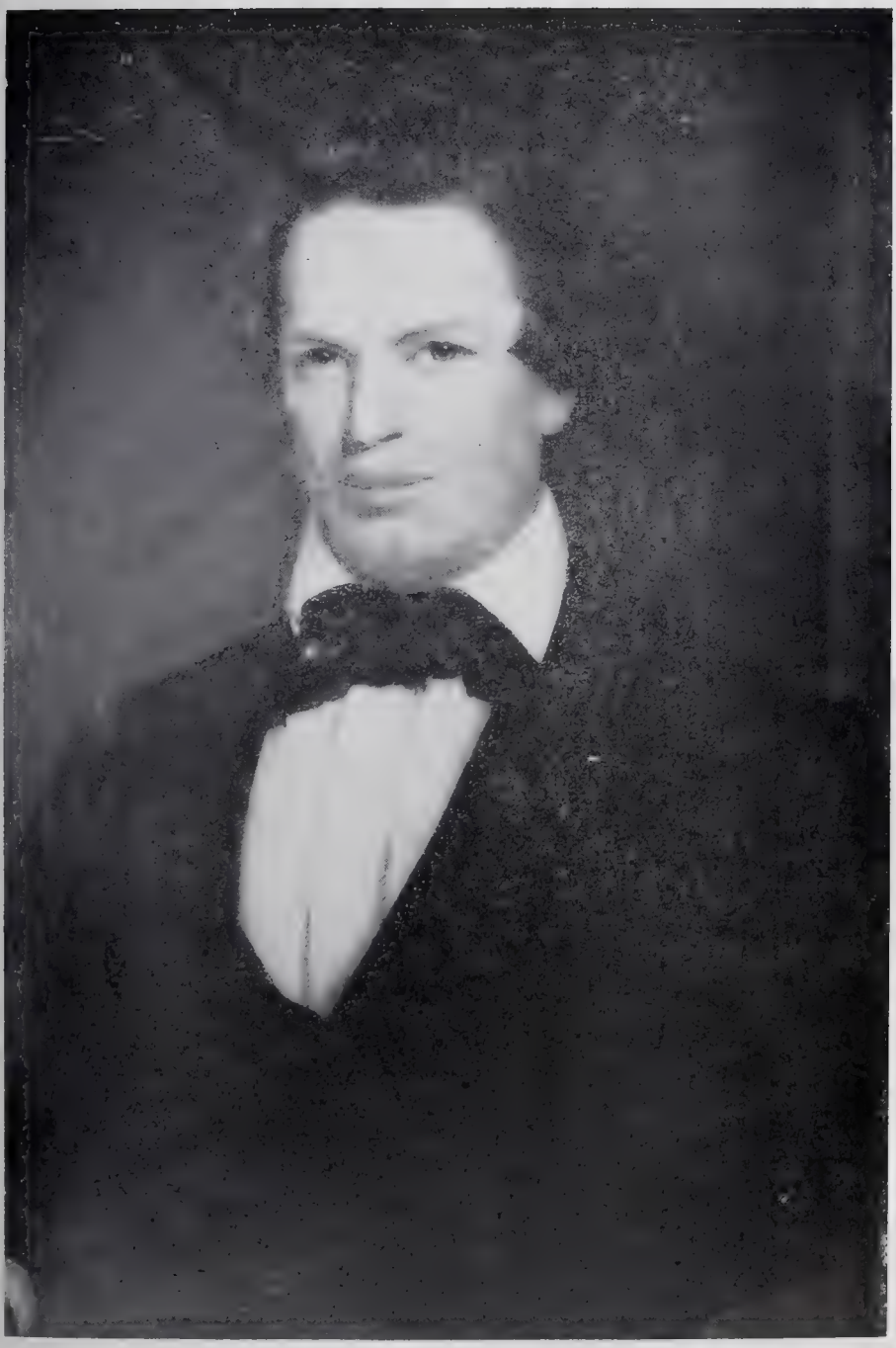
[1] Acknowledgments in appreciation are due Mr. Robert Thornton Cooper Head, great-grandson of Gen. D. H. Cooper, for his kindness in supplying many personal notes with references in the writing of this biographical sketch. Mrs. Elizabeth Buckner Heiston Butts, a granddaughter of Gen. Cooper, who lives in Washington, D. C., has kindly supplied fine copies of the beautiful portraits of her grandparents, which are used in this number of *The Chronicles*. Mrs. B. E. Spivey of Dallas, Texas, a cousin of Mrs. Butts' father, Maj. T. B. Heiston, was instrumental in introducing the writer to Mr. Head and Mrs. Butts through correspondence in the preparation of their ancestor's biography appearing here. The writer extends her thanks to these gracious members of old southern families.

[2] Lieut. Whipple, commanding the Pacific Railroad Survey through Oklahoma, made this statement in his *Journal* (notes of August 4, 1853): "The present Choctaw Indian Agent Genl Cooper has been here but a few weeks. He seems a high minded & honorble gentlemean and bids fair to succeed his lamented predecessor in the deep affection of this people."—Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), p. 252.

(*Portrait by Healy*)

FRANCES MARTHA COLLINS COOPER



(Portrait by Healy)

DOUGLAS HANCOCK COOPER

The figure of Douglas H. Cooper within the region centering at Fort Washita looms large in the records[3] of his time in the Indian Territory, revealing his activities in promoting the cause of the southern people. His achievements have remained generally unacclaimed in the history of Oklahoma, for one thing because they were wide in scope covering as they did both the civic and the military fields at different times during the long period that saw the rise of the abolitionists to power, the bloody conflict between the states and the tragedies of reconstruction in the South. Few, if any, who served in an official capacity in the Indian Territory had more notable family connections and friends, and retained their prestige and power through more political upheavals and strained conditions at Washington than General Cooper. He was born on November 1, 1815, in Wilkinson County, Mississippi, and died on April 29, 1879, at old Fort Washita, Indian Territory.

Douglas Hancock Cooper was the only child of Dr. David Cooper and his first wife, Sarah Hancock Davenport Cooper. Dr. Cooper was a physician and Baptist minister described as an educated, polished man active and successful in his ministrations for nearly thirty years . He was born in Virginia, in 1771, of old Virginia and New England family lines. He was licensed to preach in 1793, and was active in establishing churches in South Carolina and Georgia before he settled in Mississippi where he was cofounder of the Mississippi Baptist Association n 1807, and later served as its moderator for eleven years. The mother, who was of a New England family related to John Hancock, first signer of the Declaration of Independence, died when her son Douglas was a small child. Dr. Cooper married in 1824 as his second wife, Mrs. Magdaline Hutchins Claiborne, widow of the late General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, a Mississippian who had served many years in the United States Army. After the second marriage, Dr. and Mrs. Cooper moved to their plantation home, "Soldiers Retreat," near Natchez where he died in 1830.[4]

The son, Douglas, was well provided for in his father's will, and is said to have attended Amite Academy at Liberty, Mississippi. He entered the University of Virginia where he was a student from 1832 to 1834, his studies including mathematics, chemistry, materia media, and both natural and moral philosophy. He became a planter and lawyer in Mississippi where he qualified before the

[3] This biography is based largely on *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880 and subsequent years) hereafter cited as *Official Records*; and upon the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* through the years, hereafter cited as *Annual Report.* See, also, *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, 1899), Vol. VII, pp. 247-9.

[4] Notes in manuscript on the Cooper family genealogy and history, from Mr. R. T. C. Head.

State Bar. He was tall with a fine physique, a man of boundless energy, by nature kind and sympathetic with an alert mind that aligned his interests in the new movements of his day.

Mississippi historical records list Douglas H. Cooper as one of the leaders and early settlers of Wilkinson County located in the southwestern part of the state where were some of the earliest white settlements.[5] He had just returned from the University of Virginia, and was only nineteen years old when he married Frances Martha Collins, aged seventeen, daughter of William Collins (a Virginia family) of Adams County, Mississippi; the ceremony was performed at Natchez on March 26, 1834, by the Reverend Pierce Connelly, Rector of Trinity. The young man's guardian, White Turpin, and William Collins both had given their written consent to the issuance of the license. The young couple made their home at "Mon Clova" near Woodville, Wilkinson County, where they prospered and reared their family of seven children: Sarah, Frances, Douglas H., Jr., David H., Elizabeth, Emma and William Keark Cooper.[6]

Woodville in south central Wilkinson County was one of the leading towns in Mississippi, incorporated in 1811. Citizens of the town organized and incorporated the West Feliciana Railroad Company in 1831, noteworthy as one of the first railroads in the United States, an event in Mississippi history that reveals the progressive atmosphere and the activity in which Douglas H. Cooper lived as a young man. Mention should be made here of something that was important and significant in his career as well as in Choctaw history in the Indian Territory: Cooper's step-sister, Charlotte Virgina Claiborne, married at the age of seventeen in 1832, a young Baltimore attorney, John H. B. Latrobe.[7] He was a counsel of the Balitmore & Ohio Railroad when it was incorporated in 1827 as the first railroad in the United States, and was its chief counsel at his death in 1891. On his visit to Mississippi for his wedding in 1832, Latrobe traveled through the Choctaw country, and became acquainted with some of the prominent Choctaw leaders, among them the Folsoms and Chief Greenwood Leflore. At the end of the War between the States, John J. B. Latrobe through the influence and association with Cooper was the attorney for the Choctaw Nation in the making of the Treaty of 1866, which had a vital place in the formation of the future State of Oklahoma.

Many descendants whose ancestors had settled in Mississippi about the turn of the century and before that time from the eastern seaboard states and New England had become thoroughly imbued

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[5] Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South* (Chicago-Jackson, 1925), Vol. II, pp. 722, 856-7.

[6] Manuscript on the Cooper genealogy and history.

[7] John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times*, 1805-1891 (Baltimore, 1917).

with southern ideals and represented the highest type of citizen in 1850. Such was the Douglas H. Cooper family whose life was that of the old South at Mon Clova, a large plantation run by an overseer and the Negro slaves who loved their master and the members of his family. Elizabeth Herbert Cooper Heiston told of the days at Mon Clova, her memories recounted among the notes in manuscript written by her grandson, Robert Thornton Cooper Head:

> Jefferson Davis . . . . visited with our Cooper ancestors at their plantation "Mon Clova" south of Natchez, Mississippi. The plantation was large, and they had nearly a hundred slaves at one time. While the father of Douglas H. Cooper had been a Baptist, he himself belonged to no church, finding his religious outlet in Masonic Fraternalism. His wife was an Episcopalian, and the children were brought up as Episcopalians.
>
> The girls attended a ladies' academy where they had to speak French at all times except when saying their prayers. To teach them to keep their elbows off the table, their mother would call the Negro butler, "Ned, get the goblets," and Ned would carefully place large empty goblets on the table beside the girls, a glass at each elbow! The embarrassment of that soon corrected any tendency they might have had to forget "table manners." Everything was done for the girls. They had their own maids, and never lifted a finger in their own behalf. They were trained to be good hostesses and house managers. All had to read the classics, learn to play the piano, sing, dance correctly, master the "technique of the hoop skirt," and how to coquette with the boys without being forward or immodest. The boys had to learn the arts of a "gentleman," also how to manage a plantation, master some profession, and always show great consideration for the ladies and the aged. Even aged slaves, usually called "aunt" or "uncle," were treated by their masters and mistresses with due respect and consideration. Both boys and girls were trained to ride well. Poise was essential. The girls practiced walking gracefully in the absurd hoop skirts of the times, promenading all over the "great house," upstairs and down, each with a stack of books balanced on her head! The boys also had to have military training in school, or by joining the militia when they were old enough. Good shooting was requisite; also *Honor* and sportsmanship were stressed above all things.
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> Contrary to popular belief nowadays, the ladies did *not* smoke. The gentlemen never smoked in the presence of the ladies without special permission, nor drank except that a little wine might be used on rare occasion at dinners. A gentleman never used profanity in the presence of a lady. The ladies were permitted to exclaim, "Mercie!" or "Oh, dear!" if the provocation was great. Juleps were sipped by the men on the front porch on hot days.
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> Shows, somewhat like the later day minstrel shows, were given by the darkies, many of whom were talented and all seemed naturally musical. Hospitality was the order of the day. There was always "open house" at Mon Clova where friends and sometimes strangers who were entertained repaid by bringing news from afar. "Cards were invented by the Devil" but chess was a game of the intellect for the men. Sometimes one would meet a lady who could play chess. They had other simple games but then, as now, the interest of the young ladies was largely centered in meeting the right and eligible young men, and also then, as *not* now, how to manage a home with slave help in those days and in that level of society.

Douglas H. Cooper was elected and served as representative from Wilkinson County in the Mississippi State Legislature, in

1844. He organized the Woodville Company, of which he was commissioned Captain, in the Mississippi Rifle Regiment commanded by Colonel Jefferson Davis in the Mexican War. Captain Cooper distinguished himself in the Battle of Buena Vista, and was especially mentioned for his gallant action in the Battle of Monterey, (September 21-24, 1846), by Colonel Davis.[8]

As sectionalism over the "Slavery Question" arose on the national scene, Cooper was prominent in the political field of his home state. At the Southern Convention held at Jackson in October, 1849, he was a member of a committee to formulate a plan of action, with Governor J. W. Matthews as chairman. Jefferson Davis, U. S. Senator from Mississippi, was present as a guest of the Convention, and Judge William L. Sharkey, leader of the Whigs in Mississippi, addressed the delegates on the "Rights of Citizens," including their "right to take their slaves to any U. S. Territory." Cooper was again a delegate[9] to the Convention of delegates from the Southern States held at Nashville on June 3, 1850, which went on record in favor of the "only compromise the South would accept"—the extension of the Missouri Compromise with slave territory south of Parallel 36° 30′. Senator Davis and his friends carried Mississippi in the national campaign of 1852, in which Franklin Pierce, the New Hampshire Democrat, was elected President of the United States. Mississippi leaders accordingly enjoyed prestige and influence in the new administration at Washington when it came to appointments to office. Jefferson Davis was selected for the position of Secretary of War in the new cabinet. Douglas H. Cooper was appointed United States Agent to the Choctaws in the Indian Territory. He was installed into the office on June 1, 1853, as witnessed by Thomas S. Drew, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Van Buren, Arkansas, and arrived at the Choctaw Agency fifteen miles west of Fort Smith on June 2, assuming his duties as Agent on June 4.[10]

Cooper's appointment to the Agency office was logical, and in many ways fortunate for the Choctaws in view of the times. The background of his life was steeped in the history of the Indians. His home at Mon Clova was within the first Choctaw land cession in Mississippi by treaty with the United States, the terms of this document also granting the right-of-way for the famous Natchez Trace through the Choctaw country. Mississippi owed its existence to the Indian land cessions within its borders, especially the great cessions made by the Choctaws in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) and the Chickasaws in the Treaty of Pontotoc (1832). Cooper became familiar with the terms of both treaties

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[8] Rowland, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 667-8.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 722-3.
[10] *Report*, 1853, p. 165.

though he had no part in their making for he was still a student in school at the time.

His family connections had long been favorably associated with the affairs of the Choctaws. His father, Dr. David Cooper, as a leading Baptist in Mississippi had encouraged, if he had not personally promoted, the founding of the famous Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (1824) where many Choctaw boys were educated who were later the leaders in the Indian Territory during Agent Cooper's time. His step-brother, J. F. H. Claiborne, Mississippi's eminent historian[11] many years later who had served as a member of Congress from the state in 1835 to 1837, was appointed in 1842 president of the United States Board of Commissioners to investigate and adjudicate land claims of the Choctaws under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. His work on this commission has been specially mentioned by Mississippi historical writers of more recent times for its protection of the land claims of both the Indians and the State.

Cooper's annual reports published as a part of the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are remarkable for his understanding of the problems and needs of the Choctaw people. He is unfailingly their friend and respects their leaders. His first Report written from the "Choctaw Agency, West of Arkansas, September 3, 1953," lists nine Choctaw seminaries or academies, and states that "The academies are justly the pride of this nation, and deserve the fostering care of its national council." He stressed the need for a system of common, or neighborhood schools in outlying communities in the nation, and pointed out the great need for trained physicians and medical care among the people. There is a brief description of the Choctaw government, with the remark that "The Choctaw Indians are peaceable and easily governed." He was concerned, however, over some disturbances among them growing out of the Liquor traffic along the border lines of Texas and Arkansas. His Report for 1855 dwelt further on this subject:[12]

> "The Choctaws are steadily advancing in the arts of civilized life. It is a matter of pride and pleasure to concur in the following opinion expressed by one of their oldest missionaries, that 'the Choctaws deserve credit for what they have been doing during a whole generation in the cause of temperance. Their laws on this subject date long before those of the State of Maine. Indeed, I think Neal Dow must have been a boy when the first "council fire" against whiskey was kindled in this nation. Their laws have been quite well executed. This people deserve credit for not ever having had a *distillery* or a national debt, as well as for doing so much in the cause of education, by large appropriations of money, and then seeking men to expend it who, as they thought, feared God; and who have been adding to the amount of their school fund every year.'
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> "I hope they will receive the aid and paternal care of the United States government in their efforts to elevate themselves."

[11] Franklin L. Riley, "Life of Col. F. H. Claiborne," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-244.

[12] *Report*, 1855, p. 154.

Cooper's first Report (1853) also called attention to the disagreement between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws over the interpretation of their joint treaty signed in 1837 at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, which provided for the settlement of the Chickasaws in the Nation, with a special district set aside for them to be governed under the Choctaw laws. Cooper served as a mediator among the leaders of both sides in this controversial matter, and signed the new Choctaw-Chicakasaw treaty at Doaksville in 1854, as a witness to the terms providing a settlement of the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw District. He subsequently employed a "Captain Hunter" to make a reconnaissance and mark this new boundary line from Red River to the Canadian River. This was one of the first steps in the move that brought about the important Treaty of 1855 between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, providing for the establishment of a separate government by the Chickasaws to be organized in the Choctaw domain lying west of the recently marked Chickasaw District line and extending west to the 98th Meridian.

Agent Cooper spent several months in Washington, D. C., in 1855, under orders of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny, during the making of the new treaty which was executed in Cooper's presence, his signature following those of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw delegates on the document.[13] Two other provisions of the Treaty, in addition to that providing a separate domain for the Chickasaw Nation, are noted in the history of the Choctaws, and had an important place in Cooper's subsequent work and career. *Article II* provided that the claim of the Choctaws for the payment for some 10,000,000 acres of their Mississippi land relinquished to the Government by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, for which the tribe had received no remuneration, be submitted and adjudicated by the Senate of the United States. This became known as the Net Proceeds Claim of about $9,000,000, a fabulous sum for the times, a court claim that involved important events in Choctaw history and politics far beyond the borders of the Indian Territory for years, in which many citizens in the States and well known attorneys who had business in Washington had a part.

Article 9 of the Treaty provided that all Choctaw and Chickasaw lands lying west of the 98th Meridian to the western boundary of the Indian Territory, or the 100th Meridian, be leased to the United States for the permanent settlement of the Wichita Indians and other tribes. This region became generally known and was referred to as the "Leased District" though it was still a part of the Choctaw Nation, in which it was nominally organized as the Fourth District.

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[13] Charles Kappler, *Indian Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. II.

The scope of Cooper's work was now greatly increased. Soon after the new treaty was proclaimed in March 1856, he was appointed United States Agent for both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, spending part of his time each year at Fort Washita which had been the location of the Chickasaw Agency. His report for 1859 was dated from Fort Washita where the work of both agencies had been consolidated.

Soon after his return to the Indian Territory in 1856, Cooper set out again travelling through Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama to pay out certain bounty claims due scattered bands of Choctaws who had remained in these regions. He found them in a deplorable condition living as 'vagrants,'' and strongly advised the Indian Office in his annual report that these people should be forced to come to the Indian Territory where they could share in the land and have a better chance among the Western Choctaws.

Cooper outlined his ideas in this same report (1856), looking toward the development of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations and their eventual admission as a state in the Union. While these views received little support anywhere at the time and bitter opposition on the part of the Choctaws yet they are of interest here in the light of Cooper's later activities:[14]

> The Choctaws and Chickasaws aspire to a place among the free and sovereign States of the Union; yet population is wanting, and will never be supplied by the natural increase of the two tribes. They must adopt a system by which the immigration into their country from the United States will be encouraged, but yet held under their own control, else they are destined to be overwhelmed by the advancing millions who inhabit the United States and lose their name and distinctive characteristics of race. These are hard truths, but nevertheless it is best they be spoken, and that the Indians should prepare to ward off the shock of a sudden eruption by gradually introducing among them such persons as they may select, who will become identified in interest and feeling with them. The Choctaws and Chickasaws cannot stand still or remain passive; they must advance to the condition of citizens of the United States.

Cooper pointed out that the Treaty of 1855 had stipulated that any Choctaw or Chickasaw could settle anywhere within either nation, and thereupon be entitled ''to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens thereof.'' At the same time, no member of either tribe was entitled to ''participate in the funds belonging to the other tribe,'' creating an almost impossible situation and continuing some of the old antagonism between the two nations, in each of which the government, schools and institutions were supported and maintained out of its own tribal funds. The new Chickasaw constitution adopted in 1856 provided that only Chickasaws by birth or by adoption could vote and hold office in the nation thus Choctaws living there were without voice or representation in the government. The same was true for Chickasaws

[14] *Report*, 1856, pp. 147-8.

in the Choctaw Nation where only citizens of the nation could vote and hold office. The schools in each were attended only by children whose parents were members of the nation. Agent Cooper stated that the greatest drawback to the advancement to the Choctaws and Chickasaws in his agency arose from their "*exclusiveness* . . . . fostered and kept alive by their separate moneyed interests." He advocated allotment of lands in severalty (160 acres) to every Choctaw and Chickasaw, the balance of their commonly held lands to be an "international domain" to be sold at $1.25 per acre to any Indian citizen or to any white person whom the Indians might grant permission to settle in the country, the proceeds to be divided between the two nations in proportion to their own population for the support of government and public schools. Cooper was sanguine in this: "The adoption of such a plan will, I am satisfied, produce harmony and good feeling between the tribes, introduce among them good citizens, instead of refugees from the United States, and secure prosperity of both communities and their ultimate reunion as a free and sovereign State of the North American confederacy."

When the Choctaw Net Proceeds Claim was presented to the United States Senate for adjudication as provided in the Treaty of 1855, Agent Cooper was called upon by the Choctaws for certain data only obtainable through field work in his office, to lay before the Senate Committee members reviewing the case at Washington. Supplying this information and continuing the payment of bounty claims to members of the tribe living in other parts of the country kept him the better part of a year in journeys to Mississippi and bordering states and to Washington. Upon his return to the Agency at Fort Washita early in the fall of 1857, he found the Choctaws almost in a state of civil war over a new constitution patterned after the Mississippi State constitution, drafted and adopted in a convention at Skullyville (the old Choctaw Agency) in January, 1857, that had made drastic changes in the Choctaw laws. The Chickasaws were in trouble with lawbreakers and criminals in their nation, the manuscript of their new constitution and laws having been lost. Back of all the excitement, however, was continued opposition, especially among the Choctaws, to any move toward statehood for the two nations and any changes in holding their land in common. Both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws soon restored law and order and remedied their troubles as their Agent stated hopefully in his brief annual report for 1857 yet he was soon called upon in another quarter for action.

Hostile bands of Comanche and Kiowa and other tribes of the Southern Plains that roamed the Leased District created a problem in this outlying part of the Choctaw Nation, which called for some action to protect the recently established Chickasaw Nation. Cooper advised the Department at Washington that a strong mili-

tary post be established near the Wichita Mountains to afford protection to the Choctaw-Chickasaw domain extending to the 100th Meridian as well as to repress Comanche depredations on the Texas frontier and on the emigrant trains traveling the trails from Saint Louis or Fort Smith to Santa Fe. It can well be recalled here that the Comanches were a formidable barrier to the advancing frontier in this period for the ambitious promises made them and their allied tribes by the United States, in the treaty at Fort Atkinson (1853) had not yet been fulfilled. Cooper pointed out that the position of Agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws should be invested with jurisdiction over all their country, and that he be furnished by Congressional law with a constabulary force to guard the region against undesirable characters and liquor traffic along the borders of Arkansas and Texas.

The War Department in recent years had adopted the policy of abandoning the United States military posts in the Indian Territory even though the treaties with the different tribes had quaranteed them the protection of the Government against their enemies. Fort Arbuckle out in the Chickasaw Nation was left unprotected from April to June, 1858 the troops of the 7th Infantry at this post and at Fort Washita and Fort Smith having been ordered out for duty in Utah. Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson had opposed the abandonment of the military posts, and early in March, 1858, had sought an assignment from the War Department of sufficient troops for duty to be under the direction of the Interior Department in carrying out the United States Indian policy. The Comanches angered from an unwarranted attack by Texas Rangers, some weeks later gathered several thousand strong on the Canadian River where they were reported planning an attack on Fort Arbuckle to secure arms, ammunition and provisions from the large stores of commissary and ordinance supplies left there unprotected. Bands of Comanches had already driven off horses belonging to Chickasaw citizens and white people living in the vicinity of the post, and Choctaws living in the Chickasaw Nation had also suffered loss of property in these depredations.

Three companies of the Second Dragoons under the command of Major Enoch Steen had been ordered to Fort Washita but most of the troops were stricken with illness and were unable to furnish protection to the wide, open country westward. Governor Cyrus Harris and other Chickasaw leaders held a meeting, calling upon Agent Cooper for assistance in planning a guard for their country against the Comanches. Cooper immediately sent out a call for Choctaw and Chickasaw volunteers to serve in an armed force, acting under the advice of Secretary Thompson with whom he had conferred while in Washington. Cooper with a party of six Chickasaws reached Fort Arbuckle on June 24 finding it still unguarded. He soon learned that a company of the First United States Infantry

was on the way from Texas to take over the post, and thereupon at once sent back word cancelling the call for armed service by the many Choctaws who had gathered at Boggy Depot, the capital of their nation, and to other Choctaws who were waiting with some of the Chickasaws at Fort Wasita. When he saw the company of First Infantry, U.S.A., arrive at Fort Arbuckle incapacitated from exhaustion and illness after the forced march from Texas, Cooper considered a reconnaissance west still advisable for in the meantime he had been joined by a force of seventy-two armed Chickasaw volunteers. The expedition organized as a military force of Indians with Cooper in command set out for the Leased District, guided by the famous Delaware scout, Black Beaver accompanied by a band of Delawares and Caddos.[15]

They were gone sixteen days (July 1 to 16, 1858) traveling south and west to the Wichita Mountains and north to the Washita and Canadian rivers before their return to Fort Arbuckle, thence back to the Agency at Fort Washita, during which Cooper met some of the Wichitas and other western tribes in Council. His report of the expedition to Major Elias Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Fort Smith, closed with this statement:[16]

> **Although we were unable to discover any Comanches I think the effect of the expedition upon the Indians of the plains will be good. It will disabuse their minds of the idea that the Chickasaws and Choctaws, or "Woods Indians" as they are called, are afraid to go out on the plains and convinced them that no depredations on the frontier will be allowed to pass unpunished.**

It is a point worthy of notice in Oklahoma history that in this same report (1858), Cooper described the site of the "old Wichita village" on Cache Creek near the Wichita Mountains and recommended that a United States Military post be provided here, a location selected for Fort Sill when it was established a decade later during the period of the last wars with the Plains Indians.

Events that took place at the Choctaw and Chickasaw capitals in the spring of 1858 and available records and the laws of the two nations lead to the conclusion that the armed force that made the expedition to the Leased District was a part of military organization, with Douglas H. Cooper in command, planned through the lawful authority of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw governments in view of threatening Comanche depredations. The matter of keeping intruders out of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw nations, and especially the Leased District which was a part of the Choctaw Nation, as provided in the Treaty of 1855 was still up for interpretation by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, though the Treaty stipulated that persons considered as intruders should be kept out

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[15] *Report,* 1858, p. 157; Grant Foreman, ed., "A Journal Kept by Douglas Cooper," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. V, No. 4 (December, 1927), pp. 380-90.

[16] *Ibid.*

of the country by "the United States Agent, assisted, if necessary, by the military." That all which had taken place, as well as the Agent's activities, was well and favorably known throughout the two nations is evidenced by the fact that all the school reports except one made from June to September, 1858 attached to the Agent's Annual Report were adressed "General D. H. Cooper, United States Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, "by such prominent white missionaries and educators as Alexander Reid, Superintendent of Spencer Academy for Choctaw boys; W. R. Baker, Superintendent of Armstrong Academy for Choctaw boys; Cyrus Kingsbury, Superintendent of Pine Ridge Seminary for Choctaw girls; J. C. Robinson, Superintendent of the Manual Labor School for Chickasaw boys; J. H. Carr, Superintendent of Bloomfield Academy for Chicksaw girls.

The Choctaw Council meeting in its regular session in October, 1858, passed an act providing for the organization of the Leased District as "the county of Cooper," named in honor of their Agent. The following resolutions were also adopted and approved expressing the high regard and thanks of the Choctaws to "General Douglas H. Cooper" for his prompt action during past summer, and making further provisions for him to repair to Washington to aid the Choctaw delegation there in all affairs before the United States Government:[17]

Resolutions Complimentary to General Douglas H. Cooper, the United States Indian Agent for the Choctaw Nation.

1st. *Resolved* by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation That the hearty thanks of the people we represent are due and are hereby cordially tendered to General Douglas H. Cooper, the present Indian Agent of the Government of the United States for this Nation; resident among us, for the greater part of the past six years, for the very able, highly efficient, purely disinterested and successful manner in which he has discharged many trying and laborious duties required of him by the Government of the United States for the benefit of the Choctaw people, his urbanity of manner, his unequaled readiness to accomodate all, his generous hospitality to our people, and, more especially, for his prompt, energetic and Judicious recent course when the people upon the boder (*sic*) of the common country of the Choctaws and Chickasaws were alarmed by fear of, and suffered from several extensive depredations committed by the Comanche Indians upon some of them, most of whom are Choctaws by blood.

2nd. *Resolved* further That his excellency the Governor, be requested to enclose to Gen. Cooper, a copy of these Resolutions, accompanied by a letter more fully expressive of the high appreciation and regard the Choctaw people entertain for him as a gentleman, a friend and an officer.

3rd. *Resolved* further That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to address a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking him to order General Douglas H. Cooper, the present agent of the United States Government for this Nation to Washington City for the ensuing winter, to assist the Choctaw delegation by his counsel and cooperation, in all matters of business pending between the Government of the United States and this Nation.

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[17] Copy of the original resolution in Mr. Head's papers.

Approved 26th October 1858

Tandy Walker, Acting Governor
Passed the House Oct. 26, 1858, W. Robuck, Speaker
Passed the Senate (signed) . . . (?) loma, President Oct. 26, 1858.

There is said to be a reference to the effect that Cooper was made Brigadier General of Militia in Mississippi prior to 1858, probably during one of his recent visits home in that state. In any event, "General Cooper's" well known views for needed armed forces in the Indian Territory under direction of the Interior Department, as well as his former military service in war and his connection with any recent military organization in Mississippi had fitted in well with the reconnaissance of armed Chickasaws and other Indians under his command. But another and independent movement of United States troops under orders of the War Department against the Comanches early in the fall of 1858 brought tragedy to the Indian service. Captain (Brevet Major) Earl Van Dorn in command of four companies of the Second Cavalry accompanied by a force of friendly Indian scouts on the march from Fort Belknap, Texas, in the region north of Red River made a surprise attack on an encampment of Comanches visiting a peaceful Wichita Indian village located on Rush Creek in the western part of the Chickasaw Nation. A hot fight took place (October 1, 1858), in which many Comanches, a number of Wichitas including several women and some United States soldiers were killed. The village and the crops of the Wichitas were ruined and their horses killed or driven off. Before the battle, this band of Comanches had been on the way from Fort Arbuckle where they had just had a friendly council with the officer in command at that post, and had pledged peace. Unfortunately, neither this officer nor Captain Van Dorn had known of the plans or actions of the other. After the battle, the Wichitas fled to Fort Arbuckle seeking aid in a destitute condition and protection from their old friends, the Comanches who now suspected the Wichitas of treachery in Van Dorn's attack, and vowed vengeance on them.

When word of the plight of the Wichitas at Fort Arbuckle reached Douglas H. Cooper, he immediately wrote to Superintendent Rector at Fort Smith, saying, "I have anticipated this as the inevitable consequence of the fight between the United States troops, under Major Van Dorn, and the Comanches, who were encamped near the Wichita Village." Cooper went on to say that he had no funds to provide the Wichitas in their starving condition even temporarily, adding, "As these people have retired upon this Agency, and cannot go into the Leased District, I respectfully ask instructions what to do with them. I hope their agent can be sure to feed and take care of them; but, in the meantime, some provision is necessary."

Superintendent Rector took immediate steps to aid the distressed Wichitas, effecting a contract to provide them with food.

He wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Mix at Washington, asking for advice and reporting the recent trouble, in which he explained why the Comanches had been at the Wichita village:[18]

> . . . the Comanches, having taken some horses from the Wichitas, and being applied to return them, promised to do so, and proposed to come and have a friendly talk as brothers with them and the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. They were accordingly invited to do so, and came in, bringing part of the horses, and were encamped in peace, some of the Wichitas being with them.

The presence of Comanches on a friendly mission in the Chickasaw Nation at this time indicate Cooper's diplomacy in his several councils with Indian leaders in the Leased District while on his reconnaisance the summer before. If nothing more than paving the way for a friendly meeting with the Comanches had been accomplished in these council meetings, Cooper's Leased District expedition had had a measure of success that was wiped out in the Battle of the Wichita Village.

Cooper viewed conditions among the western Indians with misgiving, and felt that some action with an armed force would be necessary in the Leased District. Threatened war with the angry Comanches continued after the Battle of the Wichita Village. White thieves engaged in horse stealing and other outlawry on both sides of Red River, in Indian Territory and Texas. The plight of the refugee Wichitas at Fort Arbuckle was desperate, the Indian Office delaying in their removal to the Leased District for lack of adequate military forces to guard new Indian settlements in that region. Choctaw and Chickasaw officials held that certain bands of Delawares, Shawnees and Kickapoos had no right to remain in the Leased District under the terms of the Treaty of 1855, though these same bands had long lived as neighbors to the Wichitas. Cooper notified Superintendent Rector at Fort Smith that these Indians would have to be removed from the region. Rector did not agree, and wrote again to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for an interpretation of the recent treaty as to what tribes were allowed settlement in the western district.

During the late autumn of 1858 and the early winter of 1859, threats by armed Texans were made against the remnant Indian tribes living on two small reservations near the Brazos River. Several fights in the spring and early summer, in which both Texans and Indians were killed, finally forced the United States agents to hurry their Indian charges north for protection in Indian Territory. They were marched north in the August heat with a small escort of United States soldiers, and were located along the Washita River in the recently designated "Cooper County." The Wichitas had moved and made their settlements in the vicinity, with Dela-

[18] *Report*, 1859. Rector's letter dated October 23, 1858, pp. 217-18; also, see Cooper's letter dated October 17, 1859, *ibid.*, p. 216.

ware, Shawnee and Keechi bands as neighbors. A new agency was soon established, called the Wichita Agency, yet the Indians were left without any nearby military protection and were open to attack by the Northern Comanches. Some hot fights took place and killings occurred. Late in the fall, the War Department at last established a small military post known as Fort Cobb, about four miles southwest of the Agency. In the meantime, there was much criticism on Indian affairs in Washington between the Interior and the War departments. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1859 pointedly left off military titles for its agents in the Indian Territory, "Douglas H. Cooper, Esq.," being simply addressed as "U. S. Indian Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws."

True to his convictions on States' right and his strong support of Negro slavery as an institution in the Southern states and among the Indian nations of the Territory, Cooper expressed his satisfaction when the American Board for Foreign Missions under the dominance of the abolitionists in the North withdrew its support of long established Indian missions and schools in July, 1859. He like George Butler, the Cherokee Agent, believed that the rapid advancement of the Indians in the Territory and the development of their country had been because they were slaveholders.

The Chickasaws, like the Choctaws, held their Agent in high regard, for his ability to bring any Indian business to a successful conclusion. The favorable decision in behalf of the Choctaws on the Net Proceeds Claim in the report of the United States Senate, by the Committee on Indian Affairs, March 29, 1859, led to the adoption of resolutions by th Chickasaw Legislature, approved by Governor D. Colbert on October 20, 1859, authorizing "Douglas H. Cooper, U. S. Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws," to take charge of suits in the recovery of certain Chickasaw lands in Mississippi, or a just and fair compensation therefor." A year later, other resolutions by the Legislature approved by Governor Cyrus Harris (November 12, 1860) sought permission from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that "Douglas H. Cooper, U. S .Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws" visit Washington to attend to Chickasaw business entrusted to him; and further went on record in favor of his reappointment and continuation as agent for the two nations.

The beginning of 1861 saw the people of the Indian Territory well in line with the Southern States in the fast moving events that brought secession. The Knights of the Golden Circle, a pro-southern, secret organization had been reported operating among the Indian planters and a slaveholders in the Territory. Yet there was division along the lines of the old feud with the Ross Party in the Cherokee Nation where opposition to Negro slavery was represented by the Keetoowah Society, an organization of mostly

fullblood Cherokees started (1859) by the noted Baptist missionaries, Evans Jones and his son, John Jones.[19]

The worst drought known in this country in 1860 had brought failure of the corn crop in the Choctaw Nation, with famine and starvation facing the people. Cooper as Choctaw Agent had charge of the purchase and general distribution of thousands of bushels of corn among the Choctaws, under authorization of the Choctaw General Council with the appropriation of large sums under a bill entitled "An act to provide for indigent Choctaws and for other purposes."[20] The first purchase of corn costing $16,000 was made, and all distributed through his office to the Choctaws in the winter and early spring of 1861, Agent Cooper having received the Council's appropriation of $16,120.86 from Superintendent Elias Rector at Fort Smith, on January 1, 1861. The second purchase of corn was made in the second quarter of 1861, the Choctaw Council having appropriated the sum of $134,512.55 "to be expended, or so much thereof as may be necessary, in the purchase, shipment and distribution of sixty-five thousand bushels of corn among the Choctaw people, per capita." Cooper's work now was charged with heavy responsibilities in the midst of upheavals in government controls with the War between the States soon blazing, for Fort Smith was a hotbed of secession.

Immediately after the death of the United States disbursing agent, Major P. T. Crutchfield, in January (1861), all the Indian funds kept at Fort Smith had been seized by the Arkansas authorities and on February 8, the United States arsenal at Little Rock was also seized, Governor Henry M. Rector of Arkansas strongly pro-southern in sentiment leading in the fast growing movement in his state that brought secession on May 6 when Arkansas joined the Confederate States. In the meantime, however, a State convention called by Governor Rector early in March had passed a resolution against the diversion of Indian funds for any purpose other than for which they were originally intended by the United States. A called session of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation on February 7 had adopted "Resolutions" in which it was resolved:[21]

> That in the event a permanent dissolution of the American Union takes place, our many relations with the General Government must cease, and we shall be left to follow the natural affections, education, institutions, and interests of our people, which indissolubly bind us in every way to the destiny of our neighbors and brethern of the Southern States upon whom we are confident we can rely for the preservation of our rights of life, liberty, and property, and the continuance of many acts of friendship, general counsel, and material support.

[19] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,* (New York, 1929), Vol. pp. 301-2.

[20] *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation,* compiled by Joseph P. Folsom, 1869, pp. 318-22, 340-41.

[21] *Official Records,* Vol. I, p. 682.

These events vitally affected Cooper's position as United States Agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. It was only a question of time when he would pledge his own support and allegiance to the Confederacy founded by six southern states on February 4, 1861. The middle of March found him still in Washington, D. C., with his mind made up on the course he would take whereupon he addressed the following letter to United States Mitchell of Arkansas:[22]

Washington City, March 15, 1861

Dear Sir:

I deem it proper, in order that my position in reference to the Choctaw and Chickasaw agency be distinctly understood, to say that I have continued thus far to act as the agent of the United States for said tribes at the earnest solicitation of the people, and the request of their authorities.

I have not sought office at the hand of the present administration, and have nothing to ask or expect from it. You will confer a favor upon me by making it known to proper quarters that it is to me personally wholly immaterial whether I be displaced or not.

Respectfully and truly,
Doug. H. Cooper

Hon. C. B. Mitchell
of Arkansas, United States Senate

,The next day, Senator Mitchell made the following reply to Cooper:

Washington City, March 16, 1861.

Dear Sir:

Your note of yesterday, requesting me to make known to the President your entire indifference to acting any longer as the agent to the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribe of Indians, has been received.

In accordance with your request, I informed the President that you were a strong southern-rights man, and sympathized completely with the South in her present movement.

You only consented to continue as agent for the Indians at their urgent solicitation, coupled with my own.

Yours truly,
Chas. B. Mitchell

General D. H. Cooper

Cooper had been in Washington during the previous winter (1861) at the request of the Choctaw Council, under the recent act which provided that he consult with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington on the purchase of corn and its distribution among the people; and further while in the Capital to aid the Choctaw delegation (Peter P. Pitchlynn, Samuel Garland, Israel Folsom, Peter Folsom) in their work to secure necessary legislation from Congress on the Net Proceeds Claim. The Senate in its award in this case on January 9, 1859, had directed the Sec-

[22] *Reply To Charge Made By J. P. C. Shanks* by Douglas H. Cooper (Washington, 1873), p. 2.

retary of the Interior to ascertain and state the account, the Secretary's report being submitted on May 8, 1860, which stated the amount due the Choctaw Nation to be $2,981,247.30.[23]

The appropriation by Congress to pay this amount or a part of it was urgent in view of the destitute condition of the Choctaws. An appropriation of $500,000 was made by Congress on March 2, 1861, as a part payment of the whole amount due the Choctaw Nation, this appropriation consisting of a bond of $250,000 to be invested in favor of the Nation and $250,000 in cash to be paid over at once. Out of this cash amount, Cooper as Agent received the $134,512.55, previously appropriated by the Choctaw Council for the purchase of corn, in two payments, the first on March 22, and the second on April 6, 1861, through the Superintendent's office at Fort Smith. The corn was purchased in the North and shipped by boats down the Ohio River but military orders at the opening of the War delayed the shipment, thousands of bushels were taken for use in the Federal Army, and most of the remaining grain shipped up the Arkansas and Red Rivers never reached the Choctaw Nation but lay rotting on the freight boats unable to make passage in the low waters of the streams, owing to the lateness in the shipping season.[24] These unfortunate conditions and excitement attending government affairs in the states bordering the Choctaw Nation heightened the incidents connected with the transactions in the corn purchases and distribution in 1861 out of all proportion to other events of the time in Choctaw history. For one reason, the amount received by Cooper for the second purchase was a lot of money in those days, in fact the larger part of the $250,000 cash award from Congress appropriated in early March; money, too, that had arisen from the Net Proceeds Claim. The Choctaw Council in a called session approved on February 14, 1862, an act entitled "An Act authorizing certain persons to investigate and make a settlement with D. H. Cooper for certain amount of money," Section 1 of which states:

> *"Be it resolved by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation assembled,* That Henry N. Folsom, Treasurer, and Albert Pike be and they are hereby appointed with full power and authority to make immediate settlement with D. H. Cooper and others, in regard to the balance of moneys due the Choctaw Nation, arising under the act of 1860, appropriating certain amounts of money for the relief of indigent Choctaws, &c."

This action was promoted by Peter P. Pitchlynn, leader of the Choctaw delegation in the Net Proceeds Claim, probably in behalf of his friend, General Albert Pike attorney for the delegation under contract in connection with work in 1854. Pike had addressed the Choctaw Council in the preceding June asking for some $7,500

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[23] Brief: *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs*, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, on *H. R. 7546*, a Bill for the Relief of the Heirs of Israel Folsom, Deceased (Washington, D. C., 1922), p. 2.

[24] Reply by Douglass H. Cooper, *op. cit.*

which he claimed as an attorney fee out of the cash award of $250,000 from Congress. Cooper made his report on the corn purchases in 1862, and was asked to submit it a second time, also, in 1866 when it was approved by Pitchlynn, then Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, and by D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs who ordered it duly recorded in the Choctaw accounts as settled.

Douglas H. Cooper had not served as Choctaw and Chickasaw Agent without others on the outside wanting the appointment to the position. There was a group of individuals in Arkansas who would be rivals if not unfriendly to Cooper, in any interests having to do with Indian claims. Albert Pike was a native of New England who settled in Arkansas where he engaged at different times as a teacher, newspaper man and attorney. He was something of a dreamer, and became known for his verses and writing on events of the day . Though he actually knew little about Indian matters, Pike had been retained as agent and attorney in Choctaw claims, by the Choctaw delegation in 1854, consisting of Peter P. Pitchlynn, Israel Folsom, Samuel Garland and Dixon E. Lewis. A year later, Pike being unable to render any service in the Choctaw work, the Choctaw delegation made a new contract at Washington in the Net Proceeds Claim with John T. Cochrane as attorney who in turn took care of a number of attorneys associated with him, including John B. Luce, Luke Lea (former Commissioner of Indian Affairs), and J. W. Denver (later Governor of Kansas). Pike who knew Cochrane always continued to claim an interest in the Net Proceeds contract. Cooper at no time acted as attorney in the claim before the War, but as Agent he made many trips to Washington where he aided the Choctaw delegation at the special request of the Choctaw Council at different times and with approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. These brief notes on the complicated history of the Net Proceeds Claim[25] serve to give something of Albert Pike's activities before 1861, and acquaintance with Cooper. Pike, who had been in Washington during the winter and spring of 1861, visited the Confederate authorities on his way back to Arkansas and was appointed early in May as commissioner to make treaties in behalf of the Confederate States with the Indian nations and tribes of the Indian Territory, he himself having strongly urged such a policy before Confederate officials.

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[25] John H. B. Latrobe, Counsel for the Choctaw Nation, "Memorial in Behalf of the Choctaw Nation, in relation to their claim to the net proceeds of their lands ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 27, 1839," 41st Congress, 3d Session, House *Mis. Doc. No.* 37, ordered printed, 1871. For reference to many interested in this Choctaw claim, terms of the Cochrane Contract, etc., see *Report of John H. C. Shanks,* Chairman of Committee on Indian Affairs, "Investigation of Indian Frauds," 42nd Congress, 3d Session, House *Report No.* 98, printed in 1873, hereafter cited as *Shank's Report* 1873.

Early in April, the Indian agents in the Indian Territory who were pro-southern in sentiment had aligned with the Confederate States and the Federal government appointed new men to these positions with the exception of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agency which was left vacant since the two nations were known to be pro-Confederate in sympathy. On the part of the Confederate States, David Hubbard of Alabama had been appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs and was located in Arkansas where he began appointment of Indian agents for the Confederacy in April. He had a long spell of illness, so when Albert Pike arrived on his way to the Indian Territory to negotiate treaties with the Indian tribes early in May, he of necessity had to take over many of Hubbard's duties. He asked Douglas H. Cooper to continue in his position as Choctaw Chickasaw Agent since Cooper was highly regarded and had the confidence of both nations.

Cooper arrived in Fort Smith from Washington, D. C., by May 1 to find great excitement among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The plea of the Chickasaws and other tribes early in the year that a strong force of United States troops be kept stationed in the Territory received no consideration from the War Department until March 18 when orders were issued to Lieutenant Colonel William H. Emory while in Washington to repair at once to Fort Washita to make that post his headquarters with the further concentration of all troops from Fort Arbuckle and Fort Cobb. Fort Washita was described as "an old-established post" and "highly important military point," with well constructed buildings in good repair, 160 miles west of Fort Smith. In the meantime, a Confederate force of Texans under orders issued the middle of March, on the way north had taken Fort Cobb, and on April 17 took over Fort Washita, this post having been abandoned the day before by the Federal forces in command of Colonel Emory in view of a superior number of Confederate troops. He received orders from Army headquarters in Kansas while on his way toward Fort Arbuckle to withdraw all Federal forces to Fort Leavenworth thus leaving the Indian Territory open to Confederate occupation.

On May 25, the Chickasaw Legislature meeting in Tishomingo passed a strong resolution, approved by Governor Cyrus Harris, declaring the independence of the nation and favoring alliance with the Confederate States, this resolution to be published in the *National Register* at Boggy Depot. On the same day—May 25, 1861, the Legislature passed an act adopting Douglas H. Cooper as a member of the "Chickasaw Tribe," and "Entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen according to the 11th Section of the general provisions of the Constitution of the Chicka-

saw Nation." This act was signed by A. Alexander, Speaker of the House, John E. Anderson for the Senate, and Governor Cyrus Harris.[26]

A letter was addressed to "Major Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw Nation" by Secretary of War L. P. Walker, Confederate States, dated Montgomery, Alabama, May 13, 1861, empowering Cooper to raise a mounted regiment of Choctaws and Chickasaws to be commanded by him in co-operation with Brigadier General Ben McCulloch who on the same day was assigned "to the command of the district embracing the Indian Territory lying west of Arkansas and south of Kansas." Thus Cooper was automatically "Colonel" of his command. The orders to General McCulloch, also on May 13, placed at the general's disposal three regiments of volunteers, one each from Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana; and two regiments organized among the Indian tribes in the Territory.

On June 14, 1861, a proclamation was issued by Principal Chief George Hudson, under authority of an act of the General Council on June 10, declaring the Choctaw Nation "free and independent" and in favor of an alliance with the Confederate States. The Proclamation further required military service of all citizens and residents in the Choctaw between the ages of 18 and 45 years. Immediate service was ordered for 700 men, or as "near as possible." to report for duty in the Mounted Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Riflemen in the Confederate States Army, to be commanded by "Col. D. H. Cooper, of C. S. Army."[27]

Albert Pike, as Confederate Commissioner began the Indian treaty negotiations in the early summer of 1861, with his commission headquarters first located in the commodious Creek boarding school building at Asbury Mission near North Fork Town, Creek Nation. His conferences with Cooper before beginning his work were invaluable because of Cooper's wide knowledge of Indian affairs in the Territory. Pike completed an alliance in behalf of the Confederate States with the Choctaws and Chickasaws in one treaty on July 12, signed by their respective delegations, the members of which had been appointed by their national authorities *Article XLIX* of this treaty provided that the colonel in command of the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment in the Confederate States Army should be appointed by the President; the lieutenant colonel and major, elected by members of the regiment. *Article XVI* provided that two sections of land for the agency in each nation should be selected by the President and ceded to the Confederate States. It was under this provision that Fort Washita remained the location of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agency. Shortly after the signing of the treaty, Douglas H. Cooper took the oath of allegiance to the

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[26] Original Act of the Chickasaw Legislature, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Chickasaw Citizenship # 4680.

[27] *Official Records,* Vol. III, pp. 593-4.

Confederate States and the pledge to accept the duties of Choctaw and Chickasaw Agent under the new government.

Colonel Cooper soon had his military headquarters at Buck Creek, about ten miles west of Skullyville, where the Indians who enlisted for war service received their preliminary training. The organization of the "Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment of Mounted Rifles" was completed by the last week in July, yet no arms or ammunition had been furnished them in the Confederate Army. Lack of firearms was the great obstacle in the Confederate service of the Indian Territory throughout the War, few supplies reaching the Indian forces since most of the guns and ammunition shipped up the Arkansas River was kept for the troops in Arkansas. Another point of controversy in the war service of this region was the employment of Indian troops in the service beyond the borders of the Indian Territory. Commissioner Pike admitted the use of Indian troops in Arkansas at first, at least he did not oppose it, yet he soon took the definite stand against the use of armed Indian forces other than as a guard within their home country in the Territory. Colonel Cooper on the other hand held that the Indian troops should be used anywhere needed in the western military campaigns of the Confederacy, and especially fitted were they for scouting duty in the field. He wrote directly to President Jefferson Davis, a personal letter dated "Old Choctaw Agency, July 25, 1861," calling attention of his friend to the matter of the use of Indan troops as well to personal matters relating to his service as Choctaw and Chickasaw Agent. Colonel Cooper stated in part as follows:[28]

> There seems to be a disposition to keep the Indians at home. This seems to me a bad policy. They are unfit for garrison duty, and would be a terror to the Yankees.
>
> I hope you will excuse the freedom with which I write, but the Fort Smith clique, who oppose me in everything, right or wrong, seem to have obtained a controlling influence on matters at headquarters.
>
> Captain Pike has intimated that the holding for the agency for the Choctaws and Chickasaws and that of colonel of the regiment are "incompatible." It has been the effort of the set with whom he is identified for years to break me down, and especially to get control of the Choctaw and Chickasaw agency. Pike himself has not entered into this scheme heretofore, but his hint shows that an excuse is only wanted to do so. Now, the Confederate States having adopted the old intercourse law, there is no difficulty in the way. The President, as you know, can assign to any military officer the duties of Indian agent. My own opinion, formed long since, is that military officers should in all cases perform the duties of Indian agents. . . . .
>
> Colonel Greer's regiment from Texas will arrive near my camp, 10 miles west of this, tonight. I learn, too, it is poorly armed. The Indians have few or no guns. I could not arm over three companies from all the guns in the regiment.

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[28] *Official Records*, Vol. III, p. 614.

The outbreak of the War marks the beginning of annals that make the history of the Indian Territory unique in the history of the four years of conflict between the North and the South. More than one large volume could be written about the Indian Territory if one set forth faithfully the background of events in this strategic region and portrayed the many brave men that had a part in the War years, a principal one of whom was Douglas H. Cooper. He was held in the highest regard and feeling as a real friend and leader, by the Indian people in the Territory, particularly the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In this position, there was continual pressure against him from certain outside forces even in the Confederate ranks, for one thing because the Indian people who had taken upon the cause of the South with Colonel Cooper in their midst were forceful and something to be reckoned with in the face of great odds. Furthermore, Cooper was loved and held in deep affection by the men of his command, Indians and Texans. Several books have been published that portray Cooper as the evil genius in the history of the War between the States in the Indian Territory,[29] these books written by those who without acquaintance with the country and the people have pictured events and personalities as described in many records made by enemies, records preserved and presented with a biased and even vicious slant toward those who had espoused the Southern cause.

Douglas H. Cooper did not establish his permanent family home in the Indian Territory yet the members of his family were concerned for his welfare. His two daughters, Fanny and Elizabeth in company with a faithful old Negro servant, "Ned," ran the Union picket line in the midst of the War, with the aid of Fanny's husband, Major William Walker of Mississippi, crossed the river in a small skiff, obtained horses and traveled horseback all the way through the wilderness to the Indian Territory where the two girls joined their father. They kept house for him where he had his headquarters, part of the time at old Skullyville and part, at Fort Washita, and aided in war nursing, and helped in the community by teaching school and some missionary work. Romance for Elizabeth blossomed and she was married in the Indian Territory on July 27, 1863 to Thornton Buckner Heiston,[30] a native Texan who served in Cooper's command throughout the War, remaining the General's warm and loyal admirer to the end of his days.

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[29] Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, (Cleveland, 1915); and ....., *American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919). The latter volume makes errors in some statements.

[30] Thornton Buckner Heiston, born July 27, 1841, at Campbellsville, Kentucky, was the son of Dr. Josiah Landis Heiston (or Heistand) and his wife, Sallie Robards Heiston, who settled in Texas in 1850. Thornton B. Heiston was assigned from the Texas troops in the Confederate Army to Col. Cooper's staff, and served as his Aide-de-Camp throughout the War. Small of stature but firmly built, he is said to have feared "neither man, God nor the devil." He captured a large party of Federals in an encounter, and won immediate promotion. He came within a few votes of being

Three daughters of Gen. and Mrs. Douglas H. Cooper of "Mon Clova" in Mississippi about 1860. Left to right: Frances Cooper (m. Maj. Wm. Walker, C.S.A.); Sarah Morris Cooper (m. James MacDonald); Elizabeth Herbert Cooper (m. Capt. T. B. Heiston, C.S.A.).

Colonel Cooper's first campaign in the War was in the late autumn of 1861, against Opothleyahola, the Creek leader who with some 5,000 followers of Creeks and Seminoles including women and children had left their "towns" in the Nation and were concentrated on the Red Fork, or Cimarron River, some miles west of present Tulsa, Oklahoma. Opothleyahola had not been a party to the Creek treaty with the Confederate States made by Albert Pike on July 10, 1861, and therefore was in opposition to the constituted Creek authorities. He had at first temporized on a position of neutrality in the War but after communications with Federal agents in Kansas who promised him armed aid and guarantees in the ownership of the Creek property, he had lined up with the Union. Cooper for several weeks sought to effect a peaceful settlement between Opothleyahola and the Creek officials but when he found only contempt and suspicion from the Creek leader, he decided to force him and his followers to recognize the Creek authorities representing the majority control in the Nation. Colonel Cooper in line with General McCulloch, Commander of the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory, set out from his camp headquarters, near Thlopthloco (few miles southwest of present Okemah, Okfuskee County) with six companies of the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, a detachment of the Ninth Regiment of Texas Cavalry, First Regiment of the Creek Mounted Volunteers, and the Creek and Seminole Battalion traveling in the general direction north toward the Cimarron River (or Red Fork of the Arkansas). Opothleyahola's encampments were located near this river some miles west of "Tulsey Town," and in a hard campaign three battles or heavy skirmishes were fought at Round Mountain (north of the Cimarron), Chusto Talasah (Caving Banks on Bird Creek) and Chustenahlah (on Hominy Creek west of present Skiatook). Opothleyahola's "Loyal Creeks" held their own in the first battle at Round Mountain; in the second battle at Chustenahlah (December 26, northeast of Tulsa near present Turley), Colonel Cooper's troops had the advantage but were forced to withdraw because his ammunition was short. He sent word to Colonel James McIntosh, Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles, at Van Buren, asking for reinforcements, and on December 20, set out from Fort Gibson, under orders toward Tulsey Town again. The third battle at Chustenhahlah resulted in a rout of the "Loyal Creeks," with Opothleyahoa and many of his followers fleeing north in the midst of a terrible winter storm and finally arriving in Kansas where most of them remained as refugees during the War.[31] All their

elected Colonel when he was only 21, the older men urging that he was still too young to be a full colonel. He agreed and remained a captain almost to the end of the War. On his 22nd birthday, July 27, 1863, he married in the Indian Territory, General Cooper's daughter, Elizabeth Herbert Cooper. Major Heiston lived among the Choctaws so long that he learned the native language, and it is said was adopted by them. He served as sheriff in the nation just at the end of the War. He and his wife made their home in Bonham, Texas, for many years.

31 *Official Records*, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-33.

household goods, wagons, cattle and horses were destroyed or captured by the Confederates.

Colonel Cooper on his part was deeply disappointed and concerned, even incensed at the outcome of the Battle of Chustenahlah for he had planned with the reinforcements promised to surround and capture the enemy Creeks. But, to Colonel Cooper's surprise, Colonel James McIntosh in command of the reinforcements went on ahead without informing Cooper and launched the attack against Opothleyahola's forces thus leaving a point open for their escape. Cooper as "Colonel, C. S. Army, Commanding Indian Department," made his report of this first campaign direct to the Secretary of War, J. P. Benjamin, at Richmond, Virginia, in which report Cooper severely criticized Colonel James McIntosh for having gone on ahead and made an attack on the enemy before his own troops and Colonel Stand Watie's Cherokee forces could arrive and cooperate. Cooper further set forth in this report the "fatiguing scout of seven days" following the third battle, over the whole country lately occupied by Opothleyahola's forces "accomplished over exceedingly rough and bleak country, half the time without provisions, the weather very cold (during which one man was frozen to death)" and endured with "great fortitude by the officers and men" of his command. The apparent lack of co-operation among the Confederate forces and the weakness of the victory in the campaign against Opothleyahola reveal the background of troubles that arose in the way of discord, dissension, and insubordination that afflicted the Confederate and, also, the Federal army divisions in the West during much of the War.

Albert Pike in the meantime had completed his assignment of Indian treaty making in the signing of the Confederate treaty with the Cherokee Nation on October 7, 1861. He soon went to Richmond, Virgina, remaining there until well into the winter after being assigned to the command of the Department of Indian Territory, as Brigadier General of the Provisional Army.[32] General Pike chose a site for his headquarters south of the Arkansas River, some fourteen miles west of Fort Gibson (about a mile north of present Muskogee) where extensive fortifications were built under his orders and named Fort Davis. Colonel Cooper in command of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment was actively engaged in the field in the Cherokee Nation where trouble between the Confederate Cherokees and the Federal sympathizers (mostly full blood members of the Keetoowha Society, called "Pins") threatened civil war. General Pike published orders at Little Rock that in effect relieved Colonel Cooper of his command in the Cherokee Nation but soon (March 3, 1861) General Pike himself was issued orders by Major General Earl Van Dorn, Commanding the Trans-Mississippi District Department No. 2, to march his forces including Colonel Stand Watie's

[32] Orders of Nov. 22, 1869. *Ibid.*, p. 690.

First Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Colonel John Drew's First Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles and Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh's First Regiment of Creek Mounted Volunteers into Northern Arkansas. In the swift movement of Confederate troops and hurried orders from General Van Dorn's headquarters, General Pike received little consideration, the supplies of clothing, arms and ammunition intended for his Indian forces being diverted for use among the Arkansas and other divisions yet the poorly equipped Indian regiments took an active and admirable part in the Battle of Pea Ridge on March 6-8, 1862. The battle proved a disastrous defeat for the Confederates.[33] Colonel Cooper with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment was efficient in covering the retreat of the utterly demoralized forces of General Van Dorn's army.

General Pike was now in virtual command of General B. McCulloch's and Colonel James McIntosh's departments, these two officers having been killed in action during the battle. The fact that he himself had received little consideration and that his troops had suffered at the hands of other commanding officers in the Trans-Mississippi District before Pea Ridge, and the further fact that General Van Dorn's report of the battle had failed to mention the part the Indian forces had had in the fighting were slights that General Pike could not overlook. He withdrew his command far from the border of Arkansas and established his headquarters at Fort McCulloch which he ordered constructed only a few miles east of Fort Washita, at Nail's Crossing on Blue River, with the plan of concentrating his scattered Indian and white forces at this strategic place on the Texas Road as a barrier against possible invasion of the Federal army from the north.[34]

Colonel Cooper, ranking officer in the Confederate department of the Indian Territory next after Brigadier General Pike, was issued orders from the General's headquarters at Fort McCulloch on June 23, 1862, assigning him to the command of all Confederate and allied troops, Indian and white, north of the Canadian, except Colonel John Jumper's Seminole Battalion. Two days later the same orders in brief form were issued, stating that all orders to the troops north of the Canadian "will pass through . . . . Colonel Cooper, acting general of brigade." Colonel Cooper's assignment was to meet the invasion of Federal troops coming into the Territory from Kansas, and in part a movement under orders issued by General

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 320, 203-06, 286.

[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 822. The following statement is an excerpt from the original letter in the Confederate Memorial Room, Oklahoma Historical Society, from George Fine, member of Pike's Brigade, dated June 2, 1862, Fort McCulloch: "There is some sickness here though not more than could be expected considering the number of men and the water they have to drink—Gen'l. Pike's fortifications (or entrenchments more properly are getting along slowly—He has commenced here as though he intended to spend the remainder of his days here— The Gen'l. is not very highly esteemed by his soldiers."

Thomas C. Hindman, commanding the Trans-Mississippi District, to General Pike for the urgent dispatch of troops to the aid of Arkansas.[35] A preemptory order received by General Pike on July 11 from General Hindman commanding him to make all haste himself to Arkansas with all his forces from the Indian Territory failed to move Pike. He resigned his command and asked for a leave of absence the same day at Fort McCulloch where he had remained since the beginning of General Hindman's orders in May, writing replies to him and other officers setting forth complaints of his lack of troops, their poor condition and lack of discipline, and detailed explanations of why he could not carry out orders of his superior. He maintained that, "One white regiment makes more fuss, grumbles more, hatches out more lies, and is more trouble in one day than all the Indian troops and people in one year." He stated further that he had only taken over the "d—d command" in the first place (1861) because after making the Indian treaties he felt responsible for the country, and when he returned to the Territory, he had "found everything was going to the devil." General Pike's letter to General Hindman a few days after his resignation was so sarcastic in tone—("The successful exertions that have been used to render me helpless are being followed by the legitimate results"), so lacking in military conduct and courtesy that one may be led to believe General Pike's recent course had been one of insubordination. He went to further lengths and published a proclamation the end of July to the chiefs and people of the Indian nations setting forth grievances and prophecies against the Confederate departments that well might have discouraged the Indians and at the same time weakened the southern cause before the Federal forces if the paper came into their hands. On the other hand, General Pike addressed a letter to President Davis, dated from Fort Washita August 1, 1862, in which he set forth the military needs in the field of the Indian Territory and recommended the appointment of a superintendent of Indian Affairs at once.[36]

When Colonel Cooper at Fort Davis received a copy of Pike's proclamation to the Indians, he immediately ordered any copies found taken out of circulation, and thinking the General partially deranged and a dangerous person in the Indian Territory in view of the Federal Army's "Indian Expedition" already across its borders from the north, ordered Pike's arrest which was fully approved by General Hindman.[37] This feud between Pike and Hindman made a great stir in the military departments all the way to Richmond, and resulted in a number of appointments and changes in the Trans-Mississippi District. A few weeks after his resignation General Pike visited his family in Little Rock where he was granted a leave of absence from military duty by Major General Theophilus H.

[35] *Official Records*, Vol. XIII, pp. 839, 844, 865.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 869, 957, 961.
[37] For references to Gen. Pike's arrest, see *ibid.*, pp. 40-2, 860, 903, 921, 923, 980-1.

Holmes, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, until President Davis's decision on Pike's resignation was made known.

General Pike soon went to Grayson County, Texas, where he was reported implicated in a disloyal society, and from thence late in October, (1862) went back to Fort Washita where he without any authority assumed command of the Confederate forces Indian Territory.[38] Pike's first orders now had to do with movement of troops around Fort Cobb where in attack on October 24, a large force of Northern Indians—armed scouts from Kansas—burned the Wichita Agency, killed some of the agency employees and the next day carried out the terrible massacre of the Tonkawa Indians, the most loyal to the Confederacy of any western tribe. The report of these tragedies fanned the flames against Pike and his immediate apprehension and arrest dead or alive were ordered by General Hindman. General Cooper received a letter at Fort Gibson, dated October 31, with directions from Hindman to respect no orders from General Pike and if the latter interferred with the command, Cooper should "resist any interference, using the force necessary for the purpose." General Pike was arrested at Tishomingo on November 14, and five days later at Warren, Texas, in custody of a detachment of Shelby's Brigade, addressed a letter to Pressident Davis stating, "In my opinion the Indian country is lost."

Colonel Cooper had taken over the command of the Indian Territory in August, and from reports that he received he had been commissioned Brigadier General about the middle of the month at Richmond. On August 20, 1862, General Holmes issued orders in the Trans-Mississippi Department attaching the Indian Territory to "The District of Arkansas, composed of the states of Arkansas and Missouri and the Indian country west thereof, Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman commanding." General Cooper was in the thick of battle at Newtonia, Missouri, when a special order was issued at Richmond on September 29, 1862: "Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper is assigned to duty as Superintendent of Indian Affairs by virtue of act of Congress permitting such assignment."[39]

The Confederate campaign in the northern part of the Territory and over the border in Missouri during the spring, summer and autumn was rough going, especially for Colonel Cooper in constantly rallying his Indian forces against lack of supplies, feed for horses and long overdue pay. He reported a skirmish at Neosho, Missouri (April 26), saying "Too much praise cannot be awarded Col. Stand Watie and his brave men for their ceaseless vigilance on the northern line of the Cherokee Nation and their gallantry in attacking and routing a superior force of regular, well-drilled Federal troops." The Federal "Indian Expedition" (Northern Indian and white troops from Kansas) was abandoned, though a detachment in July reached

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 885.

Park Hill where Chief John Ross and some of his officers were arrested and taken back with the retreating Federals to Kansas where he was paroled. Cooper's report on the engagement at Newtonia again praised the bravery and coolness of his men—Texans and Indians—in the face of superior numbers, especially the gallant bearing of Colonel Tandy Walker of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment: "He was always found at the head of his regiment in the thickest of the fight, encouraging his men by words and deeds. He remained on horseback during the whole day an descaped unhurt." Cooper gives this dramatic scene in the cavalry action at Newtonia:[40]

> Colonel Haywe at this juncture received orders to charge the enemy's infantry, and at the head of his men at once went gallantly into the charge. Leaping the stone fence, they met the enemy, when a sharp fight took place; but being exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, as well as infantry, were compelled, after succeeding in checking his advance, to fall back to their original position, under cover of the stone fence. At this moment the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, entered the town at full gallop, passed through without halting, singing their war-songs and giving the war-whoop, and under my personal direction at once engaged the enemy under a heavy fire from artillery and infantry. Colonel Shelby's Missouri regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon commanding, had in the mean time arrived on the field and taken a position on the right, flanking the enemy. That, with the charge of the Choctaws, soon drove them from the town and put them to flight, followed by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker and his men.

The Federal forces were pushed back but with heavy reinforcements soon outnumbered the Confederates near Newtonia and were ready to attack on October 4. At this point, four Texas regiments were withdrawn from Cooper's command by orders of Brigadier General James S. Raines, though Cooper was under Raines's orders to invade Kansas. Colonel Cooper was now compelled to order his Indian troops, most of which had gone south (many on furlough by orders of General Hindman) to concentrate at Fort Wayne. The Indians were slow coming to this post in the Cherokee Nation since they were not enthusiastic for another campaign beyond the borders of the Indian Territory in view of winter, with their own lack of arms and ammunition, clothing and shoes and no feed for their horses.

On October 22, a strong force of Federal troops, of the Second and Third brigades, led by Brigadier James G. Blunt, commanding the First Division of the Army of the Frontier, attacked Fort Wayne and overwhelmed Colonel Cooper's small force, he himself very ill and Colonel M. W. Buster of the Indian Battalion having to take command.[41] The Indians fought desperately, Colonel Stand Watie with a part of his troops ably covering the retreat with reinforcements met on the way to Fort Davis. The Battle of Old Fort Wayne was the beginning of some Federal successes in the Indian Territory;

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[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 297-8.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 331-2.

Fort Gibson several months later was taken over and remained a Federal stronghold the remainder of the War.

December, 1862, found Colonel Cooper at the old Choctaw Agency at Skullyville, not fully recovered from his recent illness and under strain to gain recognition of his forces in the Trans-Mississippi Department, holding out by skirmishing and scouting tactics against the advance of the Federals from the North. There would have been better chances of securing commissary supplies for the Indian regiments through his office as Superintendent of Indian Affairs but his commission of appointment to this office was held up pending charges of drunkeness against General Raines in his recent action after the Battle of Newtonia, the charges also involving General Cooper, brought by General Holmes, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department. General Holmes was relieved of his duties on March 30, 1863, Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith having taken over his command on March 7 under instructions of the War Department at Richmond, issued some weeks earlier. Brigadier General William Steele had been assigned General Pike's Indian Department in December, 1862, as part of the Arkansas District, and assumed command at Fort Smith on January 8, 1863, where he had his headquarters for six months.

General Steele, a West Point graduate came to Fort Smith a stranger to take over a command that was considered a "graveyard" for reputations. He would reorganize his forces to hold the southern half of the Territory (Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations) against Federal invasion of Texas. He reported that conditions in the Indian Territory were gloomy: resources of the country exhausted, the people desponding, and the troops demoralized and ill equipped. General Cooper, however, proved the mainstay and was praised by General Steele for rendering important service and for his wide knowledge of the Indians. General Cooper though he was General Steele's senior in point of military service in the field remained in command of the First Brigade composed of Indian regiments and battalions and of troops of Texas cavalry and rangers, in the Indian Territory.

December, 1862, also saw General Albert Pike active in his freedom at Little Rock, the charges that had brought his arrest having been dropped. Rankled by the military orders against him in the case, he now sought retaliation for the wrong that he thought had been done him in the Trans-Mississippi Department. He addressed a scathing letter to Major General Holmes on December 30, personally denouncing him.[42] Such a step naturally aligned him with the political group in Arkansas who were open in their severe criticism of the Trans-Mississippi Department, among whom were those who sought to influence its appointments and military orders. Pike began a

[42] *American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, pp. 337-51.

campaign against General Steele going so far as to publish a letter to General Holmes based on misinformation that was injurious to General Steele who refused "to enter into any newspaper controversy," particularly in the present condition of the country. The trouble also reached over to General Cooper's position, and there was talk of his losing his command of the Indian Brigade. Such untimely reports were said to have come through someone among the Chickasaws but the long friendship and loyalty of the Chickasaw leaders and men of General Cooper's command since the beginning of the War proved the report untrue. James Gamble, a captain in the Chickasaw Battalion, wrote from Tishomingo on April 16, 1863, to General E. Kirby Smith:[43]

> As far as my knowledge extends in regard to the feelings of the Chickasaws toward General Cooper, they could not be better satisfied with him; no one stands higher in their opinion than he, and whenever it was understood that General Cooper had been placed at the head of the Indian brigade, it seemed to put new spirit into the Chickasaw battalion, as being an efficient, brave officer and a good man, one upon whom they placed their utmost confidence. Whatever reports may be in circulation intended to lower the standing of General Cooper in the eyes of the Confederate Government, to cause his removal from his present position as commandant of the Indian brigade, it cannot emanate from the Chickasaw people, but would rather that he should be retained, and that more troops be placed under his command to defend this Indian Territory than has been heretofore. And as for his popularity as an Indian agent, I can say that I have been acting as his interpreter for several years, and was, therefore, the principal channel by which all national, and individual feelings were frankly expressed on either side, but I do not remember having heard a Chickasaw express any dissatisfactory language toward General Cooper since he was appointed as their agent.

The following day at "Tishomingo City" another communication was addressed to General Kirby Smith through General Holmes, expressing the utmost confidence in General Cooper "both as an Indian agent, than whom on one can stand higher in the opinion of the Chickasaws, and as a general whom they have unanimously placed at the head of their forces to be raised in defense of their country and the South. . . . ." This was signed by Governor Winchester Colbert, National Secretary Wm. F. Harrison, Captain James Gamble, Ex-Governor Cyrus Harris and Judge Wilson Love of the Probate Court, Chickasaw Nation. A few weeks earlier in March, General Steele had written General Holmes, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, stating that General Cooper's services were too valuable to part with "so long as it was left discretionary" with him (General Steele).

There were frequent scouting expeditions by detachments of both Federal and Confederate troops and severe skirmishes in the Cherokee country particularly around Fort Gibson in the spring and summer of 1863. General Cooper with his Cavalry Brigade of Indian and Texas troops carried on continuous operations under

[43] *Official Records*, Vol. XXII Pt. 2, p. 1117.

orders of General Steele, in the region along the Arkansas west and south of Fort Gibson to keep the Federal forces from permanently establishing themselves there.

Major General James G. Blunt, commanding District of the Frontier, U. S. Army, arrived with a heavy train of supplies at Fort Gibson (henceforth called Fort Blunt until the end of the War) on July 11, and ordered boats constructed at once to cross his more than 3,000 troops over the Arkansas River swollen by recent rains. The Federal forces then marched down the Texas Road in a general campaign south in the Indian Territory with its aim the invasion of Texas. General Cooper had concentrated his immediately available troops on Elk Creek, with his headquarters at a temporary supply depot at Honey Springs west of the Arkansas in the Creek Nation. Brigadier General E. L. Cabell, commanding the Confederate Brigade of Arkansas and Texas troops in Northwestern Arkansas, was ordered forward by General Steele to reinforce General Cooper but did not make the long distance to Elk Creek until a few days after July 17, on the morning of which General Blunt's forces began an attack on General Cooper's position. The battle that followed that day, generally referred to as the Battle of Honey Springs, is counted the major engagement of of the War between the States in the Indian Territory, with well equipped Federal cavalry and infantry troops supported by a strong battery of guns as well as howitzers attached to the cavalry all in regular battle formation commanded by General Blunt. The Confederate ammunition supplies brought from Mexico through Texas proved useless, the powder dissolved to a damp paste in the recent rainy weather yet Cooper's Indians and Texans with practically no artillery held in line. The battle had begun about three miles north of Elk Creek and ended in a hot contest at Honey Springs about a mile south of the creek. Heavy casualties were suffered on both sides during the day; the Confederates began a retreat which Cooper described in his report of the battle: "Too much praise cannot be awarded the troops for the accomplishment of the most difficult of all military movements—an orderly and successful retreat, with little loss of life or property, in the face of a superior number, flushed with victory."[44] He ordered his command east toward Briartown in the direction of Fort Smith instead of going south on the Texas Road. This left the impression that Confederate reinforcements were on the way, leading General Blunt to order his command back to Fort Gibson at once to protect that post.

General Steele immediately took personal command of his forces in the field, within a week concentrating Cooper's and Cabell's brigades in the general region of Elk Creek where he awaited reinforcement from a Texas brigade before beginning oprations around Fort Gibson again. Within a short time, Cabell's Arkansas troops

[44] *Ibid.*, 940 and Vol. 22, Pt. 1, pp. 457-61.

began deserting by the hundreds each day; the remaining cavalry troops were generally scattered, having to depend upon grazing their horses on prairie grass for feed several miles from the main encampment; and the Mexican ammunition supplies were again proving useless, the powder a damp paste. General Steele under these circumstances in view of another Federal advance now adopted delaying tactics by withdrawing his forces, the main part of which was General Cooper's Cavalry Brigade, and encamping south of the Canadian in the Choctaw country. Detachments of Federal troops following Steele's command succeeded in capturing Confederate supplies south along the Texas Road, including the large Confederate hospital at North Fork Town in the Creek Nation. A heavy skirmish took place at Perryville on August 22, 1863, when General Cooper's rear guard was attacked by Federal detachments and the town with its storehouses of Confederate supplies burned.[45] Cooper's Brigade concentrated at Boggy Depot was soon back and active in the field again in the northern part of the Choctaw Nation while Cabell's forces operated in the region west of Fort Smith which fell without any resistance to the Federal forces on September 1, 1863. A few weeks later, General Steele withdrew the white troops in his command, ordering General Cooper with his Indian regmients to keep up a desultory warfare to hold the Federals from foraging forays around Fort Smith.

The Indian troops under General Cooper's command were effective in holding the line against invasion of Texas through the Indian Territory, an approximate 200 mile line of scattered encampments, some temporarily occupied by Confederate detachments, extending south of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers west from the Poteau to Camp McIntosh in the Leased District. There were many brushes after 1863, and one heavy skirmish was lost to the enemy on Middle Boggy but this Confederate line was held to the end of the War.

Conditions in the Indian Territory were hard in view of the Federal successes during the summer of 1863, though these successes were not due to a lack of superior generalship nor of skill and valor in the Confederate lines. The great distance of this western frontier hundreds of miles from the Trans-Mississippi headquarters and more than a thousand from the War Department offices meant long delays in the transport of military orders and supplies over wilderness roads. The citizens of the Indian nations were disheartened by the successful Federal invasion of the Territory; most of the southern groups went south and lived as refugees in the Choctaw Nation, especially the southern Cherokees, partisans of Stand Watie, with their nation ravaged and actually occupied by Federal troops. The voice of the Confederate Indian forces against these conditions came through the "United Nations of the Indian Territory" that had

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 597.

been organized at North Fork Town during the fast moving events in May, 1861, with Robert M. Jones, prominent mixed-blood of the Choctaw Nation as president. Delegates from each of the six member nations—Five Civilized Tribes and the Caddo—met in regular and called sessions of the Grand Council from 1863 at Chahta Tamaha (Armstrong Academy) in the Choctaw Nation to consult on matters of mutual interest in the Territory. There was a growing demand through the councils of the United Nations since some months before the Battle of Honey Springs that the territorial regiments be organized as the Indian Territory Department separate from Arkansas, and that General Cooper be placed in command. Indian leaders and officers representing their separate governments (Seminole, Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw) addressed resolutions and memorials to the Confederate War Department and President Davis urging such action. Colonel Tandy Walker (former governor of the Choctaw Nation), commanding the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment wrote directly to President Davis, presenting the matter:[46]

> The question of again creating the Indian Territory a separate military department, we understand, has been brought up. We hope it may be created. Since it has been attached to the Trans-Mississippi District the country and people have suffered severely. Supplies and funds for pay of troops, having to pass through so many hands, are long delayed, and many of them never reach us. Arkansas military leaders stripped the Indian Department of all that General Pike provided for it. Troops that had been raised for the express purpose of defending the Indian country were taken away from it at a time the enemy was invading it, and their services most needed, and the Indians left to defend it as best they could, without arms, subsistence, and clothing that had long been promised, and which had even reached the border of their country, yet passed into other hands, with the exception of a few suits, and many of them troops with pay due for twelve months. We do not mention this with any spirit of complaint, but to show the necessity of creating the Territory a separate department. But while we greatly desire it to be made so, we are fearful that some favorite Arkansas military politician may be appointed to command it, as we have reasons for believing that some of them are looking to and are aspiring for it. As far as our observation and knowledge extend, Arkansas politicians who fill military offices are endeavoring to lay a foundation upon which to build political capital hereafter, and politics in that State have mixed too much with military appointments in it for the good of the State or Indian country. It is our desire that this department be separated from all others. If you deem it best to grant our desires, we earnestly request you to appoint to the command of it Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, a man in whom we have every confidence, and who has been with us from the beginning of the war; who has suffered with us and has shared all our privations, and who, by his own exertions, raised troops for our defense, and, when the enemy had advanced to the center of the Indian Territory, came to the rescue, and, by his firmness, drove them from the country, and marched his little army into Missouri and there gained some advantages over them, but was not supported by officers placed in command over him by political military chieftains, but ordered back into Arkansas, the troops he had raised for our defense taken from him, and we, composing but a small force, were driven south of the Arkansas River, and when all other generals had deserted and deprived us of all that was necessary to render us efficient and comfortable, with a dreary winter before us, with no subsistence and an enemy

[46] *Ibid., Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 1122-3.

in our midst, he alone stood by to counsel and direct us, and placed his little suffering army in the most advantageous positions to check the enemy and protect the whole country. This is the general above all others we desire to be placed in command of the Department of the Indian Territory.

The matter of separating Indian Territory from the Arkansas District was brought to a head in the Trans-Mississippi Department in September and October of 1863. General Kirby Smith published a circular addressed to the people of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas reviewing their perilous condition and calling upon them for vigorous efforts to save their states from invasion. General Cooper's claim of seniority of rank over General Steele had not been acted upon in the War Department at Richmond when he wrote General Kirby Smith the latter part of August. General Smith in his reply re-assured Cooper that he had the high opinion and respect of his superiors who regarded him as a "man of ability and patriotism."[47] General Smith further stated that General Cooper possessed the confidence of the Indian people to a greater degree than any one else, making it imperative for the interests of the Confederacy that he remain as their commander; he hoped that General Cooper would reconcile himself to his present position until the question of rank could be settled by proper authority, and that in the meantime he would give General Steele hearty co-operation and support in his "difficult and arduous command."

The "Department of the Indian Territory" was separated from the "District of Arkansas" on October 3, 1863, Brigadier General Steele commanding.[48] Wide-spread opposition had now developed against him in the Confederate forces of the Territory. In this General Cooper again wrote to General Kirby Smith stating that while he would not "disparage General Steele's merits" yet he had seen from the first that Steele's lack of acquaintance with the people and the topography of the Indian Territory would mean failure in his administration of this Department. The officers of Steele's command, both Indians and Texans, felt that an aggressive campaign against the enemy in the Spring of 1863 would have cleared the Indian Territory of occupancy by Federal forces. Colonel Stand Watie was convinced that this would have proved true. Officers of the Texas Cavalry troops that had served in the Indian Brigade under General Cooper for the past two years wrote General Kirby Smith asking for the organization of the Indian Department and stating,[49] " . . . . our commands, while we regard the present commander, Brig. Gen. W. Steele, as a gentleman and efficient officer, believe that General Cooper would harmonize the troops in the department, and accomplish more good than any other officer that might be placed in command."

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[47] *Ibid.*, p. 987.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 1045.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 1125.

Both the Chickasaw Legislature and the Choctaw General Council during the first week in October petitioned the Confederate War Department that General Cooper be placed in full command of the Indian Territory. General Steele in view of such petitions besides the belief among many of his troops that General Cooper was his senior in rank asked to be relieved from his command, orders for which were issued by General Kirby Smith on December 11, 1863. These orders also placed Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey in command of the Indian Territory. On the same day (December 11, 1863), the Adjutant and Inspector General, C. S. A., submitted an "Indorsement" to President Davis, reviewing Cooper's commission and rank, stating:[50] "Brigadier General Steele was appointed October 3, 1862 to take rank September 12, 1862. Brigadier General Cooper was appointed June 23, 1863, to take rank May 2, 1863, and has not yet been nominated for confirmation." This "Indorsement" further recommended that General Cooper be placed in entire command of the Indian Department, and that he take back rank as brigadier general "to correspond to the date of his former command, since he was acting in the capacity of brigadier general early in 1862." This latter statement seems to infer that General Cooper would be senior in rank.

The Secretary of War issued orders out of Richmond on January 9, 1864 assigning Brigadier General D. H. Cooper to the "command of all the Indian troops in the Trans-Mississippi Department on the borders of Arkansas," at the same time relieving General Steele for duty elsewhere in the Department. Under direction of Lieutenant General Kirby Smith sent out from his Shreveport headquarters, General Cooper would be still under orders of Brigadier General Maxey. The uncertainties of his position at this particular time in the Territory, with his appointment of 1862 as Superintendent of Indian Affairs still not acted upon, led General Cooper to address a letter,[51] with copies of the different orders on his appointments, directly to President Davis on February 29, 1864, in which Cooper said, "I make no complaint and shall make none and will do all in my power to defend this country, but should be glad to know my true status." The *Official Records* show that Cooper's letter with its enclosures was not out of line with other personal communications from many another officer and official addressed to President Davis during the War.

A special report of the Inspector General's office in the Trans-Mississippi Department in the meantime pointed out the poorly drilled, armed and disciplined troops in the Southwestern forces. General Cooper's Brigade along with all other Texan and Indian Territory troops were criticised in this. As an example, Colonel Stand Watie with his Cherokee Regiment while admired for courage

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 1038.
[51] *Official Records*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 1007-08.

and activity was held in severe criticism for his utter lack of discipline, General Steele himself having expressed his doubts of the advisability of placing Watie in command of a Brigade, the organization of which had been planned and delayed since the Summer of 1863.

General Maxey,[52] a West Point graduate and resident of Paris Texas in the military service of that state since 1861, immediately began reorganization of the Territory in which he had the full cooperation of General Cooper. In this reorganization it was expressly understood that no Indian regiment would be expected to serve outside the borders of the Territory without the consent of the Indians. Two Brigades were immediately organized: the First Indian Cavalry Brigade was commanded by Stand Watie who was commissioned Brigadier General on May 10, 1864, the only Indian raised to this rank in the Confederate States Army; the Second Indian Cavalry Brigade commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tandy Walker, acting Brigadier General under General Sterling Price in the Camden, Arkansas campaign in the Spring of 1864. Walker's Brigade of its own volition served at this time beyond the territorial borders, and did valliant service in the Confederate victory in the Battle of Poison Springs, Arkansas on April 18, when the Federal advance was turned back from the invasion of Texas. Thus this southwestern granary of supplies of corn, wheat and cattle was saved for the Confederate Army.

A decision came out of the War Department at Richmond on General Cooper's status on July 21, 1864: "The Indian Territory west of Arkansas is hereby constituted a separate district of the Trans-Mississippi Department to the command of which Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, Provisional Army, C. S., is assigned." General Kirby Smith let this order rest for a time awaiting particulars from the Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs with reference to General Cooper's appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Finally, six months later on February 14, 1865, an order was issued from the Trans-Mississippi headquarters at Shreveport assigning General Cooper the duty of Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Indian Territory. One week later another order from the same headquarters assigned General Cooper the Military command of the *District of the Indian Territory.*[53]

General Cooper assumed the duties of both positions on March 1, his command of the military District bringing him the responsibilities of a major general.[54] There is no available record of his having ever received the commission of Major General yet he had been nominated for this by Elias C. Boudinot of the Cherokee Nation and others, and it is said that his papers were in review by the Confederate War

[52] *Confederate Military History*, Vol. XI, pp. 246-8.
[53] *Official Records*, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, pp. 1387, 1396.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 1408.

Department before the end of the War. General Cooper's able administration of affairs in both positions soon proved that his appointment was the most fortunate thing that could have happened to the Indian people in the Territory. General Kirby Smith, however, had predicted it an unwise move for all along he had held that Cooper could not hold his military command and his position as Superintendent at the same time. The Indian Nations with their old friend and commander as administrator in both military and civil affairs presented an amazing solidarity of purpose and strength during the closing period of the War with its threatened chaos. General Cooper on his part stood staunchly for the Indians and gave much of the finest service of his career that marks him a great man in history. His program throughout the Territory was firm in prohibiting the sale of whiskey; he kept his men active and busy exhorting them to self control; he provided for the needy to the utmost of his ability, and he was strict in his stand against speculation, profiteering and thievery.

General Cooper had remained on active duty with his command throughout the War in the Territory where more than fifteen engagements, now referred to in the history of the Indian Territory as "battles," were fought, besides many light skirmishes and brushes, with the enemy. His aide-de-camp had been his son-in-law, Major Heiston; also his son D. H. Cooper, Jr. had given fine service in the Indian Territory Department.[55] Early in the winter of 1865, the latter had gone to Richmond with communications from General Kirby Smith out of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Many years later a veteran of the Confederate troops in the Indian Territory made the statement that General Cooper's work in the War had been "simply prodigious."

News of the surrender in Virginia on April 9 did not reach all the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory until early in May. The Trans-Mississippi Department surrendered at New Orleans on May 26. General Cooper at his home at Fort Washita carried on correspondence concerning the procedures in surrendering his forces, both with the Confederate officers and Union Army officers. He advised with General Stand Watie and other Indian leaders who, at his suggestion, called a meeting of the Grand Council of the United Nations at Chahta Tamaha on June 10. The Indian delegates in this session were of one accord in holding to their independence as nations that, though recently in alliance with the Confederate States, would now open negotiations with the United States as the victorious side in the late War. Each Indian nation signed a truce separately with the Army officer serving as the commissioner on the part of the United States: Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn signed in behalf of the Choctaw Nation at Doaksville on June 19; General

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 1382. Some writers have confused D. H. Cooper, Jr., with his father, General D. H. Cooper.

Stand Watie at the same place, in behalf of the Southern Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles and the Osage Battalion, on June 23; Governor Winchester Colbert, for the Chickasaw Nation on June 14, and on the same day the Caddo Battalion laid down its arms. General Cooper had pledged on June 28, 1865, to carry out the terms of the Trans-Mississippi surrender as far as the white troops in the Indian Territory were concerned. Thus, the forces—both Indian and white—in his old command were the last in the Confederate Army to surrender.

In the summer of 1865, the five Indian nations of the Territory lately in alliance with the Confederate States were summoned to make new treaties with the United States. Negotiations were begun by special United States Commissioners in a meeting with various Indian delegations at Fort Smith in September, 1865, and the final treaties completed the following year at Washington, D. C. The Choctaws and Chickasaws because of their common interests signed the same treaty with the Federal Government on April 28, 1866, which was ratified by the Senate on June 28 and signed by President Johnston on July 10. Among the witnesses who signed this treaty was General Douglas H. Cooper.[56]

The Choctaw delegates in making the Treaty of 1866 were Robert M. Jones, Allen Wright, Alfred Wade, James Riley and John Page, a fine group of Choctaws, educated men of character and ability. The Chickasaw commissioners were also prominent leaders of their nation: Winchester Colbert, Edmund Pickens, Holmes Colbert, Colbert Carter, and Robert H. Love. Since their lands had been held under patent by the Choctaws, the Choctaw delegation headed by Robert M. Jones took the lead on this fundamental point in the negotiations at Washington. He had been an ardent secessionist and one of the wealthiest slave holders and planters in the Southwest, and had been elected by his people and served as Choctaw delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond during the War. The Choctaws and Chickasaws faced a grave situation in making a new treaty since the United States commissioners at Fort Smith forced them to acknowledge themselves subjugated nations that had forfeited all property and rights because of their recent course in the War. The Choctaw delegates with Colonel Jones as their leader—a close friend of General Cooper—only admitted the Fort Smith proposition upon the condition that they would discuss and continue further negotiations at Washington. The resolution of the Choctaw General Council in appointing the delegates stated that the Choctaws "would sooner yield all claims to anything due the Nation on the part of the United States government than to be induced to sacrifice any principal of honor which is due their people and posterity in regard to their land which is so dear to them." The resolution clothed the five delegates with plenary power in drawing up a treaty

[56] Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 918-31.

GENERAL DOUGLAS H. COOPER
Photo taken at Washington, D. C.,
about 1867

MRS. DOUGLAS H. COOPER
(née Frances Martha Collins)
Photo taken at Washington, D. C.,
about 1867

and gave explicit instructions that under no circumstances should an acre of land east of the Ninety-eighth Meridian be sold. If the sale of these lands was forced upon them, the whole question was to be referred back to the people. Besides the land, there were a number of claims due the nation, the principal one of which was the Net Proceeds, the award in which had been made by the United States Senate in 1859, and a part of the money—$500,000—appropriated by Congress in 1861. One half of this appropriation—the $250,000 bond—had been confiscated by the Federal government during the War though there had been attempts by Peter P. Pitchlynn and the delegates of 1855 ("Old Delegation") to secure its payment, the half of which was due him and his associates under the contract with John T. Cochrane that had been approved by the Choctaw Council before the War and recognized by the Indian Office at Washington.

To incorporate a provision in the new treaty recognizing this Net Proceeds claim of some $2,000,000 and all other claims was of next importance to retaining the land. The first step before the Choctaw delegates was to ascertain whether the former treaties with the United States had been abrogated by any act of the Federal government since 1861. To make sure on this point and secure counsel that would strengthen the Choctaw cause in making the new treaty, Colonel Jones as leader of the "New Delegation," clothed as it was with plenary power, consulted with General Cooper and entered into an agreement with Cochrane in the Net Proceeds claim, and employed the brilliant attorney, John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, in behalf of the Choctaws. Mr. Latrobe was a Union man and was well and favorably known in Washington. General Cooper, a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, had known Cochrane, a Southerner, for many years, and had a small interest with Cochrane in promoting the Net Proceeds. Mr. Latrobe proved upon investigation that the former Choctaw treaties had not been abrogated, much to the satisfaction of the delegation. Through the winter of 1865 and 1866 on into the spring, he met day after day with the Choctaw delegates and drew up the terms of the treaty that was signed in April, one of the finest treaties in the interests of the Choctaws and Chickasaws ever made. Their title to all the land east of the 98th Meridian was clear, and many other provisions covering their progress, such as building railroads and sectionizing the country had a prominent place in the document. *Article 10* provided recognition of all Choctaw claims arising under former treaties, by the United States, which meant that after review by the Court of Claims and appropriations by Congress, millions of dollars would be duly paid both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. It should be noted that the Treaty of 1866 had many progressive provisions that followed in line with General Cooper's ideas, such as allotment of lands in severalty and steps toward a territorial government for the several Indian nations and tribes of the Indian Territory.

While all the treaties with the five nations in 1866 mentioned this territorial organization, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty gave more details of such an organization and further provided that the name of this territory should be "Oklahoma."[57]

General Cooper remained in the Choctaw Nation at Fort Washita and at New Boggy Depot where his son-in-law and daughter, Major and Mrs. Heiston made their home for a time. General Cooper and Major Heiston owned a small store there, and the latter became editor of *The Vindicator,* a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Choctaws and Chickasaw published at New Boggy Depot. Shortly after 1866, General Cooper entered into partnership with Charles E. Mix in the prosecution of Indian claims before the Government at Washington.[58] Mr. Mix was a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was the secretary of the United States commissioners at Fort Smith in 1865, and had lately been Chief Clerk in the Indian Bureau at Washington.

The Net Proceeds still held the center of the stage in Choctaw affairs before Congress since the claim had been adjudicated and it was only a matter of securing the appropriation in full settlement. The Pitchlynn delegation was allowed full charge in promoting the Net Proceeds by agreement with the delegation of 1866, the latter retaining an interest through the Latrobe contract, Mr. Latrobe's work in making the Treaty having been approved by the Choctaw Council, for which he had received $100,000 for the Cochrane interests in 1866. Influential attorneys and men prominent in Washington were again identified with the Pitchlynn interests, including General Albert Pike and Jeremiah S. Black. In 1869, these interests pushed their claim, and it was reported by Mr. Latrobe that they were about to make a compromise securing the appropriation of the approximate $2,000,000 Net Proceeds if the Choctaw Nation would waive all other claims of any kind forever. This meant a great loss to the Nation if such a measure were passed by Congress. Alarm among the Choctaws at home led to the recall of the Pitchlynn delegation in their work at Washington under order of Principal Chief Allen Wright before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nathaniel Taylor. General Cooper, Mr. Latrobe and the Cochrane interests were in the fight and defeated the move threatened by the Net Proceeds' interests.

The matter hung fire until 1872 when the Chairman of the Indian Committee in the House of Representatives, John C. Shanks of Indiana, took an interest in promoting the appropriation of all

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[57] The territorial organization set forth in the treaties of 1866 did not materialize yet the name "Oklahoma" for the Indian Territory became popular and was adopted as that of Oklahoma Territory organized under an Act of Congress in 1890. The name was suggested by Allen Wright, Choctaw delegate in the making of the Treaty of 1866, and is from the Choctaw words meaning "red people" (synonymous with the English name "Indian"); *okla* meaning "people," and *homma* meaning "red."

[58] *The Vindicator,* New Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, August 24, 1872, p. 2, col. 4.

MAJOR THORNTON
BUCKNER HEISTON
in his late years.

MRS. THORNTON B. HEISTON
(née Elizabeth H. Cooper)
in her late years.

Choctaw claims due at this time. It was said on good authority that his representative had appeared in the Choctaw Nation and offered to secure the appropriation if the Choctaws would give over the $250,000 confiscated bond to his interests. This seemed to be another offer for a contract on claims arising on the Choctaw horizon. General Cooper and the 1866 delegation interests carried on against this new possibility on the part of Mr. Shanks. The fight at Washington was a bitter one. Congressman Shanks called for an investigation of all Indian claims in the Indian Territory, particularly the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek, and published the findings under the title "Investigations of Indian Frauds."[33] This voluminous report of some 800 pages of fine print made charges against John H. B. Latrobe, General Cooper and the delegation of 1866, principally Allen Wright. In particular, John H. B. Latrobe and General Cooper were pointed out as the dishonest promotors of the "Cochrane claim on the Net Proceeds" that had been guilty of receiving one hundred thousand dollars in an attorney fee in making the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1866. The Chickasaw commissioners of 1866 were also charged, among the leaders Holmes Colbert. General Cooper in this report was referred to as "both the serpent and brains of the dishonorable combination to defraud those people [Choctaws and Chickasaws] and the master-head that has manipulated the movements before and since." The report apparently from certain dates and statements contained therein was mostly prepared *after* the close of the session of Congress on March 4, 1873, and therefore was not read by members of the Indian Committee and approved by them during the session. The introduction and general presentation with explanations of the New Proceeds Claim and its history is evidently the writing of one man and constitutes vituperative and exaggerated statements that cannot be taken as correct and truthful evidence against those it would condemn. This *Shanks' Report* fitted into the investigation of general Indian affairs promoted by the administration at Washington at the time. Back of it all were the ruthless political forces that brought suffering and indignities to all the Southern people in the period of reconstruction. The Net Proceeds and most other Choctaw claims were in eclipse for another long period of years. This meant an interim when General Cooper used up his remaining fortune and finally lived much of his time in retirement at old Fort Washita. He died there after an illness with pneumonia on April 30, 1879, with Major Heiston at his bedside. The following notice on the "Death of Gen. Douglass H. Cooper" appeared in the *Star Vindicator,* Blanco City, Blanco County, Texas, May 10, 1879, which states in part:

"General D. H. Cooper was more than a wonderful man and has passed through and experienced all the varied changes and vicissitudes of life. . . . . kind and sympathetic by nature and generous to a fault. . . . .

[33] Shank's Report, 1873.

"We know it is too often the case with all of us to extol the virtues of a dead man at the expense of our veracity but the editor-in-chief of this paper knew Gen. Cooper long and knew him well and we can conscientiously say that he was an honest man of noble impulses and born and bred a gentleman. . . . ."

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

*By Anna R. Fait**

Foreword

This autobiography was written in 1944 *by Mrs. Anna R. Fait who had come with her husband, the Reverend S. V. Fait, a missionary of the Presbyterian Mission Board to the Comanche Indians in* 1888, *and taught the first school for white children in present Caddo County. Mrs. Fait had been asked to write this story of herself, having been recently selected and honored as the outstanding "Pioneer Woman Teacher" in Caddo County by the Delta Kappa Gamma Fraternity of women teachers. Mrs. Fait's manuscript has been contributed for publication in The Chronicles of Oklahoma by members of the Committee on Choice of the Pioneer Woman Teacher in Delta Kappa Gamma, Dr. Anna Lewis, Head of the History Department, Oklahoma College for Women, and Mary Bailey, History Department in Chickasha High School, with this word about Mrs. Fait: "Wishing to pass on to you the interesting story of her life as she recorded it for us most charmingly, we give you her biography in her own words."*

Editor.

Born October 3, 1865, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. When I was eight years old my father bought some lots in a college town and built a home joining the college campus. As there was no railroad up the Monongahela River at that time, we made the forty-five mile trip by boat, and at night. The boat rocked so that my brother —four years old—and I fell out of our berth. I wasn't very strong and hadn't been to school a great deal but, in the Model School (for teachers training) I was given the opportunity to make as many grades as I could each year. All my academic and college work was done here, taking examinations in twenty-two subjects, and graduating in June 1883, (third in a class of forty-three, most of whom were much older than I) three months before I was eighteen.

I had never been in a country school; but, my first experience as a teacher was in such a school, in a coal mining district, with sixty-nine pupils and eight grades and I taught some other things not required, had a community literary society and a spelling school with a crowded house. Here I had many strange experiences, one of them falling through the ice on the river. It was a

* Mrs. Fait is still living at her home near the site of the old Presbyterian Mission and School, which is now called "Mautame Farm," east of Anadarko. She wrote the following note in connection with her autobiography: "The story is necessarily brief, I could say very little about life at the Mission. I failed to say, in connection with my teaching in the Braddock, Pa., schools, that I marched to the polls at the head of 1,500 school children, to ask for a Constitutional Amendment on the liquor question. Mrs. Jessie Hutchins of Anadarko; and Mr. John D. Williams (father of Mrs. Grace Franks—teacher) are still in Caddo County."—Ed.

terrible winter—twenty-five degrees below zero for weeks. My salary was thirty-five dollars a month, the highest paid in the county. My eyes were giving me trouble, so I didn't teach the next year; but went to Pittsburg and took care of a beautiful home, keeping house for a dear old couple. In the summer I took a post graduate course under a special teacher from Boston and was librarian at the college. I received a diploma allowing me to teach without an examination. In the fall I went to Braddock, near Pittsburg, and became a member (the youngest) of a corps of fifty-seven teachers. While teaching here, I marched at the head of fifteen hundred school children, to the polls to secure Constitutional amendment on the liquor question. Taught two years and was made Principal of one of the ward schools when I decided to come to Anadarko, Indian Territory, as the wife of Reverend S. V. Fait,[1] a young Presbyterian minister, assistant pastor of one of the largest churches in New York City, located where the Pennsylvania Station now stands.

On the morning of August 30, 1888, Mr. Fait and I were married and started for Anadarko and Indian Agency. Few of our friends ever expected us to return. It was a five day journey —three days and nights by train and two days overland, in a vehicle called a "hack" and drawn by two ponies. No large horses were known here except at the Army Post, at Fort Sill, forty-five miles away. All the freighting was done by ox teams, 16, 18, 20 and sometimes 22 oxen in a team, with their slow plodding driver walking along at their sides. The Indians, hearing his "**Whoa Haw**" thought that was the name of the animals and so originated the name "Whoa Haw" meaning beef.

I can never forget that morning we "landed" in Paul's Valley, one hundred miles from our destination. It was one of those cold September mornings with a very heavy dew, like rain. I was worn out from travel on the slow, dirty train, and when Mr. Fait asked for a place where I could rest and clean up, the hotel proprietor said the only place was the small dirty room we had entered, filled with rough looking men who had already washed in the one basin on a bench and used the towel that looked like a floor mop. My teeth chattered so, from cold and nervousness, the proprietor finally told me I could go to the kitchen to warm. How good that warmth felt! And the breakfast smelled good. The stove in the kitchen was what was called a "Tin Plate" stove and had a front that held the ashes and could be pulled out. On this front was a plate on which the cook was stacking some delicious looking hot cakes; but, beside the stove the old grandmother sat, smoking her pipe and every once in a while she'd spit into the ashes, right over the cakes! No breakfast for me—and I was so hungry!

[1] See *Appendix A* for biography of Rev. Silas V. Fait.

ANNA R. FAIT
Photo taken about the time
of her marriage.

ANNA R. FAIT
Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1954.

Mr. Fait, not knowing what I had seen, ate heartily. Goes to show "What you don't know doesn't hurt you." After the cold morning the terrible heat of the day was especially trying.

I neglected to say that on the way out we had spent Sunday at Park College, a missionary school outside Kansas City. The son of the founder, Dr. McAfee, was a classmate of Mr. Fait. He became a great preacher and it is his daughter, Mildred McAfee, President of one of our eastern colleges, who now heads the WAVES in the United States Naval Service.

We arrived at the Agency about sundown of the second day, having spent the night with some people who had a trading post about twenty-five miles east of where Chickasha was finally located. The Agency consisted of an old adobe hotel, four trader's stores, four small homes, the Agent's house—a two story brick with his office of two rooms, a blacksmith shop, and a small building with a cross on top just visible above a field of immense sunflowers with trunks like trees.

There was also another building which the "Squaw: men (white men with Indian wives) had built. Here the Agency people gathered on rare occasions for a social time. The Agency was filled with Indians, about two thousand, for their usual "beef issue" and other rations, consisting of rice and beans. There had been a death in the camp that day and the air was filled with the beating of the "tom-tom" and the death cry, which once heard can never be forgotten; but, among it all I heard the happy voices of white children, one of whom is still living in Anadarko, the only person still living there who was there when I came. The hotel people were so kind; and although there was no locks on the doors and "other inhabitants," I slept the sleep of exhaustion and woke to a very, very strange world where ignorance, superstition, and intense hatred of the white men reigned almost supreme.

We had come to build a school for the Comanche Indians and waited at Anadarko for instructions. We had a grant of land where Lawton now stands but the woman who was to give $30,000 for the work suddenly decided she'd give her money to the Alaskan Indians instead. This left us stranded and we had to wait until other plans could be made. We couldn't stay long at the hotel; and there wasn't anywhere else we could go except in the little building hidden by the sunflowers. It was a building that had been moved from Ft. Sill, and used by the Episcopalians occasionally for church services. Two small rooms, one eight feet by eight feet and the other eight feet by ten feet, had been added at sometime for the convenience of the rector. The sunflowers were finally cut down, revealing a small porch over the door and a makeshift affair on the west. We moved into these two rooms and started housekeeping with a bed loaned by one of the traders,

one chair and some boxes for chairs and table, and a cook stove that had been issued to an Indian and that he had spurned and thrown out on the prairie to rust. Days of hard work with coal oil and scraping with pieces of glass made it usable. In the church were some benches, a long stove, called a box stove, and a small organ so covered with dust as to be almost invisible. By Sunday morning, however, the condition of the place was so improved we held church services. All the white folks were there to show their appreciation and it made us very happy to have such a ready response. Mr. Fait went to the camps with an interpreter in the afternoon. Our own interpreter had died in the spring and the new one appointed by the Board of Home Missions in New York was yet in training in the East. He was a young Chief—Joshua Givens —the idol of his people. It was months before new plans could be made and a new site for the Mission be selected.

After forty-four days our boxes, which we had feared lost, arrived bringing us many needed things. Mr. Fait, secured two bolts of faded calico from the Indian trader nearby and enclosed the porch on the west for a kitchen, and then we began living. Everybody came to see the "calico" house, even the Indians; and after that the people thought the little black eyed preacher and his golden haired, blue eyed wife could work miracles—and we did. We had to.

Here, in this building, I gathered the white children of the Agency for Sunday School, and then for day school, as there was no other possible opportunity for them. Quite a number had recently moved here from the states. There were twenty-eight in all, ages ranging from six years to eighteen. The youngest, W. G. Methvin, has been a successful business man in Chickasha for years. I taught him to read.

It was a strange school—no desks, no blackboards, and only such books as the children found in their homes. We managed to get enough slates; and, as there were no copy books, I scored one side for penmanship lessons. Many of the lessons, of necessity, had to be prepared by me out of school hours; but we were a happy lot, all the children so eager and willing to learn. After a Bible reading each morning and the Lord's Prayer, we always sang. The little organ "wheezed" its way along with our voices.

One very warm day the door was open and in walked the most horrible looking creature I had ever seen. I was terribly frightened and ran back into our rooms where Mr. Fait was busy at his typewriter, crying out, "There's an old Indian in the school room. Come quickly and chase him out." This amused the children very much, for they knew it wasn't him, but a her—"Old Granny Houston," said to have been the wife of Governor Sam Houston of Texas.

She was barefooted and literally in rags, and wearing a man's dirty hat. Her unkept hair was very coarse and quite gray, hanging about her face and shoulders; and under her arm she carried a watermelon, prancing about and calling out, "Swap, swap" which, the children said—meant "sell." At my insistence she finally left and order was once more restored. I can't remember what became of the melon. One Trader's store was across the road; but the children didn't have the chance to run across at noons and recess to buy a penny's worth of candy or fruit, for there were no pennies or candy or fruit to buy. The nickel was the smallest coin in circulation and there was no paper money. All money, except the nickel was silver. I've known as much as $90,000.00 being brought at one time from the railroad in an army ambulance, drawn by four horses and guarded by eight or ten soldiers on horseback. Major Baldwin used to tell the folks he always put on an extra guard when passing the Mission, for fear of Mrs. Fait!

At the school we worked happily, and despite our handicaps the children accomplished a great deal. When the summer vacation came I went East. In January, 1890, Howard was born and I lay at death's door for many weeks. In the spring we moved to our new location, four miles east of Anadarko.[2] Here I lived twenty-two years and here Russell and Willard were born. My husband's salary was small and sometimes we didn't have money for a postage stamp because some missionary society back East forgot its obligations. I was never employed, never drew any salary; but averaged eighteen hours a day doing many things for which there was no money to hire. Curing the meat and rendering the lard from twenty-five or thirty hogs each year, and raising the chickens were two jobs for which I assumed entire responsibility. I often took entire charge of the school for the summer so that the teachers might have a longer vacation. We usually had a family of twenty-five or thirty for the summer. There was much to be done, can-

[2] N. B. Johnson, now Vice-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, attended this Presbyterian Mission. He, his brother and sister arrived in Anadarko on the Rock Island Railroad one afternoon in September, 1902. Their grandmother had brought them from Mayesville, Oklahoma to Chickasha, the nearest railroad station, and put them on the train. Someone from the Mission met them at the station at Anadarko, wih a wagon and team of mules, and drove them to the school 4 miles east of Anadarko. They were very small children of Cherokee descent, and very homesick, and all began to cry as soon as they came within sight of the school, but they were soon reconciled when they met the Indian children and the few white children who were at the school. Judge Johnson had a tablet and colored pencil and began to draw pictures to amuse the other children. He was graduated from the 9th grade in 1909. He went from the Mission School to Henry-Kendall College in Tulsa, Oklahoma, which was maintained and sponsored by the Presbyterian Church. Years later, when he was County Attorney of Rogers County, he returned to Anadarko and participated in the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Presbyterian Church which was founded by the late S. V. Fait.

ning, etc. Wherever there was a need for my help I went, day or night, and sometimes we had to make coffins.

I had long ago learned that those men who had so terrorized me upon my arrival would not harm me; that my life and my virtue were safe in their hands, and so I went everywhere alone, fearing no one. I have always, through the years, had some girl who needed "mothering" and training in my home, teaching her to be a good housekeeper and a good homemaker. Some of these have gone out to teach in other Mission schools and one married a great doctor and went to China with him, where they did a great work, returning to America only when compelled to do so because of ill health.

Each day in our work was a new day, an unusual day, but some stand out more vividly than others. Among these were the awful prairie fires, one raging for three days, and the Mission alone was left an island of safety while for many miles around it there was nothing but the blackened earth. We all fought: men, women and children. God's care was surely manifest that day!

The first building to be finished after our house was enclosed was a little chapel, which is now a part of the house in which I live, the oldest building left standing in this part of the country. All materials were freighted by ox teams, and, as there were no bridges, streams had to be forded. The work of building was very slow. While waiting for the completion of the boarding school we had a day school for both whites and Indians in this chapel. Judge Ross Hume of Anadarko was one of these pupils. He and his brother came horseback, as did some of the others. A college classmate who was spending some months with me taught the school until the Mission Board sent a teacher. We had both Spanish and English church services, as a number of Mexicans attended, and some of the Indians understood Spanish. The Mexicans, having no priest at that time, continued to attend until a priest arrived. The friendship of these people, and later on of Father Isadore, was a lasting one. Our Indian Agent, Major Adams, and one of the Kiowa school teachers decided to be married in the little Chapel, because, said the bride, "It is fitting that an Indian teacher marrying an Indian Agent by an Indian Missionary should be married in an Indian Church," and so it was, the bride in her mother's satin wedding gown, with music on my little melodeon. An Army ambulance, drawn by four big horses, took them to Paul's Valley to take the train north for a honeymoon. The weather, which had been cold, suddenly turned very cold and snow began to fall. Before morning a terrible blizzard was raging. The afternoon of the wedding the disciplinarian at the Kiowa School punished three boys. They ran away and started to their homes, miles away, but were caught in the blizzard. Searchers found them frozen to death on the prairie. The Indians declared war on

the teacher and all the whites. There was no telephone, no telegraph; so a messenger was sent to Fort Sill for help and another to Pauls Valley to intercept Major Adams, and bring him back. The teacher was spirited away and never dared return, and the Agent and soldiers finally averted what came nearly being an awful tragedy.

Another uprising came later, when a clerk in one of the stores knocked a cup out of the hand of an Indian who was getting a drink from the white folks' well instead of the one for Indians. The young man was Albert Harris, well known in Chickasha for years. All the Agency folks were barricaded in the old log trader's store. It was a terrible time while it lasted; but, once more, with the help of the soldiers, peace was restored, but the hatred for the whites was no less.

On two occasions I was left alone with my two year old Howard. I had gone East for the summer and was about to return when a friend wrote that Mr. Fait was not well, so I hastened my return. He had nursed a very dear friend, who had died of typhoid malaria, and after taking the body to Minco, our nearest railroad station by that time, and sent it back East, he came home and went to bed, very ill. When I got off the train at Minco, Mr. Fait wasn't there, but he had managed to get word to Mr. Lewis Hornbake, editor of the once famous "Minco Minstrel," and asked him to find some way for me to get home. The only person willing to try the trip was a young man with a team of wild mules and a lumber wagon. We started out on our perilous thirty mile journey in early afternoon and about nine o'clock we reached the Washita River, the team plunging madly into the stream. How we ever got up the banks on the other side I don't know, but it was dark as pitch. We were now within two miles of home, where I found Mr. Fait, with a raging fever and unconscious. The school had not yet been finished and there was no one to call for help. A young white boy had drifted in from somewhere and he had been doing what he could for three days. Dr. Hume came in the morning and for weeks Mr. Fait lay between life and death.

The story of Joshua Givens, our Indian helper, is a long story in itself, but I will tell you only of his sickness and death. As so many Indians did who returned from the East he soon contracted "TB." The Indians claimed his sickness was due to a "hoodoo" they had put on him because he had accepted the white man's religion and was trying to be a white man. They said, "If you will give up this white man's religion, go to camp and let our medicine men treat you, you will soon be well." Joshua refused for a long time; then, as his body weakened, and stung by their taunts he finally yielded and one day when Mr. Fait was away

they came and carried him off to camp. For days the tom-tom beat over his head and the "medicine" men went through all their heathen incantations. Finally, he was stripped naked and put into a "sweat house" (a small round shelter of stones—the stones having been heated very hot). Here he was to sweat out the "evil spirit" that was tormenting him. Knowing that he could not endure any more and repentant for his having been so faithless to his Christian belief, he begged to be taken home. The Indians didn't want him to die in camp, so they brought him back to us, where he was given every care. Finally, Joshua realized he was sinking fast and begged Mr. Fait to take Howard and me to safety, fearing the Indians might injure us. All the Indians hated his white wife, so we locked her and her two children in one of the rooms, also all the things with which they could injure themselves or her, and sent a white man that was passing by for the Indian police. This was barely accomplished when we heard the Indians coming over the hill, shrieking their horrible death cry. The Police disarmed them all, and having nothing with which to mutilate their bodies they left and went to camp, there to cut and slash their bodies in a horrible manner. Mr. Fait decided there should be a Christian burial, though even the Agent felt it should not be attempted, fearing an outbreak. Joshua was put in a neat, homemade coffin of pine boards and carried to the little church-school house at the Agency, and there was held the first Christian burial of an Indian. To the surprise of everybody there was no trouble and old Chief Lone Wolf and several others attended. Among all the strange experiences of this long ago pioneer life, before there was an Oklahoma, this was a very sad one.

I am glad to say that after more than fifty-five years these Indian atrocities no longer exist; and, as we now know these people, so many kind and good and whom we know for so many good qualities, it seems their ancestors could never have been so cruel. Sad to say, many have absorbed the sins of the white man; but, we now live together, as one people, under one flag, for which the Indian is fighting and dying beside his white brother.[3]

Now seventy-eight years old, I still have my ambitions, but broken health keeps me from the busy, useful life I once lived, and knowing this I must be content and find my happiness in lonely hours, in living over the precious memories of many happy years, filled with so much love from all who have "passed my way" and I only hope, at the end, it may be said, "She hath done what she could."

[3] See *Appendix B.* for notes on the first Decoration Day held at Anadarko, Oklahoma Territory, May 30, 1895, in a grove near the Washita River.

July 1944.

APPENDIX A

Silas V. Fait, Presbyterian Missionary

Born in 1857, near Bedford Springs, Pa., in a small place called the "Cove" and which is now marked on the map of the great super-highways crossing Pennsylvania. His mother died when he was 26 months old. He and his brother 13 months younger were cared for by their old grandmother 90 years old, in their mountain home until the return of the father from the Civil War, he having fought in 14 battles, and receiving wounds from which he died in later life. He married a woman whom he thought would be a good mother to his little boys, but it proved otherwise. They were cruelly treated and much neglected. When Silas was 12, he went to live with strangers where he often received unkind treatment. He wanted to go to school more than anything else but was denied that privilege except for a very short time. He got hold of every bit of reading matter he could find, and while there was no chance to study at night, he carried his books or paper in his pocket and studied while resting on the plow handle in the field while his team rested. When he was 15, he walked 15 miles over the mountains to recite to a teacher there; and although he had no money (none was ever given him for his work) he finally got to Shellsburg (not far from Lafayette College) and found friends and a home with the superintendent of the Shellsburg Academy where he graduated going from there to Lafayette College, graduating from there. With very little money and no one to bank him financially, he won friends who honored him in his perserverance, and when he left college, he had the love and respect of every one with whom he had been associated. He never wanted to be a minister. He loved the outdoors, the farm, and always wanted to be a farmer, but he couldn't get away from the thought that he must study for the ministry, and so he soon found himself at Union Theological Seminary in New York City where he graduated in May 1888. He found work as Sunday School Missionary in the old North Church, working in the slums, and going over to New Jersey on Sundays to some small church. The North Church was one of the largest churches in New York City at that time, located where the Pennsylvania depot now stands. He was asked to become the regular assistant pastor, but turned it down to come to Anadarko, then wild Indian country, to build a school for the Comanche Indians under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Although there were 400 young women in his church, he came across the Allegheny mountains to Pittsburg, and married me August 30, 1888 and we reached our destination Sept. 6th after a 3 day train ride and 2 days overland in a vehicle called a "hack." Finding the white people at the agency needed to be looked after as well as the Indians, Mr. Fait organized the church. The money we were to have for our school was sidetracked to another station, and we were stranded for the time being until another location could be secured. For 22 years he conducted the Mission School, where besides being pastor of the church at the agency 6 miles away—he was farmer, surveyor, doctor, lawyer, teacher, undertaker—all things to all men. Because of the mistaken idea the public schools could meet all needs, the Board of Home Missions closed the school in 1910, taking away from him the great joy of his life, to be helping needy worthwhile children who had no other chance for an education. After the opening of the country in 1901 he continued the pastorate of the church still located at the Indian Agency, but a resident pastor was necessity, and he finally persuaded the church to employ a man who could give full time to the work and relieve him of the great responsibility he had carried so long. Then in 1910 he returned to the pastorate,

continuing until his death November 4, 1921. He had an obsession for books—they were his closest friends, and he loved anybody who loved his books. At one time his library was the largest in the state (private library) starting with the Bible he bought when a boy, borrowing money with which to purchase it. All of his working library, occupying 3 sides of the wall in his study at the church, are now in the library of Tulsa University of which he was a trustee. On acceptance of the library I received these words, "We find this a real library, not a collection of books." The remainder of the library is still in the home, perhaps 1000 volumes. He was a scholar, an orator, and could hold an audience spellbound especially on patriotic occasions, and the high school refused to have anyone else for their Baccalauerate and Commencement addresses. The year of his death the senior class dedicates it annual with these words; "We the Senior Class of the Anadarko High School do respectfully dedicate 'The Caddo'; We have lost our best friend." Men who never went to church, and had no religion of their own, believed in him, and his kind of life. He taught tolerance and brotherly kindness in his daily life. To him there was neither Jew nor Gentile; Catholic or Protestant, and that spirit exists today among many of Anadarko's citizens. The Presbyterian Church, built as a memorial to his life work is the most beautiful thing in the city. He will always be remembered as Anadarko's outstanding citizen. These few facts written at the request of many friends.

Anna R. Fait

January 30, 1948.

APPENDIX B

First Decoration Day at Anadarko

It was Decoration Day time; but there were no cemeteries. People were buried where they died—Indians in shallow furrows all over the reservation. The white people at the Agency were remembering their own dead, buried way back east somewhere and our wonderful patriotic agent, Major Frank Baldwin, (Later General Baldwin) hero of many battles, decided something must be done about it. So, he had some Indians pile up a mount of earth down on the river bank in a grove near where the bridge is now, and he asked the children of the three mission schools, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic, and the two Government schools—Wichita and Caddo (now Riverside) and the Kiowa School (west of Agency) to pick all the flowers they could find (and the prairies were one mass of wonderful bloom) and bring them to this place, and cover the newly made mound. A platform was built, and the little organ from the little church building at the agency was brought down. The Indian children hadn't learned much English but all there who could joined in singing patriotic songs with Mrs. Fait at the organ. The soldiers (in the background) added their voices too. There was always a troup of soldiers. Prayer and a speech by Mr. Fait (thru an interpreter) who himself was the son of a soldier who fought at Gettysburg and thirteen other battles, and died from wounds received in one of the battles. It was a day never to be forgotten. There have been other Decoration Days but none like this one so far from civilization. Since then the Indians have learned to honor the flag, and many have given their lives for it, and lie in graves far from home; but the flag for which they fought, still hangs high.

—Mrs. Anna R. Fait

Celebration of Decoration Day on May 30, 1895, at Anadarko, Indian Territory, in the grove on Washita River bank near bridge.

GENERAL PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Major General Wesley Merritt shortly after the death of General Philip St. George Cooke wrote that the General's career was remarkable alike for its length and its variety. His service exceeded that covered by the average life. "When it is remembered that for a quarter of a century or more after General Cooke entered the army the school geographies eliminated much speculation by classing the Western Plains as 'The Great American Desert,' some idea of his frontier service may be formed."[1]

On June 10, 1809 Cooke was born at Leesburg, Virginia. He was a son of Dr. Stephen and Catherine Esten Cooke.[2] He entered the Military Academy July 1, 1823 and was graduated twenty-third in his class July 1, 1827; assigned to the Sixth infantry, he was in garrison at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri in 1828. When Cooke "joined his regiment in 1827, he commenced his career in a brigade of three regiments and had the benefit of this unusual experience for ten months, when he was detached to Fort Snelling, Minnesota in charge of detachment of recruits in open boats."[3]

Cooke served with two other officers at Fort Gibson in 1828 and they made history while on a military escort for traders under Major Bennet Riley.[4]

On Cooke's return to Jefferson Barracks in 1829 he became engaged in an expedition to the Upper Arkansas where he took part in skirmishes with the Comanche Indians on August 3 and 11, 1829. During the march to protect the traders about five hundred Comanches suddenly charged the army camp on August 3. Cooke, as officer of the guard, met the charge with his thirty-six men and broke its force while the command was preparing to fight. On August 11th when the camp was threatened and a party of hunters attacked,

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[1] Wesley Merritt, "Life and Service of General Philip St. George Cooke, U. S. Army," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*, (Leavenworth, Kansas), Vol. 8, No. 29, pp. 79-92.

[2] He received the name of "St. George in deference to his mother's nationality, but he was appointed a cadet to West Point under the name of Philip St. George, through a mistake somewhat similar to that of Grant." His two famous brothers were John Esten Cooke (1788-1853) and John Rogers Cooke (1788-1854)—*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 4, p. 389).

[3] Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 81. On August 19, 1828 a general order was issued for a redistribution of troops. "Forty 'scoundrels' recruited at Natchez were taken to Fort Snelling by Lieutenant . . . . Cooke."—Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* 1815-1846, (Philadelphia, 1935) p. 78.

[4] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Bennet Riley," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Vol. 19, No. 3 (September, 1941), pp. 225-44; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, (Cleveland, 1926) p. 300.

Lieutenant Cooke was sent to their support. While wading the Arkansas River in front of his men and the enemy appeared on the bank and fired, he stooped down and caused his men to beat them off by firing over his head.[5]

Lieutenant Cooke's headquarters were at Fort Leavenworth from 1830 to 1832. He participated in the Black Hawk War against the Sac Indians in 1832 and fought in the Battle of Bad Axe River August 2, 1832. During the Battle of Bad Axe, while the regular brigade was in the dense bottom land of the Mississippi, Cooke discovered where the enemy was located in the greatest force on an island. He informed the commander and was ordered to lead the reserve of three companies into action, which he did. At the close of the war, General Atkinson appointed him Adjutant of his regiment.[6]

Cooke was again at Jefferson Barracks until he entered the First Dragoon Regiment as a first lieutenant on March 4, 1833. His service in that famous regiment brings him into the history of Fort Gibson and the Indian Territory. In 1834, he was with the Dragoon Expedition when it left Fort Gibson on the noted march to the Tow-e-ash Village (Wichita Village) on North Fork of Red River, but illness forced him to leave the Expedition near the Canadian River late in June and return to Fort Gibson on the surgeon's certificate of ill health.[7]

Lieutenant Cooke's recruiting service carried him in the early summer of 1833 to Western Tennessee. He visited "the villages of Columbia, Dover, Clarksville, and the squalid hamlet of Reynoldsburgh." In Perryville, Kentucky, he got "some hardy recruits, whose imagination inflamed them with the thought of scouring the far prairies on fine horses, amid buffalo and strange Indians." Cooke was present in Jackson when Davy Crockett was elected to Congress. He left Nashville with Company C of the Dragoons and floated down the Cumberland River in a keel boat. The force was transferred at Paducah, Kentucky to a steamboat and the young men from Tennessee soon arrived at Jefferson Barracks.[8]

Cooke's command encamped on June 13, 1833, at the mouth of Walnut Creek (present Kansas). His force of three companies of Dragoons formed an advance guard for a caravan of about fifty wagons en route to Santa Fe. "As the traders had gotten within 12 miles," thought Captain Nathan Boone, "and there was no guessing when the water would allow them to come on, and as they

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[5] Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[6] Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[7] See Lieut. Wheelock's Journal in "Peace on the Plains" by George H. Shirk, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), p. 11. See Cooke's account of the Dragoon Expedition (1834), *Appendix A.*

[8] Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), pp. 10, 15.

appeared by the intelligence furnished by Captain Cooke, to be in no sort of apprehension of an attack, we prepared for a move tomorrow."

Captain Cooke wrote on September 9:

"All day it has rained again. We have been lying still, trying to keep warm and dry, on the bank of the Little Arkansas. There are a few green trees and bushes, but little fuel. Worst of all is the case of the poor horses—They are starving and freezing before our eyes, for the grass is very coarse and poor; they have shrunk very sensibly in twenty-four hours."

There Cooke awaited the arrival of the traders who had been left in the rear. Finally, his forces moved forward for about twenty-two miles on the trail along the north bank of the Arkansas before an express from the tardy traders informed the Captain that they were still water-bound at Cow Creek.[9] On October 5, Cooke saw a Mexican escort at the Cimarron Crossing of the Arkansas. This stream formed the international boundary at that date and President Santa Anna had sent about two hundred Mexicans to protect the traders from there to Santa Fe. Cooke waited to see the traders cross the Arkansas. "Mounting his command in order of battle, Cooke directed a salute in honor of the Mexicans to be fired from the howitzer battery," before he and his dragoons turned towards home.

By steady marching the return journey was made in two weeks, by way of Elk, Pawnee Fork, Ash Creek and Council Grove. The troops abandoned the Santa Fe trace at that point, but the groves of 110-Mile Creek induced Cooke to linger for several days before going to Leavenworth.[10]

In 1835, Cooke received his captaincy and he was on recruiting duty until 1836 when he returned to Fort Gibson where he remained until 1838 with the exception of a trip to Nacodoches, Texas in 1836.

A squadron of the First Dragoons, consisting of three companies, under the command of Captain Eustace Trenor, arrived at Fort Coffee, Indian Territory, on January 1, 1837, having marched from Nacodoches, Texas in fourteen days. The officers and men were in fine health, and their horses in good condition for service. The detachment was detained one day in crossing the Arkansas River, before proceeding to Fort Gibson. Officers on duty with the squadron were Captain Cooke, Captain David Perkins, Lieutenant James Monroe Bowman, and Lieutenant William Nicholson Grier.[11]

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99, 104-06.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 106; Harry E. Mitchell (Captain retired), "History of Jefferson Barracks, August 16, 1921" Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. Typed copy; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the Military Academy, at West Point, N. Y.* (New York, 1868), Vol. 1, pp. 317-18. Among the resignations in 1834 was that of Philip St. George Cooke who resigned from the second Artillery April 1, 1834 (*The Military and Naval Magazine*, 1834, Vol. III, p. 317).

[11] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, February 23, 1837, p. 126, col. 1.

The Army and Navy Chronicle of March 10, 1836, noted the arrival of Captain Cooke in Washington on March 3 and stated that he was lodged at Mrs. McPherson's. Captain Cooke arrived with his family aboard the *Tecumseh* at Little Rock on May 10, and the party left there for Fort Gibson shortly thereafter.[12]

At a meeting of the officers of the squadron of dragoons on Red River, June 18, 1836, resolutions were passed on the death of First Lieutenant James Farley Iazard, leader of the advance, who fell in battle on March 5, 1836, from wounds received in a fight with the Seminoles at Camp Izard, Florida on February 28, 1836. The resolutions were signed by Captain Cooke as a tribute to a former officer of the dragoons.[13]

After Cooke's march to Nacodoches in 1836 he returned to Fort Gibson the following year and settled down to steady frontier work on the plains, that took him as far north as Council Bluffs and to the Rocky Mountains.

Cooke arrived in Washington May 8, 1838, and registered at Fuller's Hotel. He informed Rodney Glisan at Carlisle Barracks that he would find "on the Arkansas River only a set of gamblers and cut throats."[14] Cooke remained at the Barracks throughout the year and was stationed at Fort Wayne, Indian Territory in 1840. He returned to Fort Leavenworth for part of 1840-41-42, and the following year he spent in escorting Santa Fe traders.[15]

In the summer of 1843 General Edward Pendleton Gaines was ordered to send a military escort for traders leaving Missouri for Santa Fe and he assigned Captain Cooke to the duty. He issued orders for the officer to keep a journal, and make maps of the country. Major Jacob Snively's interference with the Santa Fe trade led to a determination to discover if the incident took place in the United States or Texas.[16]

Captain Nathan Boone left Fort Gibson on May 14, 1843, with sixty men and pursued a route up the Arkansas and the Cimarron rivers. He traveled north along the latter until he reached the Santa Fe Trail; after a few days march with some traders, he

[12] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1836, p. 348, col. 2.

[13] *Ibid.*, July 28, 1836, p. 59, col. 1.

[14] Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), p. 29.

[15] Otis E. Young, "Dragoons on the Santa Fe Trail in the Autumn of 1843," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 42-51.

[16] James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines* (Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 165. Jacob Snively, learning of the rich caravan of Mexicans who were setting out on their return to Santa Fe in the spring of 1843, applied to the Texan government for authority to raise men and capture the caravan. The troops were to equip and provision themselves and operate between the Rio del Norte and the United States boundary, "but were to be careful not to infringe upon the territory of that government." These orders were issued to Snively by G. W. Hill, Secretary of War February 16, 1843 (H. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, (New York, 1856), Vol. 2, pp. 399, 400.

crossed to the south side of the Arkansas and on June 13, camped opposite the mouth of Walnut Creek, near the big bend of the Arkansas in Kansas. Here he was joined by Captain Cooke who made his camp on the north side of the creek with three companies of Dragoons to await for the traders in his charge.[17]

Snively claiming to be acting under a regular commission had been operating on both sides of the international border; he captured and confiscated property. Cooke, acting under orders, captured Snively and one hundred of his men and took them to Leavenworth. The prisoners were released there and Cooke appeared before a Court of Inquiry; his action in the affair was upheld and his capture of Snively approved.[18] "The 175 men who had gone with Colonel Snively to capture the rich Santa Fe caravan at last were heard from. They had organized at the end of April, unanimously declined to share the booty with the government (Texas). For their sins, instead of capturing the wagon train, they themselves were captured and disarmed by Captain Cooke and 300 United States dragoons on what the Texans claimed was the soil of their Republic."[19]

The court of inquiry convened at Fort Leavenworth, April 2, pursuant to "General Orders" No. 6 of February 28, 1844, "to examine into and report the facts and its opinions relative to the manner in which Captain P. St. G. Cooke, discharged the duties—for the protection—of Santa Fe traders over the territory of the United States to the Texan frontier in May and June. *Opinion,* 1843, &c." This court reported the following:[20]

"In view of the . . . facts, the court is of the opinion that Captain . . . Cooke . . . on the 30th of June, 1843, disarmed a Texan force under Colonel Snively, within the territory of the United States, by causing them to lay down their arms . . . and that there was nothing in the conduct of Captain Cooke that was 'harsh and unbending.'

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[17] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 301. Cooke had in his party 190 men.

[18] Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth,* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1926), p. 70. *The United States, Complainant vs. the State of Texas,* (Washington, 1894), Vol. 1, pp. 109-10, 138, 139. On June 4, 1886, Hugh F. Young testified before the United States Joint Boundary Commission that in the spring of 1843 he was mustered into the command of Colonel Jacob Snively which was organized for the purpose of intercepting Mexican trains carrying on commerce between Santa Fe and Saint Louis. The rendezvous for Snively's command was fixed at "Old Georgetown," six miles south of Red River, in the north-western part of what is now Grayson County. The expedition advanced to the point where the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Arkansas River, ... crossing the false Washita, south and North Canadian, and Cimarron rivers (*Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 935-36).

[19] Herbert Gambrell, *Anson Jones, the Last President of Texas* (Garden City, 1948), pp. 296-7. "Snively Inspector General Houston's staff, was authorized to intercept a caravan loaded with $150,000 worth of goods . . . . and give the Texas Treasury half the spoils. This privateering expedition by land was the Houstonian version of a Santa Fe expedition . . . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 275).

[20] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 300. James Izard was the other lieutenant and he lost his life in the Florida War.

"The court is further of opinion that Captain Cooke did not exceed the authority for the protection of the lawful trade of the Santa Fe caravan . . . and that the confidence reposed in him by his Government was not 'in any degree misplaced.' "

Captain Cooke's action brought forth much diplomatic correspondence between the Hon. Anson Jones,[21] Secretary of State of Texas and Isaac Van Zandt, Charge d'Affaires of the Republic of Texas. On August 15, 1843, Van Zandt wrote:[22]

"In a personal interview today with Mr. [James Madison] Porter Secretary of War, that gentleman did me the kindness to suffer me to peruse the principal portion of the report, of that RENOWNED Capt. Cook, (*sic*) who lately *captured* one hundred of our citizens under Colonel Snively. I entertain but little doubt that this affair occurred within the limits of Texas, and cannot be considered in any other light, than an enormous outrage. I deem it unnecessary to send you a synopsis of Capt. Cook's report . . . . . is evidently designed to be magnificantly eloquent, and a full commentary upon international law, and the right of War . . . . ."

In accordance with evidence offered by Texas concerning Snively's expedition, it was charged the Texans were on Texas territory. They were arrested near the site of the present Fort Dodge, Kansas. The military inquiry determined that the arrest took place east of the 100th meridian and therefore in the United States.[23]

From the Department of State, Washington (Texas), September 29, 1843, the following letter was addressed to Charge d'Affaires Isaac Van Zandt:

"Enclosed herewith . . . . copy of the official report to the Department of War and Marine, of Col. Jacob Snively, lately in command of an expedition on our northwestern frontier—and also a copy of the instructions under which that officer was acting. By this report you will perceive, that a most extraordinary outrage has been committed, upon this officer and his men by Capt. Cooke . . . , who in contempt of all laws human and divine recklessly invaded our territory, captured the command under Col. Snively, disarmed and abused the officers and men, and turned them

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[21] Anson Jones, an American Physician, was born in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, in 1798. He settled in Brazoria, Texas, in 1833, and took a prominent part in the political and military movements which resulted in the independence of that republic; was minister to the United States in 1838, and later he was secretary of state for three years under President Samuel Houston. In 1844 he succeeded Houston as president. Died by his own hand in 1858 (Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography*, ... [Philadelphia, 1888], p. 1398).

[22] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1908*, Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, (Washington, 1911), Part 2, pp. 200, 201. For an interesting history of *The Snively Expedition* see the brochure by Capt. R. P. Crump which was issued as a separate from Porter's *Spirit of the Times* for the friends of Edward Eberstadt & Sons (New York), Christmas, 1949.

[23] Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (September 1924), p. 305. *Niles' Register* reported October 12, 1843, that when Cooke disarmed a part of the expedition under Snively it had a good effect on the Mexicans in Santa Fe who treated the Americans with hospitality and kindness.

adrift in a wilderness several hundred miles from any settlement with only five guns to protect them from the hordes of ruthless savages by whom they were surrounded and to procure by hunting the necessary means to save them from starvation and death.

"The President therefore directs that you make a prompt and energetic appeal to the Government of the United States in relation to the conduct of this officer, as well as that of Gen. Gaines by whose authority and under whose sanction as appears from his published letter to Brig. Gen. Taylor this most unheard of outrage upon national rights has been committed. You will ask also for the dismissal of these officers . . . ."

In a letter to Hon. Anson Jones from Van Zandt, dated Washington, D. C. November 30, 1843, Jones spoke of Gaines as a crazy man and said that he was considered so in Texas.[24]

On January 16, 1844, Secretary [of State Abel Parker] Upshur[25] sent the following letter to Van Zandt:

Captain Cooke of the Dragoons was detailed for this duty and a force of about 190 men was placed under his command to carry out the orders of the Department. They rendezvoused at Council Grove, Neosho River (Kansas) on the 3rd of June, and proceeded on their route with the Caravan of traders.

On the 22nd of June, Captain Cooke states, that when at Walnut Creek, he received intelligence that Colonel Snively, having about 180 Texans under his command, had avowed his intention to attack the caravan whenever he could find it unprotected, and had also made threats against the American portion of it . . . . . He however never proceeded with the escort and caravan in the direction of a crossing, and on the 30th of June he saw three horsemen about a mile in advance, whom he supposed to be . . . . spies, and in pursuing them, came in sight of the Arkansas river, on the opposite of which he saw a large grove, a force of men and horses. They hung out a white flag, and he sent a subaltern and a trumpeter and flag to ford the river to their camp. The young officer demanded who they were and why there and Colonel Snively and his aid returned with the messenger and when Captain Cooke informed him that his people were in the United States, and desired to know who they were, and if he had a commission.

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 228. "Gaines when accused of complicity in the supposed outrage, was excused by the War Department on the ground that he was not responsible for his action—but could not be discarded because of his past valuable services. The truth is that the War Department acted in spineless fashion in failing to back up Gaines and Cooke, neither of whom happened to be in the wrong."—Silver, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[25] Abel Parker Upshur was born in Northhampton County, Virginia. He was appointed secretary of the Navy by President Tyler in September, 1841, and succeeded Daniel Webster as secretary of state in May 1843. He was killed by the explosion of the cannon [Peacemaker] aboard the steamer *Princeton* in February, 1844, aged about fifty-three (Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 2357). Upshur negotiated the Treaty of Annexation with Texas (Yoakum, *op. cit.*, p. 425). Andrew C. McLaughlin, Lewis Cass, Boston and New York, 1899, p. 211. H. Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun* (Boston and New York, 1899), p. 224. Tyler reorganized his cabinet, taking three Democrats into it, and transferring Upshur of Virginia, to the State Department. Upshur "an ardent state-rights and pro-slavery man, took up the Texas business with energy. The problem was not only to conclude a treaty, but to make annexation palatable to the country."—Carl Schurz, *Henry Clay* (Boston and New York, 1899), Vol. 2, pp. 237-40.

Snively replied that he had a Texan commission and a force of Texan volunteers—107 men. After Cooke was acquitted by the court martial, Van Zandt wrote to Jones on August 16, 1844:[26]

"If the President shall acquiesce in the acquittal of Captain Cooke, and the offer to return or make compensations for the arms, it will only be necessary to indicate at what point the arms are desired to be delivered. I have been told that Captain Cooke has a letter from Colonel Snively in which he expresses his gratitude for the kindness shown him by Cooke. If this be true, perhaps it would be unnecessary to prosecute the case further."

Cooke was acquitted as it was proved beyond a doubt that the capture of the Texans took place in the United States.[27] Only two escorts had been furnished to Santa Fe traders[28] until the large escorts under Captain Cooke in 1843, accompanied two different caravans to the Arkansas River.[29]

Another report on Captain Cooke and anticipated trouble with Snively's force of Texans was made by Kit Carson who had remained at Taos until April when he again started for the States with Bent and Colonel Ceram Vrain, serving as hunter for the train:[30]

"At Walnut Creek we found four companies of dragoons encamped, commanded by Captain . . . . Cooke. He informed us that the train of Armijo and several traders was a short distance in his rear . . . . Captain Cooke had received intelligence that a large party of Texans was at the crossing of the Arkansas, waiting to overpower the train and kill or capture the Mexicans . . . . .

"I can say for Colonel Cooke that he is as efficient an Indian fighter as I have ever accompanied; that he is brave and gallant everyone knows."

Cooke is mentioned a number of times in Kendall's narrative on the capture of the Texans.[31] When the prisoners reached Celaya, Mexico on January 22, "General Cortazar, the gentlemanly and liberal governor of the State of Guarajuato," was kind to the Americans but Colonel Cooke invariably received the best treatment. Two of Cooke's men escaped and after the soldiers left Tula they were marched towards the capital of Mexico and "the fate of all, whether good or evil, was soon to be decided. Upon the flimsy pretext that one or two of their companions had escaped, we knew that Santa Anna had chained Colonel Cooke's men, and what was worse, had sent them to work in the streets and ditches—a punish-

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[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-5, 300-1.

[27] Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-3. American Historical Association. *Annual Report* for 1908, Vol. 2, (1) Part II, p. 254.

[28] The first by Major Bennett Riley and one made up of about sixty dragoons commanded by Captain Clifton Wharton in 1834.

[29] Milo Milton Quaife (ed.) *The Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg*, (Chicago, 1926), pp. 17, 18.

[30] Milo Milton Quaife, (ed.) *Kit Carson's Autobiography*, (Chicago, 1935), pp. 69, 70, 157.

[31] George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texas Santa Fe Expedition. . . . and Capture of the Texans* (New York, 1844), Vol. 2.

ment awarded only to criminals.'' Cooke's party was confined at Santiago. A Mexican girl managed to slip a note to one of the Texans which reported that the prisoners ''were all with Colonel Cooke's party at Santiago, and in chains. . . .'' Small-pox was rampant among the prisoners and a young man of the name of Bowen in Cooke's party was desperately ill and delirious with the disease. Kendall finally found himself ''unexpectedly in Santiago, greeted by Colonel Cooke, Dr. Brenham, Captain Sutton, and all the friends whom I had not seen for seven months. The prospect of chains and servitude was as nothing. . . . I was among my old companions.''[32]

Due to the influence of Senator Thomas H. Benton, James Wiley Magoffin was selected to pave the way for the entrance of General Kearny to Santa Fe and to gain possession of New Mexico; Cooke was Magoffin's escort into Santa Fe. The officer wrote that Magoffin's life was in danger, but he was saved from execution because of his popularity with Mexican officers and his generosity with money and entertainment with 3,392 bottles of champagne.[33]

In the summer of 1845 Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, with a detachment of 250 dragoons marched from Leavenworth 2,200 miles in 99 days to the South Pass. The start was made May 18 with the Dragoons, armed with carbines, pistols, and cartridges, making a real military appearance. Officers such as Philip St. George Cooke, John Henry K. Burgwin, Henry Smith Turner, and Benjamin D. Moore were veterans of many western campaigns.

Cooke wrote an account of Fort Laramie, ''with a mongrel and unkempt crowd of women and children, whose jargon of mixed French, English, Spanish, and Indian sounded strange. . . . while the male representatives of civilization . . . . aids of alcohol and gunpowder, avarice, lying, and lust.'' Hunting parties were sent out every day and Cooke spoke of sage-grouse, young antelope, hares, rabbits, and magpies; some of the soldiers fished in the clear waters of the Sweetwater. . . . . During June the days were intensely hot, but during the nights ice was formed and the dragoons shivered under their blankets. On the last day of June the troops reached

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 192, 196, 227, 233, 242, 270, 277-78.

[33] Stella M. Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico, The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847*, (New Haven, 1926), pp. 14, 16. From Philadelphia, February 21, 1849, Major Cooke of the Second Dragoons, wrote to Magoffin of his important services during the invasion of New Mexico:

"I shall not easily forget the pleasure which your company gave me when I preceded the army with a flag, from Bent's Fort to Santa Fe, nor the advantages of your knowledge of the country and its language.

"I am strongly impressed with the skill you exhibited not to compromise your old influence over the Mexican general (Manuel Armijo), by an appearance of your real connection with myself . . . . I had personal knowledge of the high opinion which the General [Kearny] entertained of your discretion and services. . . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 264-65. Bent's Fort was in Bent County, Colorado, on the Arkansas River).

the gap called South Pass, with an altitude of 7,000 feet, which divided the waters of the Atlantic from the Pacific. This is in the southern part of what is now Fremont County, Wyoming.

On August 3, 1845, the outfit reached Chouteau's Island where Cooke had helped defeat an attack of about four hundred Indians sixteen years before.[34]

The St. Louis Reporter, July 1, 1846, noted that "Last evening the Cecilia arrived here from the Upper Mississippi, bringing down Companies B and K, U. S. Dragoons, from Fort Atkinson (Wisconsin) and Fort Crawford (Wisconsin). The officers commanding are Capts. E. V. Sumner, and P. St. George Cooke. The two companies number 115 men. . . . have 119 horses and 15 mules." The *Reporter* could not learn the destination of the corps.

Shortly after his arrival in St. Louis, Captain Cooke received directions through the War Department to join Colonel Stephens H. Kearny at Fort Leavenworth; he was then organizing an expedition, to occupy New Mexico and California, the War with Mexico having been declared late in the spring of 1846. Colonel Kearny had ordered Captain James Allen, First Dragoons, on June 19 to organize several companies of Mormons who were encamped in Iowa Territory for service in the War. The five new companies, known as the Mormon Battalion, reached Fort Leavenworth on August 1 where Captain Allen took sick and died three weeks later. A temporary commander was assigned and the Mormon Battalion marched west all the companies arriving in Santa Fe by October 12.[35] In the meantime, General Kearny had left there on September 25 with 300 of the First Dragoons on a line of march down the valley of Rio del Norte (Rio Grande) for California. On October 2 word having reached him about Captain Allen's death, he appointed Cooke to take over the command of the Mormon Battalion as Lieutenant Colonel to California, and gave him the additional assignment of cutting a wagon road to the Pacific Ocean in that region.[36]

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[34] Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 127, 131-33, 139. When the dragoons arrived on August 24, 1845 and marched through the gates of Fort Leavenworth their colonel greeted them with a few words. Later he reported, "Great credit is due to the officers and enlisted men who composed this command. They have all proven themselves what their ambition is to be—good soldiers." *Dictionary of American Biography,* Vol. 4, p. 339.

[35] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California,* (San Francisco, 1886), Vol. V. 1846-48, pp. 472-82.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 386, 483. *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), June 24, 1919, p. 17, col. 1 carries a feature story on the march of the Mormon Battalion. Cooke thought that the Battalion was enlisted too much by families; some were too old, some feeble, some were too young; and it was impeded by many women. There was no discipline and the men were sadly worn by traveling on foot.

On November 11, 1846 the *Columbian Fountain,* Washington (p. 1, col. 5), copied from the *Charleston Mercury,* that General Kearny started on the twenty-fifth instant for California. His troops consisted of Dragoons with Co. R. commanded by Captain Cooke: "It is a long and arduous march—long stretches, one of 90 miles without water, and little or no grass. . . . ."

Cooke arrived at Santa Fe on October 7 with two companies of the First Dragoons, Major Edwin Vose Sumner in command, the two officers and their men having arrived at Fort Leavenworth from St. Louis three days after Kearny had left this post for the West. Cooke took over the command of the Mormon Battalion at Santa Fe on October 13, and six days later moved with his men, following General Kearny's route down the Rio del Norte to a point twenty-five miles below the Jornada Mountain, where they struck off westerly over the southern spurs of the Sierra do los Mimbres.[37] Cooke seeing that these spurs ended abruptly, and that a plain spread out south of them, concluded that there might be discovered a pass from the Del Norte to the Gila, thus avoiding the mountains.

Before leaving the Del Norte valley, Cooke sent all of the sick Mormons and part of his baggage train back to Fort Pueblo, on the Arkansas, above Fort Bent, where numerous Mormon families were congregating, preparing to start for California early in the spring of 1847. Cooke followed the high plain through a gap in the Cordilleras, finding water and pasturage, and meeting no opposition. "He passed the deserted village, San Bernadino, which had once been very rich in cattle and other herds, but was now entirely abandoned on account of . . . . incursions of the Apaches. Thence he passed over the San Pedro river, down which he continued. . . . for sixty miles. Thence striking off, he passed through Teuson (*sic*), and arrived at the Gila. . . . ."

When Cooke and his troops were encamped within about six miles of Tucson, in the state of Sonora, where 150 dragoons and two pieces of artillery were stationed, the Commandante had received express orders not to permit passage of the Americans. Three commissioners were sent into camp to learn Colonel Cooke's business and ask what terms he would exact in passing through the village. The men begged Cooke to bypass the place, but he in-

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 484; and "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke of His March from Santa Fe, New Mexico to San Diego, Upper California," *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 41, pp. 551-4.

Richard Smith Elliott, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 238: "On arrival in Santa Fe the adjutant informed Elliott that he was officer of the guard for the night, while Major Cooke was officer of the day." . . . . the guard to consist of fifty ravenous men who were to preserve order in the captured city. . . . a foreign capital seized without a struggle after a daring march of nearly a thousand miles. . . . ."

"Cooke took command at Santa Fe with orders from Gen. Kearny to open a wagon route to the Pacific by the Gila Route. This march—undertaken by infantry with wagons, for which a road must be found or built—was much more difficult than that of any that had previously crossed the continent in these latitudes."—Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 888 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y., Catalogue 134, p. 40.

"When Cooke set out from Santa Fe for California, he came down the Rio Grande to the present ford at San Diego, and thence to Ojo de Vaca," —John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations, and Incident in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chiluahua* (London, 1854), Vol. 2, p. 332.

formed them he would require one piece of artillery and some small arms, the munitions to be returned upon his departure. The following morning when his troops were drawn up in order of battle, Cooke marched towards the town. He was met by a messenger who said: "Sir, your terms are hard, and such as the commandante never can and never will accede to." Cooke passed the order down the lines to load, but before this was done a great dust was seen to arise beyond the town where a body of horsemen fled across the plain in the greatest haste. They left behind only the old and helpless. The troops entered the town where they found an abundance of wheat for their horses, and some fruit and provisions for themselves. Then they resumed their march.

When Cooke arrived at the Pima Villages the chief delivered a letter and a bale of goods which General Kearny had abandoned at different places. The Pimas had collected them knowing that Cooke was to pass that way. "Cooke commended him for his strict honesty and integrity, and told him that in acting thus he would always enjoy the friendship and good opinion of the Americans. . . . ."[38]

The map made by Colonel Cooke on his route from the Rio Grand to the Gila River in command of the Mormon Battalion, afterward published in his Report to General Kearny, is cited by Elliott Coues in his volume on Pike's expeditions with the following comment:[39]

"The Cooke trail mentioned is that made by Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, commanding Mormon battalion of the Army of the West on the march from Santa Fe, N. M. to San Diego, Cal. under the guidance of Antoine Leroux[40] in the autumn of 1846. It will be found very clearly traced from the point of departure from the Rio Grande to the Pima villages on the Gila, on the sketch map accompanying that officer's report to General [Stephen Watts] Kearny.

"I have failed to notice in the proper order that Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, commanding the Mormon battalion (Capt. of the 1st Drags), had the honor of making the first wagon road from the stream of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This was a great undertaking at that time, which was in the autumn and winter of 1846-47, and entitles him to much credit. In his report to General Kearny he recounts the hardships endured by himself and his men, and says that the general's letters to him made it almost a point of honor to take the wagons through to the Pacific, and he was much retarded in making and finding the road. The breaking the track,often through thickest of mesquit and other thorny bushes, although worked on by pioneers, was so laborious that it was necessary to relieve them every hour.

Cooke reached San Diego with the Mormon Battalion on January 29, 1847, where he issued a congratulatory order the next day, in

[38] John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*: . . . . *Conquest of New Mexico* (Cincinnati, 1848), pp. 244-48.

[39] *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 41, *op. cit.*, p. 564: see, also, Elliott Coues, *Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Expeditions* (New York, 1895) Vol. 2, pp. 637 fn. 24, 639 fn. 29.

[40] Grant Foreman, "Antoine Leroux, New Mexican Guide," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 16 (October 1, 1941), pp. 367-77.

which he stated in part: "The Lieut. Colonel commanding congratulates the battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march over 2,000 miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry." This order describes some of the details of this difficult march through the "trackless" wilderness, and specially praises Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman (later Governor of California) of the First Dragoons for having "shared and given valuable aid in these labors."[41]

When Cooke received his appointment as Major of the Second Dragoons (issued on February 15, 1847), he resigned his volunteer commission which was accepted by Kearny in May, and set out for Fort Leavenworth but was recalled to California as a witness on Fremont's trial. He finally joined his new regiment in Mexico City, and when the army retired to Vera Cruz from Jalapa, he commanded the rear guard.

Cooke commanded the Second Dragoons in Texas during 1852-53, and led an expedition during the winter against the Lipan Indians and other tribes when he drove them across the Rio Grande into Mexico.[42] He received his commission as Lieutenant Colonel, July 15, 1853. While in command at Fort Union,[43] New Mexico, in 1854, Colonel Cooke commenced operations against the Jicarilla Apaches who engaged in a spirited affair about six miles of Fort Union on March 5. Later in the month, a combined force of Jicarilla Apaches and Utahs (Ute) defeated a company of First Dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant John W. Davidson, near Fort Burgwin.[44] Colonel Cooke received this word the last day of March, and within an hour marched with all the force at hand pursuing the "Indians through deep snow, over broken mountains, for about one hundred and fifty miles."[45] Nine days later he overtook them at Aguas Calientes,[46] and defeated them, killing White Wolf (captor of Mrs. White and party) and twenty other Apaches. Cooke's energetic action against the Indians reflected the highest credit upon him, and prevented the Utahs from waging a general war as allies of the Jicarilla Apaches against the white people in that region. Cooke

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[41] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-7.

[42] Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865), pp. 152-56, 181, 225.

[43] Fort Union, New Mexico, near base of Gallinas (or Turkey) Mountains.

[44] Fort (or Cantomment) Burgwin was about nine miles north of Taos, New Mexico.

[45] Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[46] The fight occurred at Grande Canyon of the Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, on April 8, 1854. Troops participating were H and detachment G, First Dragoons; H, Second Dragoons, and detachment D, Second Artillery. —Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register . . .*, Vol. 2, p. 401.

described his pursuit of the Apaches as "one of the most severe marches" that he had ever undertaken.[47]

In 1855, Cooke was engaged in the Sioux War. He was commanding the Second Dragoons and two companies of mounted artillery and infantry. The First Regiment Dragoons was organized during the summer of 1855, at Fort Leavenworth; and the Second Regiment Dragoons; at Jefferson Barracks.

The various branches of the army were assembled at Fort Leavenworth in 1855 to cope with the increasing boldness of the Indians. General William S. Harney was in command of the expedition. Probably more steamboats were employed to carry those troops than ever were employed before in transporting United States forces on the Missouri River. The cavalry was under the command of Colonel Cooke who began the patrol of the Platte River. He met the Indians at Blue Water or Ash Hollow, in Nebraska, where he refused to parley with them. In a fight on September 3, eighty-six Indians were killed, many were wounded and made prisoners. The Indians were completely demoralized but the troops were not ordered home until July, 1856.[48]

General Harney wrote to the Adjutant General from his camp on Blue Water Creek, Nebraska Territory, after the battle with the Sioux on September 3, in which he says:

> I have the honor to report . . . . on my arrival at Ash Hollow, on the evening of the 2nd instant, I ascertained that a large portion of the Brule band of the Sioux nation, under '*Little Thunder*' was encamped on Blue Water Creek . . . . about six miles northwest of Ash Hollow, and four from the left bank of the North Platte.
>
> Having no doubt . . . . of the real character and hostile intentions of the party in question, I at once commenced preparations for attacking it. I ordered Lt. Col. P. St. George Cooke, 2d Drags, with companies 'E' and 'K' of the same regt. light co. 'G' 4th Artillery, and co 'F' 10th Inf. all mounted, to move at three o'clock A. M. on the 3d instant, and secure a position which would cut off the retreat of the Inds to the Sand Buttes, the reputed strong-hold of the Brules.
>
> This movement was executed in a most faultless and successful manner, not having apparently attracted the notice or excited the suspicion of the enemy up to the very moment of the encounter.
>
> With regard to the officers and troops of my command, I have never seen a finer military spirit displayed generally; . . . . Lieutenant Col. Cooke and Major Cady, the commanders of the mounted and foot forces . . . . carried out my instructions to them with equal alacrity, zeal, and intelligence.

In the Territory of Kansas in 1855 slavery agitation finally compelled Governor [John W.] Geary to call for federal troops to

[47] Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*, 1809-1868 (Chicago, 1914) p. 330. This fight probably took place at Cienegullia, New Mexico. Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 401.

[48] Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11; Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 317. Cooke was stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas, during parts of 1855-56.

restore some sort of order. "Accordingly Colonel Cooke led the Fourth Artillery, acting as cavalry, from Leavenworth. This show of force caused the warring militias to disperse without bloodshed and Kansas was quickly brought to a state of quiescence, many lives being saved by the army's move,emt."[49]

During the turbulent days in 1856 in Kansas, Dr. Charles Robinson was commander of the free-state forces during the Wakarusa war which was brought on by the arrest and abuse of Jacob Branson, an old man from Indiana. "For his rescue a body of twelve free-state men was quickly organized and when they met a body of men of the same number, his release was demanded, and secured without bloodshed. This brought on the Wakarusa war. . . . the erection of riflepits and all necessary means of defense. . . . against an invasion of 1200 men from Missouri."[50]

"The three forts or bastions, located near Vermone, Massachusetts and Rhode Island streets, respectively, . . . These *quasi* forts we had thrown up rudely and constructed in the previous December, at the time of the 'Wakarusa War,' Colonel Cooke, the commander of the United States troops, had officially reported that he could ride his horse right across any of them."[51]

General Merritt paid high tribute to Cooke for his conduct in Kansas. He quoted General Smith's[52] report: ". . . . The sound judgment he [Cooke] displayed and his promptness, energy and good management have had a large share in producing the happy state of affairs at present existing; for there were moments when the want of either of these qualities might have led to the most fatal and extended disasters. . . . ."

The Secretary of War referred to Cooke's service in his report for 1856 as follows:

"Energy, tempered with forebearance and firmness, directed with more than ordinary judgment, has enabled them to check civil strife and to restore order and tranquility without shedding a drop of blood . . . . I concur in the high commendation which the Commanding General of the Department of the West bestows on Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke, commanding in the field . . . . . "

In September, 1857, Cooke marched in command of his regiment on the Utah expedition and arrived at Fort Bridger[53] on November

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[49] William Addleman Ganoe, *History of the United States Army* (New York, London, 1924), p. 238.

[50] John Speer, "Accuracy in History," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 1897-1900 (Topeka, 1900), p. 61; F. W. Blackmar, "Charles Robinson" *Ibid.* pp. 187-202. Dr. Robinson was the first governor of Kansas, 1861-62.

[51] *Ibid;* and Brinton W. Woodward, "Reminiscences of September 14, 1856; Invasion of the 2700," *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[52] General Persifer F. Smith was in command of the Department of the West in 1856 with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth (Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

[53] Fort Bridger, Wyoming, near Carter's Station, Union Pacific Railroad, Uinta County; now town of that name.

19. "He was detached all winter and spring with his regiment, guarding and herding the horses, mules and cattle, which numbered nearly 7,000 head. These were taken to the distant Mountain valleys . . . . ." The Mormons having temporarily abandoned the area, Colonel Cooke returned to Fort Bridger and from there through Salt Lake City to Camp Floyd, forty miles from the town.[54]

Brigadier General Persifer F. Smith died at Fort Leavenworth in the month of May, 1858. On the 14th of June, Colonel Harney, who was a Brevet Brigadier General, was appointed to fill the vacancy. Philip St. George Cooke then became Colonel of the Second Dragoons.

Cooke was granted a long leave of absence in 1858 and during that year he prepared a new system of cavalry tactics which were adopted in 1861. On June 14, 1858, Cooke received his full colonelcy and he visited Europe during 1859-60 where he was an observer in the war in Italy. He rejoined in the spring of 1860 and assumed command of the Department of Utah, where he was stationed until the approach of the Civil War when orders were sent for the abandonment of Utah. He proceeded to Washington, arriving there October 19th.

Although his family followed their native State of Virginia in 1861, Cooke remained loyal "and when a letter from a Confederate general was secretly delivered to him in Washington he promptly handed it over to the War Department."[55]

Cooke was made a Brigadier General in the regular army November 12, 1861.[56] He commanded the Cavalry Brigade at Washington until the army of the Potomac entered upon the Peninsular campaign in which he commanded the so-called "Cavalry Reserve," a division of two brigades. He took part in the siege of Yorktown April 5 to May 4, 1862; the skirmish near Williamsburg, Battle of Williamsburg on May 5; Battle of Gaines' Mill on June 27 and the Battle of Glendale June 30. He served on Courts Martial duty July, 1862 to August 1863.

He commanded the district of Baton Rouge for a time, Department of the Gulf, October 13, 1863, to May, 1864, and as General Superintendent of Recruiting Service of the Army, May 24, 1864, to March 19, 1866. His rank was brevet major general from "March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious services during the Rebellion." From December 30, 1865, to August 30, 1866, he was a member of the Board for Retiring Disabled Officers. On April 1, 1865, he took command of the Department of the Platte where he remained until

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[54] The name was later changed to Fort Crittenden. It was in Cedar Valley.

[55] Cook's son, John R. Cooke, and his son-in-law J. E. B. Stuart, became general officers in the Confederate Army. —*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 389.

[56] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-6, 181, 225.

MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, U.S.A.

January 9, 1867; later he commanded the departments of the Cumberland and the Lakes.[57] He was commissioned Major General, United States Army, March 13, 1865, for gallant service in the Civil War.[58]

Philip St. George Cooke was not only a distinguished soldier but he became well known as the author of three volumes of history and adventure. His *Cavalry Tactics* in two volumes was published in 1861, of which there were many later editions. His *Scenes and Adventures in the Army,* which appeared in 1857, was autobiographical. His book, *The Conquest of Mexico and California,* published in 1878, is an outstanding history on the subject based on his own notes and journals kept in the field.[59] General Cooke's journal and report of the Mormon Battalion appear in other publications, and he himself is mentioned in many volumes by writers on the history of the period that saw his service in the Army.[60]

General Cooke died March 20, 1895, in Detroit at the age of eighty-six years. He had retired October 29, 1873, having served in the Army continuously for forty-six years. He was a stern disciplinarian, described as a "character of renown in western army annals; a very peppery man with language," who "talked through his nose."[61] He had a high sense of honor and sincere religious feelings yet he did not lack a sense of humor, and was notably fond of young people. His wife was Rachel Hertzog of Philadelphia.

A biographer made this tribute to this great American soldier:[62]

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[57] Cullum, *op. cit.,* p. 317. "The Department of the Platte embraced the State of Iowa, territories of Nebraska, and Utah—Dakota west of the 104th meridian and so much of Montana as lies contiguous to the new road from Fort Laramie to Virginia City, Montana—Headquarters at Omaha." (Ganoe, *op. cit.,* p. 312).

[58] Drumm, *op. cit.,* pp. 158-9, note 67.

[59] Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 4. A Santa Fe expedition made by Philip St. George Cooke in 1843 was published for the first time in June and September, 1925, in issues of the *Mississpipi Valley Historical Review* (Quaife, *op. cit.,* p. 18, note 15).

The Army and Navy Chronicles, Vol. X contains a series of articles entitled Thoughts on the Army, and Suggestions for its Improvement; An Appeal for the Indian. Vol. XI contains eleven articles which are entitled Notes and Reminiscences of an Officer of the Army. This material was later incorporated in Scenes and Adventures or Romance in the Army: Of Military Life (Philadelphia, 1857) and all are signed F.R.D. which may have been a pen name used by Cooke.

Extended mention of P. St. George Cooke and quotations from his writings are in Otis E. Young's *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail,* 1829 (Glendale, 1952). Also, *Exploring Southwestern Trails,* 1846-54, edited by Ralph F. Bieber (Glendale, 1938), presents "Cooke's Journal of the Mormon Battalion, 1946-1947" from the manuscript copy in the Adjutant General's office at Washington.

[60] Several interesting statements concerning Cooke and his valuable service in directing the Cavalry during the Civil War are found in *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* edited by Robert S. Lanier, New York, Vol. 4, pp. 47, 62, 221, 225.

[61] Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (Chicago, 1914) p. 379.

[62] Merriett, *op. cit.,* p. 92.

"Throughout his varied career General Philip St. George Cooke gave us an example of loyalty, professional pride and devotion to duty in its highest sense. He was the incarnation of a cavalry soldier. . . . . He was a splendid horseman and always looked every inch the soldier while mounted on his spirited, showy horse. He was a chivalrous soldier, a consistent Christian, a model gentleman."

APPENDIX A

In his delightful *Scenes and Adventures in the Army or Romance of Military Life* (1857), pp. 219-20, 224-27, Colonel Philip St. George Cooke gives a vivid account of the march of the Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks on the noted Expedition via Fort Gibson (1834) to the Wichita Village in Southwestern Oklahoma, in which he says that the regiment was composed of men between the ages of twenty and thirty-five:

. . . . native citizens who, from previous habits, were well qualified for mounted service. The officers were authorized to inform candidates for enlistment that they would be well clothed, and kept in comfortable quarters in winter . . . . . The recruits had generally disposed of nearly all of their clothing, in anticipation of their uniforms, but in November, before the proper clothing or arms had been received . . . . just at that season when all civilized, and, I believe, barbarous nations, even in a state of war, suspend hostilities and go into winter quarters, these five companies received an order to march out of theirs,—to take to the field!

By great exertions, and numerous expedients, a quantity of clothing nearly sufficient to cover them, but of all qualities, colors, and patterns, was obtained. The march to Fort Gibson was commenced on the 20th of November. On the third day we encountered a severe snow-storm. On the 14th of December, they reached their destination, having marched five hundred miles. Here they found no comfortable quarters, but passed a severe winter for any climate in tents; the thermometer standing more than one day at 8° below zero. There were of course no stables, and but very little corn, and the horses were of necessity turned loose to sustain a miserable existance on cane in an Arkansas bottom. . . .

The Regiment of Dragoons has had, so to speak, *bad luck* . . . . . The winter at Fort Gibson has been one of unexampled severity; the corn crop of last season had been swept away by an unparalleled rise of the Arkansas River . . . . . Some of the clothing arrived in *February;* after having been, with the sabres and pistols, sunk in a steam-boat. The guns made for the dragoons, and some of the clothing, have not yet arrived. Their sabres and pistols are not those intended for the regiment; but of a very rough, inferior quality.

The other five companies of Dragoons joined the regiment at Fort Gibson in June:

. . . . and were hurried off like the others, on the 18th of the month, quite unprepared for the expedition. Nevertheless the regiment marched full six weeks too late, when it is considered that we were to traverse the burning plains of the South: and the thermometer having previously risen to 105 in the shade, there was every prospect of a summer of unexampled heat . . . . .

. . . . On, on they marched, over the parched plains whence all moisture had shrunk, as from the touch of fire; their martial pomp and show dwindled to a dusty speck in the midst of a boundless plain: disease and death struck them as they moved; . . . they marched on, leaving three-fourths of their number stretched by disease in many sick camps . . . . it was the death of hope . . . . In one sick camp, they were in great danger of massacre by a horde of Comanche Indians, who had established themselves near by; and were in all probability only saved by the judgment and determination of the officer in command, the lamented Izard . . . . In the face of overwhelming numbers, he kept every man who could possibly bear arms on constant guard; . . . .

There, perhaps within the boundary of Mexico, was made this first though feeble demonstration of the power and ubiquity of the white man . . . . .

The shattered and half famished remnants of the regiment were gathered together at Fort Gibson, in August. The thermometer had risen in the shade to 114°. There, in tents and neglected, many more suffered and died. . . . .

PLACING HISTORICAL MARKERS

Under The Auspices of The Oklahoma Historical Society

By Charles Evans

History could be defined as the record of exaltation of man through the ages. This up-lift has been emphasized and recorded by placing at certain points where the struggle for a greater freedom was made in peace or war. These have been in the form of monuments, arches and tablets of stone, steel and bronze.

Across America from the earliest beginnings the people have erected such testimonials to their growth. When General W. S. Key returned from his campaigns in Europe in World War II, he took his place upon the Board of Directors where he had been a valuable and a leading member since February 1, 1927. He has served as President of the Society since January 26, 1950. He was called upon, after a most cordial welcome extended by his associates, to say a few words. He included in those remarks high tribute to Oklahoma because it had in its very beginning played a remarkable part in the development of the military history of the West. At Fort Gibson, Fort Arbuckle, Fort Reno, Fort Towson, Fort Sill, all these and more stretching from Ft. Gibson, 1824, to Fort Sill at the present day, the Oklahoma region had been a great defense, the military training ground for the United States Army. He went on to say that something should be done by the Oklahoma Historical Society and must be done to set up permanent markers testifying to, not only the military leaders or heroes of Oklahoma, but also the rugged pioneers and points of struggle that had led to the wonderful heritage of riches beyond compare. These have made Oklahoma today a sort of wonder in swift modern progress. "Perhaps," he said, "The Society would obtain this money through men and women of historic pride in this State and who have been blessed by riches obtained growing out of the progress of the State in all of its range development."'

Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Historical Society, met in the lobby of the Skirvin Hotel, Oklahoma City, in the Spring of 1949, a young man who had lately been elected a Republican Representative to the 22nd Legislative Assembly meeting in January, 1949. This young man, Mr. John E. Wagner, a Chandler student of law in the Oklahoma University, told of a deep impression left upon him by some very worthy and attractive historical markers set up in the State of New Mexico. He believed that if the Oklahoma Historical Society would permit him and at the same time join with him in this movement, he would frame and

introduce a bill for $10,000.00 for the erection of as many markers of permanent kind as this money would buy. Of course, the historical spots selected must receive the approval of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and all wordings to be placed upon these markers must be under the auspices and by authority of the Board of Directors of this Society. Mr. Wagner believed that the State Highway Commission of Oklahoma would endorse this move and would allocate the $10,000.00 for this high purpose and plan.

The Secretary immediately moved into action and brought Mr. Wagner and General W. S. Key together and the three outlined a plan and agreed upon a method of the procedure in the passing of the legislative bill. General Key and the Secretary made contact with Mr. C. A. Stuldt, Chairman of the State Highway Commission and Mr. H. E. Bailey, Secretary and they gave earnest approval. At this point it would be well to introduce a brief statement made at the request of Secretary Evans that Mr. John Wagner tell some particulars of this history of how this great historical project for the Society was fashioned into a bill which was passed and signed by Governor Roy J. Turner (*House Bill 267,* Session 1949).

Some Memories About The Historical Markers Bill

BY MR. JOHN E. WAGNER

As I drive along the highways of Oklahoma and see the numerous historical markers which have been erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society, I always think of the factors which went into the erection of those markers, and their authorization by the Legislature. In reality, it was the combination of a trip to California, a Republican victory in an Oklahoma legislative race, and the cooperation of several Oklahoma-minded people in the 22nd Legislature and the Oklahoma Historical Society. And I might add that it was due to the scholarly and wise counsel of Dr. Charles Evans of the Society that the fledgling legislative author was able to pilot his bill through the legislative branch of our Oklahoma government.

In 1947, our family went on an automobile trip to California—not a long trip—but one of these western tours where we moved from place to place almost daily. And in those meanderings throughout the West, I saw in almost every state the very attractive and interesting historical markers which show the passing traveler the sites of various incidents in the growth and history of that section. I call to mind most vividly the fine markers in New Mexico—rustic and with a distinctive design. And one could not note these excellent historical markers without thinking that Oklahoma was lacking something in not having its many historical spots marked.

In 1948, at the age of 21, I entered the state legislative race in Lincoln County on the Republican ticket. Being an ardent believer in the efficacy of the two-party system in Oklahoma, I could not bring myself to registering in the majority party. I might add that my mother is a Democrat of Texas lineage and my father is the Republican son of an '89er who came from Northern Republican heritage. After a long and difficult campaign which carried right on up through the November general election,

I managed to win by a small majority of the 8,000 votes cast in Lincoln County that year. (I had had hopes of riding in on what was to be the Dewey landslide, but it turned out we Republicans were running against the tide of the Truman majority, not only in Oklahoma, but in Lincoln County.)

Since this is not to be a paper on legislative memoirs, it is best I proceed with the story of the markers bill. It was sometime soon after the Legislature convened that I began to read up in my legislative bill drafting manual so I could piece together some of the thoughts for the Historical Markers Bill which I had in mind. After some preliminary research, I went to Dr. Evans of the Society and asked if the Society was interested and would cooperate. The response was magnificent. Dr. Evans put me in touch with General W. S. Key and we attended a luncheon together at the Skirvin Hotel. Ideas were shared on what the bill should contain, and approximate prices per marker were tabulated.

It was decided to ask for $10,000.00 with which we estimated 100 markers could be erected. The choice of the sites was to be left to the Society, and the Highway Department was to assist in getting the markers in place. Further, we limited the expenditures to $5,000.00 for each of the two years of the biennium.

Having further discussed the matter with the Highway Department, we were ready to get the bill prepared for introduction. At that juncture, I went to the Attorney General, who assists with bill drafting during the legislative session, if requested. One of his assistants very kindly consented to assist me with the drafting of the bill, and I well remember that we sat in his office and whacked it out on the typewriter in the proper legal language.

Knowing that nearly every bill had several co-authors, I decided to find several of my colleagues whose influence and prestige would add to the chances of success which the proposal would have once it was caught up in the legislative mill. There is safety in numbers on the floor of a legislature, as you well know. I sought out the following as co-authors: Rhys Evans, a Democrat from Ardmore, and good legislator with considerable seniority and a wealth of knowledge on things legislative; Norman Reynolds, a freshman Democrat from Oklahoma City, known for his honest and forthright support for what he considered to be right, let the political chips fall where they may; and J. Howard Lindley, a Republican of Fairview. Mr. Lindley was my seatmate, and represented the most solid Republican count in Oklahoma. He was one of the best liked members—on either side of the aisle—in the house during the 22nd Legislature, and I am sure his reputation for congeniality carried over through succeeding sessions. Thus, the bill had two Republicans and two Democrats as its official sponsors.

It was finally tossed in the hopper and became House Bill 267 of the 22nd Legislature of Oklahoma. It would be pointless to recite the various proceedings through which it was necessary to pass in order for the bill to become law, for every legislative measure follows essentially the same route. However, I do recall that once the bill had been approved by the committee on appropriations and was up for passage on the floor of the house that it was a Friday afternoon (the legislature had begun meeting on Fridays since it was later in the session, and the voters, and the press, had begun to frown on the four-day work week for the $15.00 per day legislature.) The bill went through committee of the whole without a dissent, and there was not even a roll call on Third Reading and final passage in the house. They did what is known as "applying the roll"—that is, everyone present is shown as voting yes, except those who register their dissent.

Fortunately the Historical Markers Bill registered only a handful of dissenting votes, and thus had passed the lower house of the Legislature. It soon after came up for approval in the Senate, and it was my fellow townsman, Senator Boyd Cowden, a Democrat, who quite graciously piloted my Republican-authored measure through the upper chamber. I remember going to Governor Roy Turner's office to see if he would sign the bill, and it was really just a friendly visit, for he had ever intention of signing same. Thus, House Bill 267 became the law, and historical markers were authorized for the highways of Oklahoma.

It was not long after the passage of the measure that the Society began negotiating with the most well known metal casting firm in the East —noted for their ability in making markers of this kind. I must also backtrack a bit and say that the proposed list of 100 markers was drawn up by Miss Muriel Wright of the Society. At my insistance she balanced the list to contain a proportionate number of markers in the western half of the state as in the eastern. This was done specifically to draw support from all sections of the state, and because the bill was for markers for all of Oklahoma and not merely the area of the five tribes.

The markers have been erected now for nearly five years. There are many more historical sites which should be marked. With the building of the many dams and the tremendous increase in tourist travel within the borders of our state, to the various large lakes and parks, it is important that we maintain our prestige with our sister states for making Oklahoma as attractive and interesting as possible to the tourists who travel and trade, who fish and sightsee within the Sooner State. And it is for that reason that the Legislature should again appropriate a sum to extend this project. I think it is especially incumbent upon us who are members of the Society to see that the Historical Markers project is enlarged and carried on by our next Legislature. These markers can contribute immeasureably to selling Oklahoma to the tourists who traverse our state daily. And not only is there a commercial interest in making Oklahoma a tourist attraction, but there is an intrinsic cultural interest in preserving, and in exhibiting, the historical data which has made Oklahoma one of the most interesting areas of the Great Southwest.

Subsequent Procedure

After this Bill passed (see story of passage in words of Mr. Wagner) the Legislature and was signed by the Governor, immediate action began toward essential steps of placing the markers as soon as possible. A Committee was appointed by the Board of Directors, composed of General W. S. Key, Dr. Charles Evans, Col. George H. Shirk, Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. E. E. Dale, and Miss Muriel H. Wright, to take charge of this work. While certain members of this Committee, because of their residence at somewhat distant points from the Society Building, did not perform active work, they contributed largely with suggestions and advice. General W. S. Key, President of the Society took the responsibility of overseeing the work in 1949-1950 and 51 and in subsequent years. He has given close and serious attention in every detail. Dr. Charles Evans, the Secretary of the Society, of course, having correspondence in relationships and all matters of this kind was assigned the duties of making contact with the State Highway Commission, finding manufacturers of markers, obtaining bids for the board on these, notifying certain communities

of the State where these markers were to be placed through its historical-minded citizens of the purpose and plans toward placing a marker near them and keeping constantly in touch with the manufactures as to cost of markers and payments therefor, and the careful shipments of the markers to the Department of the Highway. To Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor, and one of the most competent historians of the State, was given the detailed work of securing all information needed for inscriptions on each marker, and out of this material write such historical facts as were most essential and could be embraced within the scope of the area on each marker, aluminium plaque. After these inscriptions were written by Miss Wright, they were passed upon by the whole Committee and sent in to the manufactor. She also assisted in every way on establishing contacts with Sewah Studios and other points and persons. Colonel Shirk assisted materially as the work progressed by determining many of locations on the highways, and by writing some of the text inscriptions.

Sewah Studios, Manufacturers

It seems that more good fortune attended the Committee, because, even before the Bill had passed, a Mr. Hawes, you note that his name spelled backwards is Sewah, called upon the Secretary stating that he had been manufacturing historical markers many years at Marietta, Ohio. His business was called the Sewah Studios. He had been on a journey through several states using his markers. He stated that his Company had been for many years furnishing some of the most progressive states of America these plaques which in short he described as the roadside type of historical marker. Each plaque is of pure ingot aluminum of uniform size 40 x 42 inches, and an approximate weight of 200 pounds, with the lettering of the inscription appearing on both sides and showing as silver against a green enamel background. This official Oklahoma Historical marker bears an ornament or insignia at the top of the plaque, consisting of the central design from the Oklahoma State Flag, showing an Indian war shield with pendant eagle feathers superimposed by a peace pipe crossed by an olive branch, all done on appropriate enamel colors of buckskin shading to brown, and pipe-stone red and olive green. Across the bottom of this official Oklahoma plaque in small lettering is the signatory line, "Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Commission, 1949" (or date of erection). Immediately below the caption on most of the plaques appears a directional line in small lettering, giving the air-line distance from the marker on the highway to the

historic site itself.[1] In the case of no directional line, the marker is on the historic site itself, or the site is mentioned in the inscription.

In a little while Miss Wright reported that she was ready to submit historical spots, 50 in number, since the annual appropriation was $5,000.00 and the Committee meeting Miss Wright's selection of inscriptions met with the approval of General Key, Dr. Evans, Dr. Foreman, Dr. Dale and Colonel Shirk, of the committee. Each community where the marker was to be placed was respected by the Committee, and notified that if criticisms or changes they thought essential should be considered, it would be done, but the final decision must rest with the Committee.

Inscriptions were sent into the Sewah Studios and in a little while shipments were ready to be made at certain points over the State. The Highway Department appointed Mr. F. W. Arnold to suprvise all shipment to the closest Railway or Express points near where the markers were to be placed and also to advise with the Society's Committee as to what point along the Highway these markers should be placed. The Highway Department complied with the advice of the Committee but insisted that the placements must be at certain distances from the highway, so that the least danger to traffic and most leisure to the historically minded traveler could be met. The Committee and Mr. Arnold agreed that each marker should be placed at a point where a plot could be near or around it whereby the traveler could find a place of rest; in other terms these points should be made into little parks where finally trees, shrubs and flowers would make them valuable and worth places of rest.

So in this way the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State of Oklahoma moved up among those progressive states who have secured worthy historical markers for their heroic dead and their deeds. It is a great historical achievement for Oklahoma. It is not finished and will not be until each marker is protected and loved, a point of pride and honor to each community and each county in which they are placed. Several of these markers have not been very well protected. They stand, too often, by the side of the road, weeds around them, no trees, no grass, no flowers, no shrubs, just a mute and uncared for plaque telling its story of sacrifice and honor whereby the vicinity, that county, that state in which it stands have been made rich and powerful.

Secretary Evans, Miss Muriel H. Wright and the Board, in its way have done much to remind County Officials, School Super-

[1] See reports by Muriel H. Wright, "Fifty Oklahoma Historical Markers Completed, 1949," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 420-24; and "Oklahoma Markers Completed, 1950," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 488-92.

intendents, Road Supervisors, everybody who could be and should be responsible of the care of these markers, aware of and need for their proper care or beautification. The Highway Department did a great job in this whole program and is yet doing it. The Oklahoma Historical Society has performed every duty and has moved beyond the line of duty to give this Oklahoma country proper tributes to the heroic men and women who made sacrifices to make us the people that we are.

Honorable Roy J. Turner, Governor, 1947-1951 and the 22nd Legislature have done their duty in this project. Now it is up to the citizens who have been honored in their vicinities by having these markers near them, to protect them and develop them into worthy and sacred points of history. This may be repetition but this point cannot be too much stressed.

Program Carried Out in 1950-51

The expenditure of $5,000.00 appropriated for this project for the fiscal year of 1950-51 was extended precisely upon the same lines as that of 1949-50. Fifty more historic spots were chosen by the Committee and all details were carried out as before and so the Oklahoma Historical Society found the program begun by this legislative enactment finished.

It should be said that this movement stirred the whole state and made it, perhaps, more historically conscious than it had ever been. All leading citizens in communities where markers were not placed began to ask the Society to permit them to buy their own markers. Each group was encouraged but clear statement was made that the Historical Society must superintend placements, write inscriptions, make the purchase from the Sewah Studios etc. This was done by many communities and the State Highway Department assisted in placing these markers as they had done with preceeding ones.

Oklahoma Historical Markers

1949-1954

The following is a complete list of the Historical Markers erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society through the provisions of a bill passed by the 1949 Legislature.

The sites were selected and the text for each marker was prepared by a Committee composed of Gen. W. S. Key, Dr. Charles Evans, Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Miss Muriel H. Wright, and Col. George H. Shirk. The State Highway Commission was charged with the responsibility of the maintenance of the markers.

Caption and Direction	Date in Okla. History	Location of Marker
CAMP LEAVENWORTH "Near Here"	1834	At Kingston, Marshall Co., US #70
PEACE ON THE PLAINS "About 5 mi. S. E."	1834	East of Mangum at Junction of US #283 and State #44
1st SENECA AGENCY "About 12 mi. S.'	1832	S. of Seneca, Ottawa Co., on US #60
BAPTIST MISSION "About 4 mi. N. W."	1839	½ mi. W. of Westville, Adair County, on US #62
WHEELOCK MISSION "1.5 mi. North"	1832	On US #70 East of Millerton, McCurtain County
CHOCTAW AGENCY "Near Here"	1832	1.7 mi. East of Spiro on US #271, Le Flore Co.
TAHLONTEESKE "Near Here"	1829	2 mi. E. of Gore on US #64, Sequoyah Co.
DWIGHT MISSION "About 7 mi. N. E."	1829	At Vian, Sequoyah Co. on US #64
ENTERING INDIAN TERRITORY	1817 & 1827	Near Moffett, Sequoyah Co., on US #64
FORT GIBSON	1824	On schoolgrounds at Ft. Gibson, Muskogee Co.
FORT TOWSON "Near Here N. E."	1824	On ,US #70 at Ft. Towson Choctaw Co.
FORT WASHITA "About 3 mi. West"	1824	3 mi. So. of Nida, at Junction of State #199 and State #299, Bryan Co.
FORT ARBUCKLE "Near Here, N."	1851	On State #7, at Hoover, Garvin Co.
TISHOMINGO	1856	Tishomingo, at Junction of State #22 & #99, Johhston Co.
FAIRFIELD MISSION "About 3 mi. S. W."		On State #59, about 5 mi. So. of Stilwell, Adair Co.
MILLER COURT HOUSE	1824	At Idabel, Junction of US #70 and State #87, McCurtain Co.
EAGLETOWN	1820 & 1824	US #70, at Eagletown, McCurtain Co.
CHOCTAW CAPITOLS	1834 & 1883	State #271, 1.5 W. & 5 mi. N. of Tuskahoma, Pushmataha Co.
PERRYVILLE "Near Here, W."	1840	On US #69, 3 mi. south of McAlester, Pittsburg Co.
CLAREMORE MOUND "About 6 mi. W."	1817	US #66, N. of Sequoyah, Rogers Co.
NATHANIEL PRYOR "Grave 2.5 mi. S.W."	1816	US #69, 4 mi. South of Pryor, Mayes Co.
NATHAN BOONE "Camp 3.5 m. S.W."	1843	Woods County at Junction US #64 and State #50.
LAHARPE'S COUNCIL "In this Vicinity"	1719	US #64, at Haskell, Muskogee Co.
FORT HOLMES "In immediate Vicinity"	1834	At Bilby, Hughes Co. on State #68
SAC AND FOX AGENCY "4 mi. South"	1870	At Junction of US #66 and State #99 at Stroud, Lincoln Co.

BATTLE OF THE WICHITA VILLAGE	1858	On US #81, at Rush Springs, Grady Co.
OLD BOGGY DEPOT "4.5 m. S. E."	1837	On State #7, near Wapanucka at Junction with section line road to Wilson School House, Johnston Co.
UNION MISSION "About 4 mi. E."	1820	About 2 mi. north of Mazie on US #69, Mayes Co.
FORT WAYNE "4.5 mi. S."	1839	On State #20, about 1 mi. W. of Arkansas State line, Delaware Co.
FORT COFFEE "6.1 mi. S."	1834	On US #271, E. of Spiro at Junction of US #271 and County Road, Le Flore Co.
CHIEF PUSHMATAHA "Battle Site Near Here"	1807	On US #69, Wagoner Co., 1¼ mi. North of Arkansas River bridge.
WIGWAM NEOSHO "Near Grand R. N.E. 7 mi."	1829-33	On US #69, 1¼ mi. north of Arkansas River Bridge, Wagoner Co.
NORTH FORK TOWN "About 1.5 mi. E."	1836	On US #69 at Eufaula, McIntosh Co.
KOWETA MISSION "Near Here, West	1843	On State #51, ¾ mi. E. of Coweta, Wagoner Co.
ENTERING INDIAN TERRITORY	1833	On US #66 at Kansas Line, Ottawa Co.
DURANT	1898	On US #69 & 75, north edge of Durant, Bryan Co.
BLOOMFIELD "About 1.5 mi. S. W."	1853	On State #299, So. of Achille, Bryan Co.
CHANTA TAMAHA "3 mi. N.E."	1845	On US #70 at Bokchito, Bryan County
SASKAWA "Original Site"	1850	On State #56, 2 mi. west of Sasaka, Seminole Co.
OKLAHOMA THE INDIAN STATE	1828	On US #77 south of Kansas line, Kay Co.
FORT COBB "Site 1.5 mi. E."	1859	At Ft. Cobb, Caddo Co.
WASHINGTON IRVING'S CAMP	1832	On US #66, at Arcadia, Oklahoma County
CALIFORNIA ROAD "Crossed Here"	1849	Junction of State #33 and US #283, Roger Mills Co.
FORT NICHOLS "7 m. S. W."	1865	US #64, about 15 mi. W. and 3:75 mi. No. of Boise City, Cimarron Co.
DARLINGTON "2.5 mi. W."	1870	US #81, about 2 mi. No. of El Reno, Canadian Co.
BATTLE OF THE WASHITA "2 mi. W."	1868	On US #283, at Cheyenne, Roger Mills Co.
EMPIRE OF GREER	1820	On US #66, at Texola, Beckham Co.
FORT DAVIS "1.2 mi. N."	1861	On US #62, 1 mi. East Bacone, Muskogee Co.

ATOKA	1954	So. of Atoka City limits, Atoka County
CREEK CAPITOL	1867	Council House Grounds Okmulgee, on US #75.
WICHITA AGENCY "Site 5 mi. N. E."	1859	Junction of State #9 and US #62, S. E. of Fort Cobb, Caddo Co.
CHILOCCO INDIAN SCHOOL	1882	On US #77, 3 mi. south of Kansas line, Kay Co.
ROCK MARY "3.5 mi. S.W."	1849	On US #66 west of Bridgeport, Caddo Co.
CAMP RADZIMINSKI "Site 2 mi. West"	1858	On US #183, about 2 mi. No. of Mountain Park, Kiowa Co.
SACRED HEART MISSION	1876	On State #39, So. of Sacred Heart, Pottawatomie Co.
101 RANCH	1893	On US #77, No. of Marland, Noble Co.
GUTHRIE "First Capital of Okla."	1889	On US #77, at south city limits of Guthrie, Logan Co.
OSAGE AGENCY	1872	On US #60, No. of Pawhuska, Osage Co.
PAWNEE AGENCY "2 mi. East"	1874	At Junction of US #64 and State #18 East of Pawnee, Pawnee County
SEGER COLONY "4 mi. North"	1886	On State #41 in Washita Co. at Junction with road north to Colony, Washita Co.
CAMP COMANCHE "Site Near Here"	1834	On US #62, 2 mi. So. of Caddo-Comanche Co. line
CAMP SUPPLY	1868	On US #70, at Supply, Woodward Co.
CANTONMENT "Site about 2 mi. N."	1879	On State #51, West of Canton, Blaine Co.
FORT RENO	1874-5	On US #66, at entrance to Ft. Reno, Canadian Co.
FOR SILL INDIAN SCHOOL	1871	On US #271, between Ft. Sill and Lawton, Comanche Co.
KINGFISHER	1889	On US #81 at Kingfisher, Kingfisher County
RUN OF '89 WEST BOUNDARY	1889	On US #66, 1 mi. West of El Reno, Canadian County
RUN OF '89 EAST BOUNDARY	1889	On US #66, East of Arcadia, Oklahoma County
OKLAHOMA WAR CHIEF	1884	On US #177 north of Braman, Kay County
THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA	1890	On US #77, at Norman, Cleveland County
KEOKUK FALLS "Ghost Town. Site 2 mi E."	1891	On State #99, No. of Canadian River Bridge, Pottawatomie Co.
MEKASUKEY ACADEMY	1891	On State #59, 4 mi. S. E. Seminole, Seminole Co.
OKLAHOMA A & M COLLEGE	1890	On State #51, Southside City limits of Stillwater, Payne Co.

BLACK BEAVER "Grave Near Anadarko"	1834	On US #62, at E. City limits of Anadarko, Caddo Co.
CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE	1890	On US #66 at Edmond, Oklahoma County
TAHLEQUAH "Capital of Cherokee Nation"	1839	On State #62, E. city limits of Tahlequah, Cherokee County
NEW SPRINGPLACE "Site about 3 mi. S."	1842	On State #33, 3 mi. North of Oaks, Delaware Co.
WATIE AND RIDGE "Graves about 8 mi. E."	1839	On State #10, 3 mi. South of Lake O'Cherokees Bridge, Delaware Co.
PARK HILL PRESS "Site 1 mi. E"	1837	On US #62, 3 mi. South of Tahlequah, Cherokee County
CABIN CREEK "Battlefield 8 mi. E."	1864	On US #69, North of Patton, Mayes County
BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS	1863	On US #69, South of Oktaha, Muskogee County
WEBBERS FALLS "Settled in 1829"	1829	US #64, at Webbers Falls Bridge, Muskogee County
HILLSIDE MISSION "Near Here East"	1882	On State #11, 4 mi. North of Skiatook, Tulsa County
CHOUTEAU'S POST "In this vicinity"	1802	On School grounds at Salina, Mayes County
PLEASANT PORTER "Home and grave near here"	1840-1907	Near Leonard, Tulsa Co., on US #64
ALEXANDER POSEY "Birthplace 4 mi. S., 1873"	1873-1908	On State #9, at Vivian, 8 mi. West of Eufaula, McIntosh Co.
NUYAKA MISSION "1.5 mi. N. W."	1882	On US #56, 9 mi. west of Okmulgee, Okmulgee Co.
UNION AGENCY "Established 1874"	1874	On US #64, at entrance to V. A. Facility in Muskogee, Muskogee County
WHIPPLE SURVEY "Crossed here"	1873	On US #75, 3 m. South of Calvin, Hughes County
OSAGE VILLAGE "Site in this Vicinity"	1834	On State #12, about 3½ mi. S. W. of Allen, Pontotoc County
EMAHAKA MISSION "Near here N. E."	1894	On US #270 5 mi. S. of Wewoka at Junction of State #56, Seminole County
ARDMORE	1887	On US #77 No. of Ardmore, Carter Co.
FORT McCULLOUCH "Earthworks 1½ mi. S. W."	1862	On State #48 W. of Kenefick, Bryan County
WAPANUCKA ACADEMY "Site 2 mi. N. E."	1852	State #7, W. of Wapanucka, Johnston County
BURNEY INSTITUTE "Site in vicinity S."	1854	State #199, E. of Lebanon, 1½ mi., Marshall County
SPENCER ACADEMY "Site 8 mi North"	1841	US #70 at Sawyer, Choctaw Co.
GOODLAND MISSION "2 mi. West"	1848	State #2, S. of Hugo, Choctaw County
GOODWATER CHOCTAW MISSION	1837	US #70, 1 mi. W. of Kiamichi River Bridge, Choctaw County

ROSE HILL "Site 1 mi. South"	1843	US #70 2½ mi. E. of Hugo, Choctaw County
CAMP ARBUCKLE "One mi. North"	1850	State #59, West of Byars 1 mi., McClain County

Markers Financed By Private Subscription*

1. ORIGINAL NO MAN'S LAND		On US #54 at Texhoma on Texas line, Texas County
2. FIRST HOSPITAL IN INDIAN TERRITORY		In City of Tulsa, Tulsa County
3. CALIFORNIA TRAIL	1849	On US #77, Parkway south of Wayne, McClain County
4. FIRST OIL WELL IN TULSA COUNTY	1901	On US #66 at Red Rock, Tulsa County
5. DODGE CITY TRAIL		US #60 5 miles west of Vici, Dewey County
6. CHEROKEE STRIP	1892	US #81, North of Hennessey, Kingfisher County
7. RUN OF '89 NORTH BOUNDARY	1889	On US #77, north of Orlando, Logan County
8. RUN OF '89 SOUTH BOUNDARY	1889	On US #77 at Lexington, Cleveland County
9. SOUTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE		On US #66 ½ mi. E. of Weatherford city limits, Custer County
10. OLD GREER COUNTY		On US #66, 1 mi. So. of Sayre, Beckham County
11. OLD MILITARY TRAIL		On State #85, west of Ketchum 1.35 mi., Craig County

* Purchasers of Historical Markers in order have been:
(1) Texhoma Chamber of Commerce, Texhoma; (2) Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa; (3) Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. James Nance and citizens of Purcell; (4) Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa; (5) Vici Chamber of Commerce, Vici; (6) Mr. H. B. Boss, Enid; (7) & (8) *The 89'ers*, Oklahoma City; (9) Southwestern State College, Weatherford; (11) Ketchum Commercial Club, Ketchum.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Recent Accession to the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society

A scarce and very important work has been recently added to the Historical Society Library: Pierre Margry, ed., *Decouvertes et Establissments des Francais dan l'ouest et dan le sud de l'Amerique Septentriones (1614-1754)*. The original memoirs and documents found in these volumes with finely engraved portraits are in six large, thick volumes, royal 8vo, published in Paris, France in 1875. These six volumes contain a mine of information on the early French period in the Mississippi Valley, Canada, the Great Lakes region and other regions in this country. The text is in French yet it is an essential work for students of history in Oklahoma as well as for those in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and other states in the Mississippi Valley.

—M.H.W.

"Arkansas: The Myth and the State," By Dr. E. E. Dale

Interesting and informative are descriptive adjectives that characterize all of Dr. Dale's writing, and a twenty-four page reprint from the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (Spring, 1953) is certainly no exception. Written by a master story teller, this explanation of the mythical Arkansas Traveler, Lum and Abner, or all the other lovable unsophisticates makes us want to visit the state of "hospitality, simplicity, and neighborly kindness." As we in Oklahoma keep alive the cowboy and Indian legend so the people in Arkansas foster the belief in homespun humor and naivete in a land that is "always afternoon."

As Dr. Dale shows, the Arkansas myth did not just happen. Rather, it is the result of a peculiar migatory situation in which the settler in Arkansas found his westward advance stopped by the impenetrable barrier of the Indian Territory. Consequently, the land was peopled by successive generations of the original pioneers, generations which practiced the old virtues, sang the old songs, and generally approached life in the same way their grandfathers had done. It is a heartwarming approach to life, so that in spite of modern industrialization, Arkansas retains the native simplicity that has given it a unique place among the forty-eight states.

—Lucyl Shirk.

Family Genealogy of the Known Descendants of Carl Olofsson, 1685-1953

The Library of Oklahoma Historical Society has recently received a copy of *The Known Descendants of Carl Olofsson Born in* 1685 *in Sweden*: 1685-1953 *in Fourteen States, Canada and Scandi-*

navia, edited by Clarence Stewart Peterson, M.A., Baltimore, Maryland. The aim of this study was to secure ancestral records of this family in Sweden and transfer them to this country for future generations as well as to secure and present brief accounts of the living, known descendants of Carl Olofsson and those they married. This has been admirably done in sixty-nine mimeographed pages neatly bound in paper. The book lists names and birth records of the Olofsson descendants, and what is very interesting in the historical field, has added letters and reminiscences concerning many of them contributed at the request of Editor Peterson by members of the family. For instance, Gustaf E. Larson writes from Hyas, Saskatchewan, Canada, telling of the emigration of his family from Sweden and their settlement in Minnesota with details of their early life in the new home. The notes on more than twenty illustrations are valuable in this genealogical record, and Part II gives the descendants of Olof Peterson of Holmerud, Sweden, a great-grandson of Olof Peterson. The Editor, Clarence Stewart Peterson, Research Historian, a veteran of World War I and former teacher and principal in the Philippine Island, Puerta Rico, and United States, is the author of several books on pioneers in Minnesota.

M.H.W.

Uncle Sam's Treaty With One Man

The following story is by the late Dr. Virgil Berry of Okmulgee, whose necrology appears in this issue of *The Chronicles*:

It is a peculiarity of the American Indian that when he becomes an outlaw against society his hatred of the human race knows no bounds.

This story involves a prominent family of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, before its merger into the state of Oklahoma. I have been conversant with this family for more than seventy years. The Proctors as I now know them are the descendants of Zeke Proctor, a full blood Cherokee who lived in what was then the Cherokee Nation, east of Tahlequah, capitol of the Cherokees. The Proctors I know are fine examples of the Cherokee Tribe.

Zeke Proctor, sr., was typical of the old warrior type. He was of stoic mien, reserved to the point of austerity even in contact with his own race. Social intercourse with white people was unknown to him. He was rather tall, straight as an arrow, with his long black hair draping well down over his shoulders. His hair was worn loose, brushed behind his ears, not braided as many Indians did in those days. His eyes were perhaps as perfect as any human eyes ever were. He could both see and hear to a superlative degree as almost his entire life was lived dodging real or imaginary enemies.

On his infrequent trips to various trading points he shunned the dim highways of his day. He went afoot, or horseback through the forest trails and always returned by a different route.

One of his trading points was the small village of Cincinnati, Arkansas; about six miles east of the Indian Territory line not far from what is now Westville, Oklahoma.

An old citizen of Cincinnati, long since dead, told me he had seen Zeke arrive in the village several times. He was always alone; always passed anyone as far away as possible on the street; and on entering a store never allowed himself to be placed with his back toward anyone.

His purchases, which consisted of a few simple items such as coffee, tobacco, salt, soda, etc., were quickly made, and he immediately left for his home in the Territory.

Proctor seemed to conceive the idea that the hand of every man was against him, and his future conduct made it seem his hand was against society in general. But he was smart enough to avoid trouble with the white man.

At that time the Cherokee Nation had a treaty with the United States by which no Cherokee could be tried in the U. S. courts unless the litigation involved both races. All controversies between Cherokees and whites were tried in the U. S. courts, but where both parties to litigation were Cherokee, the Cherokee courts only had jurisdiction. So Proctor took advantage of this by steering clear of trouble with white people. As will soon be seen, an illegal interference of our U. S. officers was to give him an excuse to kill several persons for which he could not be punished. However, he became embroiled with Cherokee law, which resulted in the killing of several of both factions. His feud with the Beck family was the culmination of all his troubles.

The Becks were one of the fine type Cherokee families. They were good citizens, law abiding, and as brave as any ancestral warrior. Lucy Beck married a white man named M. Kesterson, who owned the famous old water mill on Flint Creek which was known as Hildebrand's Mill, located roughly twenty miles south of Siloam Springs, Arkansas.

Dr. Mitchell, Vinita, grandson of Lucy Kesterson, tells me Proctor was a relative by marriage to the Becks, but kinship was not conducive to friendship on either side. So when the Kestersons had some cattle stolen and laid the theft at Proctor's door, he passed the word of his intention to kill Kesterson.

Without delay Proctor proceeded to the Hildebrand Mill to fulfill the promised threat. This was in February, 1872. On his arrival he found Kesterson and his wife outdoors. Without ceremony he proceeded with pistol in hand to within a few feet of the couple and opened fire. Lucy Kesterson ran in to protect her husband and received a bullet in her abdoman and died a few hours later.

Proctor fled without killing Kesterson. No one seems to know why, unless he thought he had shot him instead of Lucy. When this tragedy came to pass the Becks went on the war path. They were as fearless as Proctor, and as relentless in pursuit.

Zeke Proctor, jr., told me his father did not come home for months except for short visits at night. He hid away in lonely cabins in the forest with Cherokee friends.

The Becks now pressed hard for the Cherokee courts to prosecute Proctor. At that time their courts were both primitive and corrupt. Finally, however, Proctor was induced to surrender and was arraigned for trial before Judge Tim Walker, a relative of Proctor. Judge Walker was disqualified and Chief Lewis Downing then appointed Judge Blackhaw Sixkiller to try the case.

The trial was postponed from time to time until Kesterson and the Becks lost patience and went to Fort Smith to see if they could induce

the white man's court to take jurisdiction. There, on April 11, 1874, information was filed with U. S. Commissioner J. O. Churchill, who issued a writ for Proctor's arrest for murder, which he had no right to do according to the treaty between the Cherokee Nation and the United States. Nevertheless, he did so!

It is presumed that Churchill knew he had no right to do this, but Proctor's lawlessness had become so notorious and the Cherokee courts seemingly so corrupt that he decided to bring the case to a showdown.

J. G. Peavy and J. O. Owens, two of the efficient and courageous marshals in the U. S. court at that time were given a writ to arrest Proctor and bring him in dead or alive. These deputies summoned a *posse comitatus* (*additional aid*), to help arrest Proctor. This *posse comitatus* consisted of several Cherokee friends of Kesterson and the Becks.

Little did these officers know the greeting that awaited them when they arrived at that Cherokee court sitting in a log school house in Going Snake district. Previously, Proctor had learned what was in the plans of the Becks, and to forestall it he was placed on trial at once. He was allowed to carry arms in the courthouse as were numerous friends.

When the U. S. officers and their posse approached the court with arms in their hands Proctor and his allies and the Cherokee officers sallied forth and opened fire. When the battle ended there were eleven or twelve dead including both U. S. marshals. Proctor was only wounded. He lived to die of natural causes and was buried in a country cemetery on Moseley's Prairie near the Arkansas line, in Cherokee County.

The United States courts refused to prosecute Proctor on account of the treaty before mentioned. But the U. S. marshal's office had him captured, and after a threat of prosecution made a "treaty" with him to turn him loose if he agreed to become a law abiding citizen. It is said he lived up to the "treaty" and this is the only instance in which the United States ever made a treaty with a single individual to keep the peace.

Indian Agents and Superintendents of the Osage Agency

The following list of United States Indian Agents and Superintendents who have served the Osages since the establishment of the Agency in the Indian Territory, in the sequence of their tenure of office was received from the office of T. B. Hall, present Superintendent of the Osage Agency. The Field Report compiled (1953) in the Agency offices under the title *The Osage People and Their Trust Fund* is reviewed under "Book Reviews" in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

Osage Agency

1. Isaac T. Gibson, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1869-1876. Remarks: Appointed April 28, 1869; reappointed for four years for Osages alone after 1879.
2. Cyrus Beede, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1876-1878.
3. Laban J. Miles, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1878-1885. Remarks: Uncle of Herbert Hoover; latter lived with Agent Miles and attended school in Pawhuska.
4. Frederick Hoover, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1885-1886.

5. James I. David, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1886-1887.
6. Eugene White, Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, March 10, 1887 to June 30, 1887.
7. Captain Carroll H. Potter, Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, July 1, 1887 to August 30, 1888.
8. Thomas P. Smith, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1888-1889.
9. Laban J. Miles, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1889-1893. Remarks: Second term.
10. Captain C. A. Dempsey, Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, July 1, 1893 to December 31, 1893.
11. Colonel H. B. Freeman, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1894-1898.
12. William J. Pollock, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1898-1900.
13. Oscar A. Mitscher, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1900-1904. Remarks: Father of Admiral Marc Mitscher.
14. Frank M. Conser, Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, April 1, 1904 to June 30, 1904.
15. Frank Frantz, United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, 1904-1905. Remarks: Last Provisional Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1906-1907.
16. W. L. Miller. Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, January 1, 1906 to February 11, 1906.
17. Ret Miller, Acting United States Indian Agent, tenure of office, February 12, 1906 to December 4, 1908.
    Ret Miller, United States Superintendent, tenure of office, December 5, 1908 to March 1, 1909. Remarks: Served as first Superintendent after title was changed.
18. Hugh Pitzer, United States Superintendent, tenure of office, 1909-1912.
19. William M. Peterson, Acting Superintendent, tenure of office, July 1, 1912 to July 17, 1912.
20. James A. Carroll, Superintendent, tenure of office, 1912-1915.
21. J. George Wright, Superintendent, tenure of office, 1915-1931.
22. Daniel E. Murphy, Superintendent, tenure of office, 1931-1933. Remarks: Also served as Special Disbursing Agent from February 1, 1931 to September 1, 1931.
23. Charles L. Ellis, Acting Superintendent, tenure of office, July 16, 1931 to November 26, 1936; continued, tenure of office, November 27, 1936 to November 18, 1940. Remarks: Now retired and living in Whittier, California; is a member of Oklahoma Historical Society.
24. Theodore B. Hall, Superintendent, from November 19, 1940, to the present.

The Sequoyah Convention

To those interested in bibliography, it is worthy to note that the Dissertation for a Masters Degree by Amos D. Maxwell on the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention has been published in book form. The public examination of Mr. Maxwell was held on 15 January 1950 at Old Central at Oklahoma A. & M. College. The thesis was of such merit that arrangements were made for its publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* It appeared in two parts in the Summer and Autumn of 1950 issues, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 2 and 3.

The text was thereafter adopted for publication, and with an introduction by Gov. William H. Murray it was published in 1953 by the Meador Press, Boston, at $2.50. As mentioned by Mr. Maxwell in his preface "no significant changes have been made in the manuscript . . . . as originally published by *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*" except for a significant instance incorporated into the final chapter hastened by "the perspective of several years additional thought and study". The modification mentioned by the author in his evaluation of the Indian's contribution to the 46th state and the Red man's place in the nation. The published volume is well illustrated, a bibliography is included, and the book carries all of the valuable appendices which give the names of the delegates and the committee assignments of each.

—G.H.S.

BOOK REVIEWS

Financial Engineering by Elmer Thomas (Published by Elmer Thomas, 1661 Crescent Place, Washington 9, D. C.) Pp. 231.

There is no person today better qualified to give a summary of the problems involved in money management than is Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. Having served in the Congress from 1923 to 1951, and being author of the act conferring power on the President to devalue the Gold Standard Dollar and to make wider use of silver, Elmer Thomas has been in a strategic position to observe and legislate during times of great prosperities and a deep depression.

The purpose of outlining the history of money, defining the terms in a simplified method and showing the principles working on inflation and deflation, is stated very clearly; such as "until the general public understands more about the question of money, the people will continue to be at the mercy of the managers and manipulators of our money."

To those charged with regulating the dollar, a complete understanding of the laws is necessary in order to develop the type of dollar that will be placed upon services or goods which we grow or manufacture. They must know the history of the past, so that the present and future may be planned accordingly.

Today we are faced with a large national debt, prices are at a high peak, and it takes more dollars to buy goods than during the past decade; so that this question is on everyone's lips—Are we going to have a depression or will prosperity continue? Then, too, because of the Korean War and threatened world conditions, who should have the power to steer our national financial program? Only a short time ago, certain actions were taken by our Government that tightened the money situation and started us along the road to deflation; however, this lasted only for a short few months when certain decisions were reversed because of the sharp downward effect.

"Who controls the factors which in turn control the value of the dollar, prices, income, and prosperity" is analyzed very clearly in this book; and the reader can become better acquainted with this point after he knows the rules of the game. *Financial Engineering* is a book which has been distributed to leaders in our Government, educators, and economists; but, at the same time, the intent was achieved successfully to give a simple explanation to people interested in the welfare of their country.

—Edgar R. Oppenheim

Oklahoma City

Paradise Prairie. By Cecil B. Williams, John Day Company, 1953. 372 pp. $4.50.

This case study clearly reveals the development of a rural Oklahoma community from 1902-36, and extensively parallels the history of the last frontier in America. What Angelo C. Scott wrote for Oklahoma City, what Angie Debo did to mirror *Prairie City,* that Williams has done for the rural Oklahoma community. His work is free from the fancy of Edna Ferber.

The Paradise Prairie Church of the Brethren was erected in the southwest part of Payne County, halfway between Stillwater and Guthrie. The Dunkards, one of the small sects that have figured importantly in American history, used it as the center of their prospective settlement. Jake Wilson [Isaac Williams], age 35 and a very good Dunkard, moved his family there from West Virginia in 1902. The one-room school of Vassar is somewhat idealized. For near-by Clarkson the book records the "ghost town" aspects of American life, reflected in unrealized hopes of hundreds of Oklahoma settlers.

The book is essentially an authentic story of events. Actual place names are retained, but names of individuals are changed. The author is thinly veiled as Terry Wilson, who came to Paradise Prairie as a child. The book represents what the Williams family aspired to and tried to be. It is a memorial to the author's father, a strong character who made important decisions for his family and who embodied much that is characteristically American. It is "life with father." Recorded in a fence fixin' is his practical philosophy acquired through decades of experience and observation.

The reader recognizes the friendly and faithful Rover and understands why his successor, Dash, was taken to the woods and shot as worse than no dog at all. Most contemporaries of the author reared on American farms will recognize the counterpart of the gentle brood mare, old Bird, and contrast her with old Daze whose bad disposition and flying heel made her as uncertain as an "ornery" mule. Here one can observe the true meaning of the first Ford and the first phonograph, the enlargement of the house, the romance of keepin' company, road mendin', and the final payment on a mortgage.

A certain reference to Oklahoma City, and the reference to a recess at a night literary society would have defiled the book for an orthodox Dunkard. The Dunkards had a three-dip baptism, they disapproved of dancing, of riding Ferris wheels even on July 4, and in the earlier years they had mustaches and neckties on the questionable list. Paradise Prairie stands now as a union church and a memorial to a departed sect. The Dunkards were an industrious and sincere folk who had happier and better lives than many who leaned too far in the opposite direction.

In teaching American literature and in operating a writing workshop in the Oklahoma A. and M. College, the author told his students to pump from their own deep well of information. Here the author follows his own advice with brilliant success. With remarkable clarity the events and characters of a third of a century pass in review.

—Berlin B. Chapman

Oklahoma A. and M. College

The Osage People and Their Trust Property. A Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Anadarko Area Office. 1953. Pp. 192. Summary pp. 51. Limited edition (Copy on request).

No one aspect of the Government's many-sided attitudes toward the American Indian had a more unusual twist than the present end result of the treatment received by the Osage Nation of Indians. Their allotment of so-called "worthless" land south and west of their ancestral home, only later to find it fabulously wealthy in oil and other minerals, with resulting stock market-like prices on an Osage "head right," is too well known to bear repeating; but the present status of the communal and individual wealth and property owned by the Tribe is not as well known, and has been the subject of a most excellent and comprehensive field report released 12 May 1953 by the Osage Agency at Pawhuska.

In early 1952 the Agency was instructed to compile into one document all existing facts and circumstances relating to the affairs of the Osage Tribe. Miss Jessie Bloodworth was detailed to Pawhuska from the Phoenix office of the Department and she devoted almost a year in compiling the material. Although not cooperating officially, the Osage Tribal Council assisted informally by aid it believed not inconsistent with its position with respect to retention of Federal supervision.

The report is complete and comprehensive in every detail. After tracing the early history of the Tribe and the allotment of its lands, the volume shows in tabulation form all individual and Tribal trust assets. The final portion of the report outlines in excellent manner the management of both types of assets, with a careful study of the exact procedure and steps taken in each specific instances by the Agency, the Tribe and the individual in the disposition of any given item of business.

Those responsible for the preparation of the report are to be commended for its completeness, as well as its complete lack of editorial slanting or any effort to include any statement of conclusion or interpretation. Being purely factual, and as it is complete in every respect, the report serves as an excellent reference handbook for those interested or concerned in present day business affairs of the Osage Tribe and its individual members.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy. 1870-1884 By Peter J. Rahill. (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1953. Pp. 396. Illus. Cloth $5.00; Paper $4.25.)

Appearing as Volume 41 of the Catholic University series of studies in American Church History, this doctor's dissertation of Father Rahill is a distinct contribution to an understanding of a most enigmatic chapter of church history. Traditionally and legally, there is in this country a complete separation between church and state; yet for some twelve years the official policy of this government required the operation and conduct of all Indian affairs, at the local level, to be on a purely secular basis. Intentionally presented as a Catholic view of Grant's singular "Peace Policy", Father Rahill has brought into sharp focus the disturbing features of attempting to mix the church into politics.

By his 1869 Message to Congress Grant indicated that it was his desire to turn the management of certain Indian Reservations to the Society of Friends. The concept was later enlarged to include the various denominations, Protestant and Catholic. The project, after it was in full bloom, became known as Grant's Peace Policy. Thereupon the various denominations embarked upon a most remarkable series of political maneuvering to secure for their own group the assignment of the maximum number of reservations. As in all such matters some were more successful than others, and the author places considerable emphasis on the inability of his own faith to secure a just or an adequate allotment of agencies.

While the volume is of only indirect interest to Oklahoma history, it is an excellent treatment of this phase of our treatment of the Redman, and to that extent is of considerable local merit. Except for a brief appearance of Father Robot of Sacred Heart Mission protesting certain policies of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Indian Territory affairs are not covered. The volume closes with the death knell statement of President Arthur's Interior Secretary, H. M. Teller, "I do not know what you mean by the peace policy."

The work is extremely well documented, well organized and carefully presented; and an excellent bibliography is included. Father Rahill has made a good contribution to the studies of our government's many-sided and sometimes inexplicable policy towards the Indian.

—James E. Work.

Oklahoma City

NECROLOGY

VIRGIL BERRY, M.D.

1866—1954

Virgil Berry was born near Salem, Washington County, Indiana, March 14, 1866; died March 10, 1954 at Okmulgee, Oklahoma. He was educated in the public schools, and at Moore's Academy, in Kentucky, and was graduated in medicine at what is now known as Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, in 1895.

Leaving his adopted home in Springfield, Missouri, in 1889, he spent the winter in taking medical and surgical lectures in Chicago. In the spring of 1890, he arrived at Wagoner, Indian Territory, a stranger with less than five dollars, to enter the practice of medicine. By coincidence, on the day of his arrival in Wagoner there also arrived from Tennessee, William Robert James and his family, to visit a brother living eighteen miles east of Wagoner. By further coincidence, next day Dr. Berry was called to visit the sick wife of the brother of William Robert James, making the thirty six miles round trip horseback. This first professional call of his career he met Emma Kate James, daughter of William Robert, who was later to become his wife.

Next day, having decided that Wagoner was too small to support a physician, he went eighteen miles north to Chouteau, where he associated himself with an old physician, Dr. Burr, who had practiced there for many years. At the end of the summer's work Dr. Berry returned to Chicago for the winter course of medical lectures. In the spring of 1891, he returned to Wagoner and here practiced medicine for many years, only leaving to receive his degree in St. Louis.

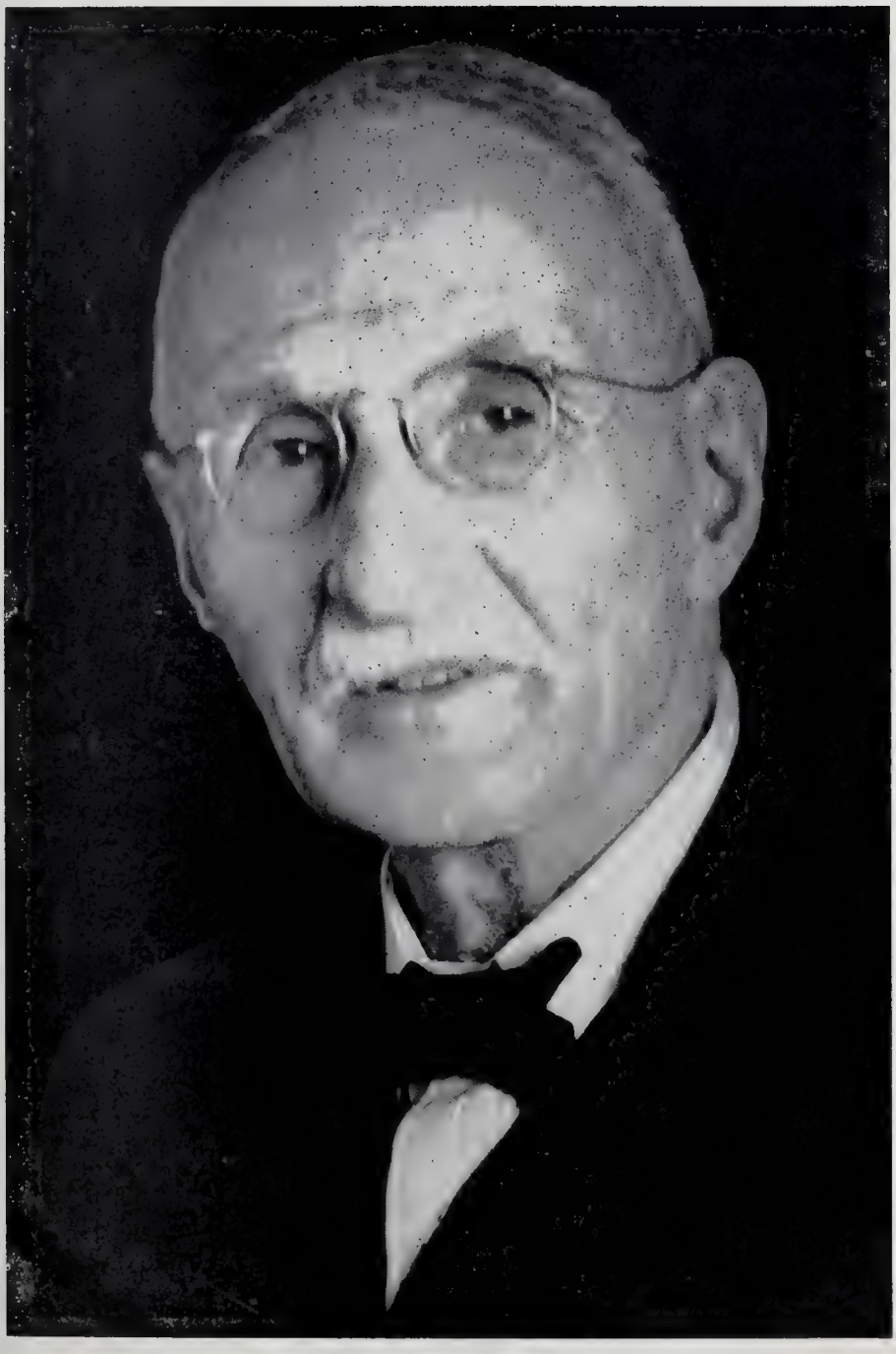
Later, he was appointed National Physician for the Seminole Nation by Governor John F. Brown, the noted Seminole chief, and lived in Wewoka.

When the Red River division of the Frisco railroad was built from Sapulpa, Indian Territory, to Dennison, Texas, he purchased lots in a cornfield at what is now known as the town of Wetumka, Oklahoma. He built the first business house in the new town, and established the Wetumka Drug Company, which he owned for several years. The drug store was open for business before the railroad reached the town. He also built the first home of modern design in Wetumka, and established the first telephone system there.

Dr. Berry moved to Okmulgee in 1909, where he entered into a large practice, for he had become known as a leading surgeon in this part of the state. His practice often called him to Holdenville, Wewoka, Okemah, Mounds, Beggs and Muskogee and many other places. He established the first hospital in Okmulgee at 515 South Muskogee Street. Mrs. E. H. Moore, late wife of the late Senator E. H. Moore, and Fred Storm, comprised the hospital board.

In 1912, Dr. Berry was elected from the third ward of the city of Okmulgee as one of the Board of Freeholders for the writing of the present City Charter of Okmulgee.

He was the last President of the Indian Territory Medical Association, and presided at the meeting in Oklahoma City in May, 1906 that accomplished merger before statehood, of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory Associations. At that meeting he was elected by the new state association as delegate to the American Medical Association Convention in Chicago.



VIRGIL BERRY, M.D.

In 1917, he was elected to Fellowship in the American College of Surgeons. At that time the Mayo surgeons were on the board.

Dr. Berry served for about thirty years as surgeon for the Frisco Railroad.

During World War I, Dr. Berry was commissioned Captain in the U. S. Medical Corps and served to the end of the war on the surgical staff of the Base Hospital at Camp Beauregard, Louisiana.

President Grover Cleveland appointed Dr. Berry a member of the U. S. Pension Board for Indian Territory under the old law which allowed jurisdiction in pension cases to State and Territorial boards.

He was also a delegate to the first meeting ever held in Indian Territory to organize the Democratic party. This meeting was held about 1893 in Muskogee.

Virgil and Emma Kate James Berry had four children, the eldest, Karl Palmer, died in 1910. Those living are Homer Mulhall Berry, Fort Worth, Texas; Mrs. Thomas H. Stewart, Hargill, Texas; and Mrs. Wilson Denton Hand, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

After retirement, Dr. Berry wrote a Sunday column for his hometown paper, *The Okmulgee Daily Times*. This column was widely read for its colorful pioneer reminiscences, its clear political analysis and pungent remarks on the passing scene, both local and national. He never received remuneration for his writings, preferring to retain ownership, and independence to express himself freely. In 1952, fellow citizens voted Dr. Virgil Berry one of its most useful citizens through the medium of the written word.

—Margaret Berry Hand.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

JOHN HENRY BYERS

1872—1953

The great-grandfather of John Henry Byers was a missionary Baptist preacher in North Carolina. His father and mother were Joseph P. Byers and Carry C. Turner Byers who came from Alabama. John Byers, the second of ten children was born near Enterprise, Arkansas, on September 27, 1872. He spent one year in study at Buckner College, Witcherville, Arkansas, and later studied at Ouchita College at Arkadelphia, Arkansas. He was saved at the age of sixteen, and joined the Baptist Church. He had gone forward for prayer several times, but had received no relief. When he concluded that he could not be saved, "It was then that something happened" and he made a perfect surender. Byers told that "a powerful urge would rise up within me to preach but I knew that I could not do it. One day mother said to me, 'All your life I've prayed for the hour that you would preach, God will help you'. That night I tried to preach, but did mighty poorly."

His first pastorates were in the Baptist churches of Shady Grove, two miles west of Waldron; and in Unity Church at Brawley, both in Scott County, Arkansas. He organized the Baptist Church at Parks, Arkansas, and the churches at Hartford, Midland, and Perryville, Arkansas. He was associational missionary three years and state missionary for two years in Arkansas. He was a member of the State Convention Board for several years and moderator of Buckner Association for over twenty years.

His first church attendance in Indian Territory was at an Indian Church, Folsom's Chapel. "As some of the Folsom family [Choctaw descent] were Baptists and some Methodists, ministers of both denominations as well as Presbyterians preached there."[1] The Baptist Church at Folsom's Chapel was disbanded about 1880 and re-organized by Reverend E. B. Harlan in 1885. The church is now known as the Macedonia Church, Pocola, Oklahoma.

One of the Folsom's gave John Byer's father "two fine leases of land" near what is now Cowlington. In the summer of 1874 Joseph Byers built a log house, a shelter for mules, cleared some land, making thousands of rails from the timber. January brought a heavy snow which caused the family to return home to Arkansas. When they came back a few weeks later to their lease, they found that hostile Indians had turned all of their labors into ashes—"home, barn and rails were all burned." The Choctaws bitterly opposed the cutting down of their forests by the encroaching whites. Byers told an Indian, "I was given the land by an Indian, but if I have to fight to keep it, I'll go back to Arkansas." In 1876, several families, took up leases in the vicinity of Byer's lease, among whom were Coke and Fowler (A. F.) Cowling. When they offered to buy the leases from Joseph Byers he replied, "No, you are welcome to them as I have given up all thought of moving to Indian Territory." The Cowlings took the land and later led in the organizing of the Cowlington Baptist Church.[2] On October 24, 1884 this church helped in the organization of the Short Mountain Baptist Association.

John Byers served his first pastorate in Indian Territory at Liberty Hill, four miles northeast of Cameron. He also served at different times the First Church at Poteau, and the churches at Stigler, Cameron, Gilmore, Shady Point, Panama, Wister, Talihina, Albion, and Monroe. He helped build church houses at Poteau, Cameron, and Monroe. Many years later (1927), he served as missionary in the LeFlore-Latimer Association.

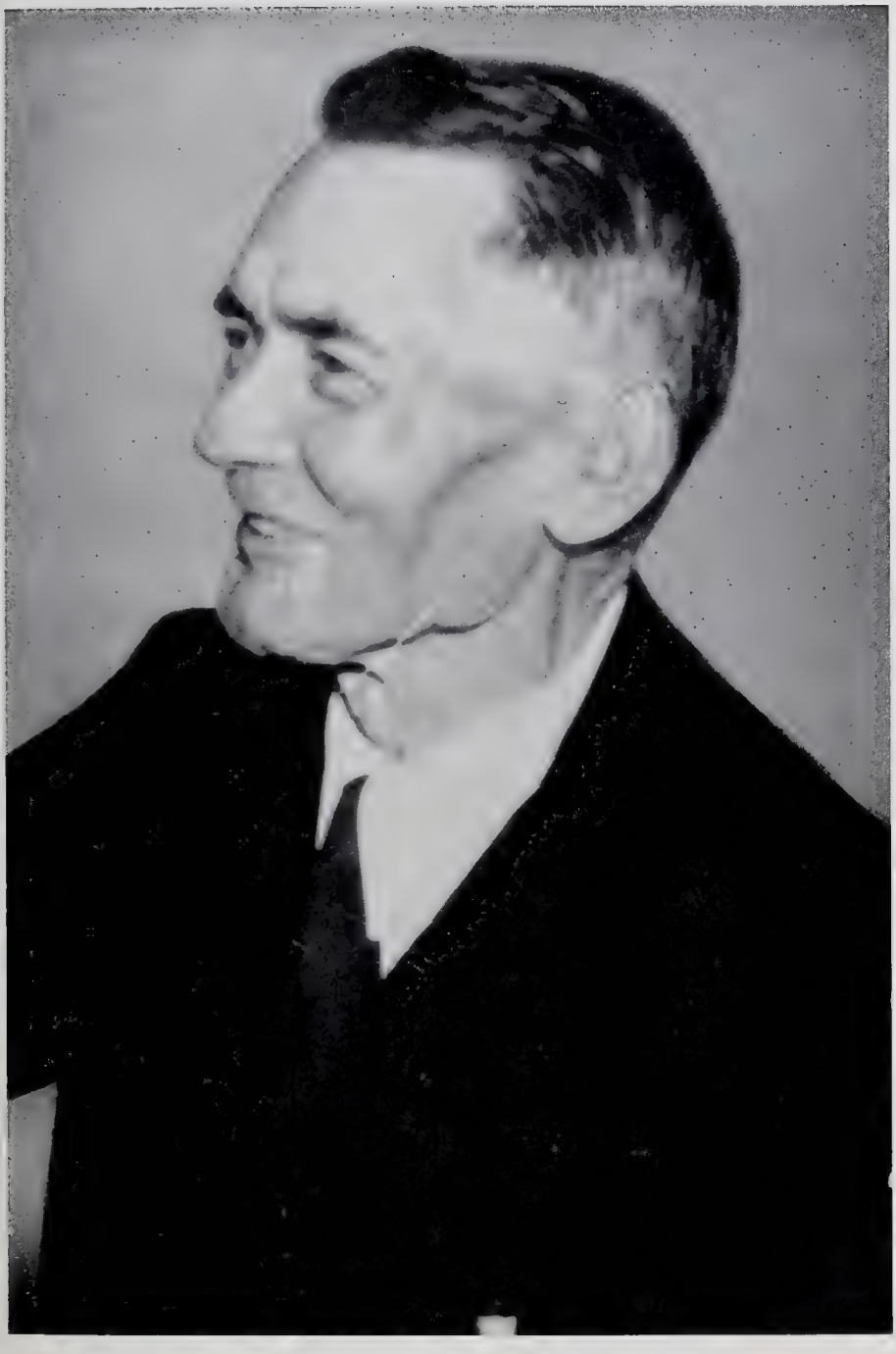
Of the 1897 session of the Baptist General Association of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory that met with the Salt Creek Church, two miles east of Calvin, Indian Territory, he said, "The men camped in the tabernacle and the women in the church house. A fine spring furnished water. Negro brethren were hired to prepare the meals. Fat beeves and hogs were killed; chicken and vegetables were served in abundance. It was a privilege to preach in this meeting not only to whites but also to Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Creeks".

Brother Byers returned to Waldron, Arkansas in mid-September 1897 to find that his wife was sick; a month later, it proved that she had typhoid. Either Doctor Ike Leeming or Doctor C. Bevil came to their home every day for the fifty-two days, attending her. Both doctors advising that it would be a full year before she could do house work. Brother Byers wrote of this time of trouble: "I was dead broke so we moved to my father-in-law's at Mansfield. Then my little daughter was stricken down first with whooping cough, then typhoid fever. She passed away on January 13, 1898. I bought the little casket on credit! Brother Lawrence W. Wright had reported our state to Miss Annie W. Armstrong.[3] Then I received a letter from the Baptist Church at LaGrange, Missouri, telling me that

[1] Quotations are taken from an interview with Brother Byers on Oct. 27, 1952 or from his own autobiography.

[2] Short Mountain Baptist Association Minutes page 1, 1884.

[3] Annie W. Armstrong was a devoted steward of her worldly possessions. Out of her own resources she probably gave more money than any other Baptist of her day to furthering of the gospel in the southwest. Her generosity became legendary among the Baptist pioneers of gospel missions on the frontier.



JOHN HENRY BYERS

their church would soon send my family a box of clothing. Also in that letter was a money order from their B.Y.P.U. (Baptist Young Peoples' Union) with a fraction over $8, just to a cent what I paid out for the little girl's casket."

In late January 1898 he was off again in his Master's service. He took a train to Shawnee, which was only "a shack town of the wild west type. The chief business of the town was liquor, gambling and licentiousness." He wrote that the "Kickapoo Indians wrapped in blankets with long hair went in droves." Visiting the pastor of the Shawnee Baptist Church he found "a likeable brother. The church was a small, one room structure with an attendance of only women and children".

The next day he went on to Keokuk Falls where he was to hold an evangelistic meeting. "I stayed in the home of a saloon keeper who was drunk most of the time. His wife was a Christian. All of the saloon keepers admitted to me that their business was immoral, but that there was good money in it. Several times while preaching, my sermon was interrupted and I was called a liar, but I did not answer them."

John Byers not only did a monumental piece of missionary work but also made a notable contribution in the preservation of Baptist Church history. Through the years he had saved scores of associational *Minutes.*

About two weeks before his death, he was taken to Sparks Hospital in Fort Smith, where on February 25, 1953, he went on to be with the One whom he had faithfully served. He was buried at Mansfield, Arkansas, with the Reverend Columbus Lee Barnes, his pastor, the Reverend Karl McClendon, and the Reverends Murle Walker and Herman Highfill participating in the funeral service attended by a great throng. At the writer's urging, a short time before he died, Brother Byers wrote an autobiographical sketch. In it he wrote hopefully about his death only two months away. He chose the speakers for his funeral service, and insisted that he "be buried in a cheap casket, no eulogies and no flowers." He felt that all the eulogy should go to his Christ. It was all so characteristic of John Byers. His further instructions were that the congregation should sing "Amazing Grace", "Rock of Ages", "How Firm a Foundation" and "There is a Fountain Filled With Blood."

The greatest thing about John Henry Byers was not the great suffering that he endured patiently, or the dangers that he faced boldly, or even the monumental work that he did. The greatest thing about him was his spirit: a spirit that was both courageous and sweet. It was his attitude, his great spirit of magnanimity that has forever set him apart among the great.

—Herbert Miner Pierce.

Wilburton, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE CALLED MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY HELD IN THE CITY OF TULSA, OKLAHOMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, MAY THE 6th, 1954

In 1952, 1953 and 1954, the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society has called a meeting of the Board of Directors at some point on an Annual Historical Tour. General W. S. Key, President of the Society called for a meeting of the Board to be held in the city of Tulsa, May the 6th, 1954 as the Annual Tour was passing through that city. This session of the Board of Directors was in lieu of the regular quarterly meeting of April 22.

President Key presiding, with the following directors present: Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Col. George H. Shirk, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. George L. Bowman, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Mr. R. G. Miller and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary. Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. S. E. Lee, Dr. E. E. Dale, Justice N. B. Johnson, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Garfield Buell, Mr. W. J. Peterson, Dr. John W. Raley, Mr. Thomas A. Edwards, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. John F. Easley and Judge Baxter Taylor were excused for good and sufficient reason.

The first question taken up was the desecration of the R. M. Jones Cemetery property near Hugo, Oklahoma. After discussion it was agreed that notice should be served upon all parties guilty of damage to this property and all legal steps should be taken to protect this property of the Society from further damage or mismanagment. President Key with the sanction of the Board requested Col. George Shirk to carry out the expressed desires of the Board in this matter.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips presented the immediate need of the Newspaper Room for binding of newspapers that were being injured and which were obstructing the essential use of them by students and he made a motion that $500.00 be allowed out of the Special Fund for binding. This motion was seconded by Col. Shirk and carried unanimously.

Mr. Phillips, Chairman of the Committee on the investigation on the needs of the Newspaper Room also presented the immediate need of steel shelving that was essential to proper work in this Department. It was the consensus of the Committee that the shelving should be purchased and installed at once. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion the needed steel shelving should be bought as soon as possible and the Committee appointed to investigate this matter be empowered to act immediately. This motion was seconded by Dr. B. B. Chapman and carried unanimously.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, gave her report revealing that there was an unexpended balance that would take care of every expense of the Society for the year ending July 1, 1954. She stated that the First National Bank, which is the depository of the Special Fund of the Society, has not given to the Treasurer all receipts, etc., relative to the investment of $1,000.00 by the Board of Directors in purchasing a "K" Bond on or about February 1, 1954. She insisted that this should be done by the Bank in order that her books, as Treasurer, would be accurate and complete.

She reported that Dr. Evans, the Secretary, had urged the Bank to do this. The Secretary at this time stated that he would send in to her the receipts he had received from the bank and secure from the bank duplicates of the records of this transaction for the office of the Chief Clerk.

In connection with the financial report of the Treasurer, Col. George Shirk pointed out that in the last ninety days 50 Life Memberships and 113 Annual Memberships, a total of 183 new members had been secured largely through the efforts of the Secretary, Dr. Evans, and that there had been some $1,516.00 added to the Special Fund growing out of this new membership. He stated that the remarkable growth in the membership of the Society through the years had been largely due to the plans and zeal of Secretary Evans and, therefore, he made the following motion: That the Board of Directors of the Society go on record in offering sincere tribute to the Secretary for his constant and successful effort through the years of his service to the Society in the acquisition of the large and constant expansion of the Society's membership. This was seconded by Mr. R. G. Miller and passed unanimously.

Mr. Miller brought up the importance of filling the vacancy left on the Board of Directors by the death of Dr. T. T. Montgomery. After a discussion, it was decided no action would be taken at this session of the Board to fill the vacancy and that further investigation should be carried out.

Upon the motion of Judge Redmond S. Cole, the list of new members presented by the Secretary and also the following gifts made to this Society should be accepted. This motion was seconded by Mr. George L. Bowman and carried unanimously.

President Key called attention to the picture or bust of Admiral J. J. Clark, a distinguished citizen of Oklahoma and served in the Navy of World War II which had been presented to the Society and a motion was made by Dr. B. B. Chapman which was seconded by Mr. Henry B. Bass that this gift be accepted with profound tribute to Admiral Clark.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore called attention to the destruction and abuse in certain localities of the Historical Markers set up by the Society. She earnestly appealed to the Board and the Society to do something about it. Col. George Shirk pointed out that from the very first the Secretary with the assistance of Miss Wright together with other members of the Board had kept up a constant crusade relative to the appreciation and protection of these markers. Scarcely had a month gone by that he had not received a copy of letters which the Secretary had sent in to the State Highway Commission and the officers of all counties where markers had been placed, begging that county and local pride should make these officers guardians of these markers. The Secretary presented a list of markers set up from 1951 to 1954, inclusive, purchase of certain localities or by some individual. Miss Muriel H. Wright of this Committee made this report at the request of Dr. Evans.

May 5, 1954,

Re: Recent Oklahoma Historical Markers
(Present Cost of Markers $125.00 each)

For Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary

Markers ordered by local subscription:

(1) 1951—Vici Chamber of Commerce, Vici (Dewey Co.)
"Dodge City Trail" (or Western Cattle Trail) through Western Oklahoma, Texas to Dodge City, Kansas.

Location of Marker: About 3½ miles west of Vici on U. S. Highway #60 where old trail crosses same.

(2) 1951—Mr. H. B. Bass, Enid
"Cherokeee Strip" boundary line (south) of 1893 land opening.
Location of Marker: No. of Hennessey, on U. S. Highway #81, near Garfield-Kingfisher Co. line.

(3) 1952—The 89'ers, Oklahoma City, two markers, north and south boundaries of Lands opened in 1889.
"Run of '89, South Boundary"
Location of Marker: In Parkway at Y, east end of bridge over Canadian R., at Lexington, U. S. Highway #77.
"Run of '89, North Boundary"
Location of Marker: On Logan-Noble Co. line, about 1 mile north of Orlando, on U. S. Highway #77.

(4) 1953—By R. H. Burton, Pres. Southwestern State College, Weatherford.
"Southwestern State College"
Location of Marker: ½ mile east of Weatherford city limits, on U. S. Highway #66.

(5) 1953—Sayre Chamber of Commerce, Sayre, Beckham County.
"Old Greer County"
Location of Marker: Roadside Park, 1 mile South of Sayre, on U. S. Highway #66.

(6) 1954—The Ketchum Commercial Club, Ketchum, Craig County. (Now in preparation)
"Old Military Trail"
Location of Marker: West of Ketchum, Craig Co., about 2 miles, on State Highway #85.

LIFE MEMBERS: Mr. John L. Allen, Okmulgee; Mr. J. Leighton Avery, Tulsa; Sister M. Bonaventure, Tulsa Mr. N. R. Graham, Tulsa; Mr. Everett Stebbins Johnson, Jr., Tulsa; Mrs. Kirol R. Holm, Tulsa; Mr. Maurice Sanditen, Tulsa; Dr. Walter B. Sanger, Tulsa; Mr. Ivan D. Brown, Bixby; Mr. Robert Parks Bogenschutz, Oklahoma City; Mr. Leslie H. Butts. Oklahoma City; Mr. John F. Eberle, Oklahoma City; Mr. Robert A. Hefner, Jr., Oklahoma City; Mr. William J. Hefner, Oklahoma City; Mr. Pat Orr Johnson, Oklahoma City; Mr. Baird H. Markham, Oklahoma City; Mr. Joseph M. McCuen, Oklahoma City; Miss Eston C. Rogers, Oklahoma City; Dr. Harry H. Sorrels, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City; Dr. J. Chester Swanson, Oklahoma City; Mr. C. E. Castle, Wagoner; Mr. Leon Daube, Ardmore; Mr. L. A. Edwards, Marlow; Mr. Paul Endacott, Bartlesville; Mr. Stanley Learned, Bartlesville; Mr. Harry Lloyd Fitzpatrick, Norman; Dr. Alfred B. Sears, Norman; Mr. E. L. Garnett, Altus; Mr. Glenn M. Gillespie, Cushing; Dr. Noel Kaho, Claremore; Dr. Frank C. Lattimore. Kingfisher; Mr. Norman Shutler, Kingfisher; Mr. J. D. V. McWilliams, Colony; Mr. Ben Musick, Kingfisher; Very Rev. Msgr. S. A. Leven, Enid; Mrs. Zella Moorman, Perkins; Mr. Dave Morgan, Blackwell; Mrs. O. C. Newman, Shattuck; Mrs. Lelia A. Nighswonger, Woodward; Justice Cecil Talmage O'Neal, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Clarence Robinson, Shawnee; Lucille C. Roehr, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lena E. Selman, Woodward; Mr. William V. Sanders, Boise City; Mr. John S. Seikel, McLoud; Mr. Lawrence E. Tryon, Guymon; Mr. Felix Carter Duvall, Ponca City; Brig. Gen. Bert E. Johnson, San Francisco; Comm. Dwight L. Johnson, USN, Newport, R. I.

ANNUAL MEMBERS: Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Null, Arnett; Mrs. Wade Sears, Bartlesville; Mr. Wm. Dale Hunter, Bethany; Daisy L. Moore, Ada; Blanche Gillmore, Altus; Mr. A. I. Baker, Buffalo; Mr. Walter Litz,

Buffalo; Mr. David Preston Parker, Buffalo; Mrs. Frances L. Ramsey, Buffalo; Mr. Bert R. Willis, Canton; Mr. Samuel Don DeLozier, Chelsea; Mr. Robert Beaty, Durant; Mr. Clyde Clack, Durant; Mr. Howard Fant, Durant; Mr. L. S. Gailbraith, Durant; Mr. Robert Malahy, Durant; Oklahoma Presbyterian College, Durant; Mr. Tom R. Corr, Edmond; Mr. Lee Royse, Elk City; Mrs. Carrie Wade, Enid; Mrs. Hattie Moore, Eufaula; Mrs. Mary T. Squire, Fairview; Mr. Alfred Burrows, Guthrie; Mr. Richard W. Robbins, Guymon; Mr. George Russell Gear, Guymon; Mrs. Lora L. Williams, Hayward; Mr. J. Leland Courley, Henryetta; Mr. W. E. Schooler, Hugo; Mr. Earl V. Watts, Konowa; Mr. John N. Peace, Lawton; Miss Mildred Brown, Lawton; Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Tinch, McAlester; Mr. Virgil Boling, Midwest City; Mr. Robert James Edwards, Miller; Mrs. Frances Rosser Brown, Muskogee; Mr. E. B. Maytubby, Muskogee; Mr. David E. Conrad, Norman; Mrs. Edith Rodgers, Norman; Dr. Homer V. Archer, Oklahoma City; Mr. Robert O. Bailey, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Margaret Tontz Corr, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Fred Aaron, Oklahoma City; Mr. Keating R. Donahoe, Oklahoma City; Dr. Dewey D. Etchieson, Oklahoma City; Mr. James F. Hammarsten, Oklahoma City; Willa Maude Harris, Oklahoma City; F. W. Hines, Oklahoma City; Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Homer, Oklahoma City; J. F. Kemo, Oklahoma City; Mr. Charles F. Kemper, Oklahoma City; Ruth J. Mercer, Oklahoma City; B. R. Mitchell. Oklahoma City; Marie Overstreet, Oklahoma City; H. T. Orcutt, Oklahoma City; Miss Katherine Ringland, Oklahoma City; Bess Jean Stewart, Oklahoma City; Col. Wm. Van Stuck, Oklahoma City; Josephine Wishart, Oklahoma City; A. K. Veatch, Custer City; Mr. John Henry Hopton, Okmulgee Rev. Albert Achtergael, Pawhuska; Mr. John Paul Densford, Perry; Mrs. Louis Brannin, Romona; Mrs. Floyd Short, Ramona; Mrs. W. W. Guest, Ryan; Mr. Cecil James, Pittsburg; Mr. J. Orville Bumpas, Sapulpa; Mr. Floyd Coffee, Shidler; Mr. Robert J. Whitlock, Shidler; J. T. Cupp, Stillwater; Mrs. Herman W. Smith, Stillwater; W. H. Balentine, Tahlequah; Mr. John W. Barham, Tulsa; Cleo C. Ingle, Tulsa; E. W. Johnson, Tulsa; Mrs. Eula McCamey, Tulsa; Judge Josh J. Evans, Vinita; Mr. Paul George Weir, Vinita; L. D. Rhodes, Webbers Falls; Miss Floyanna Patton, Watonga; Mr. Earl Pierce Adams, Wewoka; Mrs. Marion E. Dotson, Wewoka; Mrs. Roy Dean, Woodward; Mrs. Walter Nixon, Woodward; Mrs. Ada Barker, Pratt, Kansas; Mr. Oren H. Pearson, Fresno, Caiifornia; Mrs. Nora Stoke, Richmond, California; Dr. Wm. C. Sturtevant, New Haven, Conn.; Ensign Russel Thompson, Glenview, Ill.; Vern E. Thompson, Joplin, Mo.; Mr. James W. Hammett, Jr., New Providence, N. J.; Mr. Frank S. Meyer, Woodside, N. Y.; Mrs. D. A. Brazel, Big Springs, Texas; Mr. F. Julius Fohs, Houston. Texas; Mrs. Inez M. Reid, Houston, Texas; L. S. Sooter, Fort Worth, Texas; Mrs. W. G. Borum, Pryor; W. J. Brown, Pryor; Mr. Mack Bryant, Pryor; Mr. Jack Butler, Pryor; Mrs. D. C. Caves, Pryor; J. D. Cox, Pryor; Mr. Trendley Dougherty, Pryor; Mr. Haskell Gaither, Pryor; Mr. John W. Gatewood, Pryor; Mr. Wid Gilbert, Pryor; W. T. Gooldy, Pryor; Mr. Warren Hadley, Pryor; W. Harrison, Pryor; Mr. George E. Larssen, Pryor; Mr. Roy Lawson, Pryor; Mr. Tony Jack Lyons, Pryor; Mr. Otto Nauman, Pryor; Miss Mary Jane Nicholas, Pryor; Mr. Gerald Northrip, Pryor; Mr. Felix Ross, Pryor; Mr. Bill Thomas, Pryor; Mr. George Tilly, Pryor; Mr. Earl Ward, Pryor; Sheriff L. L. Weaver, Pryor; J. C. Wilkerson, Pryor; R A. Wilkerson, Pryor; Mrs B. J. Woodruff, Perry; Mrs. H. H. Isham, Perry; Mrs. Mary A. Taylor, Perry, Miss Pocahontas Ellis, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mary Badgett. Fort Gibson; Mr. Walter T. Fears, Oklahoma City.

GIFTS RECEIVED:

A check for $100.00 from Mr. J. D. V. McWilliams, Colony, Oklahoma together with books, pamphlets, letters, etc.
Choctaw Spelling Book, donor, Saide Maude Thompson.
German Helmet, World War II, Donor, Clovis Hazelton

Coin, 1904 nickel, donor, Buddy Underwood
Books, cuts, ledgers, etc., donor, Ben R. Cook, Jr.
Books, documents etc., donor, Mrs. Elizabeth Collier
Gavel, donor, Mrs, Minnie H. Roberts
Campaign and souviner buttons, 164, donor, W. H. Dancy
Articles of very old clothing, scrap books etc., donor, Florence Joslyn
Coin, half penny, donor. George C. Eret
Flag with 39 stars, donor, Mrs. W. J. Zollinger
Crocheted articles, darning ball, crochet hook, donor, Mrs. Carrie Wade
Toy bank, very old clothes etc., donor, Mrs Vera Stovell
Typewriter, patented 1891, donor, Mrs. G C. Guilick
German Flag, badges, belt etc. World War II, donor, Mrs. L. Kollmer
Flag with 45 stars, autographed, donor. Mrs. Carolyn Foreman
Flint ax head, donor, B. L. Fisher
Coin, quarter, 1821, donor, Mrs. Mary L. Fisher
Four coin silver tablespoons and five teaspoons, part of the wedding silver of Phillip Franklin Field and Lucy McFarland Barnett of Virginia, who were married in 1838, maternal grandparents of donor, Mrs. James B. Biggerstaff.

PICTURES RECEIVED:

Photo of Mrs. Lucy Dixon, donor, Mrs. Carrie D. Wade
Photos of Indians and Pioneers, donor, Mrs. Florence Joslyn
Photo of Celene Reed and others, donor, Mrs. Grace K. Rose
Copy of a Miller picture, donor, Clyde H. Porter
Jack Spaniard's tomb, donor, L. D. Rhodes
Tintype of an old hotel, donor, Mrs. C. B. Moore
Large framed photograph of S. H. Radebaugh, donor, Mrs. Mary Cross
Photo of Homesteaders in the Cherokee Strip, purchased from Mrs. C. H. Clark

In conclusion the following resolution was presented in tribute and honor to Dr. T. T. Montgomery a distinguished Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, whose death took place in the city of Durant, March 19, 1954.

RESOLUTION

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY WAS GRIEVED BEYOND MEASURE WHEN THEY RECEIVED INFORMATION OF THE DEPARTURE FROM THIS LIFE OF DR. T. T. MONTGOMERY, A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS SINCE NOVEMBER 1ST, 1951. IMMEDIATE ORDERS WERE ISSUED THAT THE DOORS OF THE SOCIETY BUILDING BE CLOSED AND COMMUNICATIONS BE SENT TO HIS FAMILY TELLING OF THE PROFOUND LOSS AND GRIEF OF EACH MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OVER THE PASSING OF THIS GREAT MAN. DR. MONTGOMERY GAVE THIS SOCIETY A SERVICE, AN EFFICIENCY AND CHARACTER DEVELOPED THROUGH MANY YEARS AS SUPERINTENDENT OF CITY SCHOOLS IN MADILL AND IN CHICKASHA AND AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHEASTERN STATE COLLEGE AT DURANT. ALONG WITH HIS HIGH SERVICE AS AN EDUCATOR, HE CONTRIBUTED TO THE HISTORY OF OKLAHOMA AN AUTHORSHIP WHICH WAS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE ADOPTION OF THIS WORK IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF OKLAHOMA. HIS LOFTY PURPOSES, LOVE FOR HUMANITY AND HIS ABILITY TO DEVELOP FRIENDSHIPS, REACHING THE POINT OF GENIUS, MADE HIM A FORCE THAT MOVED BEYOND STATE LINES AND WAS FELT THROUGHOUT THE NATION. THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS EXPRESSES PROFOUND SORROW UPON HIS PASSING AND REALIZES THAT HIS LABORS FOR THIS SOCIETY WILL LAST THROUGH THE YEARS.
THIS RESOLUTION SEALED AND SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, this 6th day of May, 1954.

W. S Key, *President*

ATTEST: Charles Evans, *Secretary*

There being no further business a motion was made by Mr. Henry B. Bass and seconded by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman that the meeting of the Board of Directors be adjourned. This passed unanimously .

W. S. Key, *President*

Charles Evans, *Secretary*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Autumn, 1954

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JAMES MOONEY IN OKLAHOMA

*By Althea Bass**

A young man of twenty-four named James Mooney left his native town of Richmond, Indiana, to visit Washington in the summer of 1885. He had acquired an amazing knowledge of the American Indian, and was ambitious for some kind of appointment that would take him to Brazil so that he might begin a study of the Indians of South America. In Washington he met Major J. W. Powell, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who was much impressed by the young man's knowledge of aboriginal cultures and by his ability to speak and write. Mooney had done every kind of work on the Richmond *Palladium,* from typesetting to editorial writing. He was alert, open-minded and steeped in the Irish lore of his County Meath parents, and had grown up in the atmosphere of intellectual tolerance created by the Society of Friends who had founded Earlham College in Richmond. These qualifications got him an appointment to the staff of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Major Powell probably never brought about a wiser appointment, for James Mooney was to remain with the Bureau, a tireless, exact, and understanding worker, both in the field and in the office, for more than thirty-six years, until his death on December 22, 1921.[1]

Already, without benefit of college training, James Mooney had begun a study of Indian migrations in the light of his knowledge of their linguistic affinities, particularly with regard to the Algonquian and the Iroquois tribes, and he was soon assigned, with Colonel Mallery of the Bureau of Ethnology, to studies of those two groups for what was then called the "Dictionary of Tribal Synonomy." This was later expanded and published as a part of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* The compilation of articles for this *Handbook* was an important part of his work until the publication of the second volume, in 1910. The number of articles appearing under his signature bears witness to the extent of his efforts in this field for a period of more than twenty years.[2]

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* Althea Bass (Mrs. John Harvey Bass) of Norman, Oklahoma, is the well known author of *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), *A Cherokee Daughter of Mt. Holyoke* (Muscatine, Iowa, 1937) and other publications. Mrs. Bass makes the following acknowledgments for her article on James Mooney: "The author is indebted to Mrs. Margaret Blaker, Librarian of the Smithsonian Archives, for her kindness in making the papers of Mr. Mooney available to her, and to Mrs. Rella Looney for aid in the use of the Indian Archives in the Oklahoma Historical Society."—Ed.

[1] A brief biography and tribute to James Mooney appeared in "Passing Pioneers," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (June, 1923), pp. 257-8.

[2] Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexica,* Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 30, 2 Vols. (Washington, 1910-11).

Mooney was doing independent field work by the summer of 1887, spending several months this year and nearly four months the next among the Eastern Cherokee of North Carolina. He had gone primarily for the purpose of studying the dialects of these Indians, and succeeded not only in distinguishing the three existing dialects, upper, middle, and lower, the first of which had become dominant because Sequoyah had designed his alphabet to suit the sounds of the upper form, but also in discovering the former existence of a fourth and possibly of a fifth dialect.[3] But he was no etymological dry-bones. He soon had the respect and confidence of the people, who called him "Moon" and began to admit him to their ceremonies and give him information about their religious beliefs, their customs, and their medicine.

Major Powell wrote in his Annual Report for the fiscal year 1888-89:[4]

"The most important results of Mr. Mooney's investigations were the discovery of a large number of manuscripts containing the sacred formulae of the tribe, written in Cherokee characters by the shamans for their own secret use, and jealously guarded from the knowledge of all but the initiated. . . . . This discovery of genuine aboriginal material, written in an Indian language by the shamans for their own use, is believed to be unique in the history of aboriginal investigation. . . . . Every effort was made by Mr. Mooney to obtain all the existing manuscripts, with the result of securing all of that material which was in the possession of the tribe. The whole number of formulas obtained is about six hundred."

The books of sacred formulas, photographs of the ball play, and a collection of nearly five hundred specimens of food and medicinal plants were all brought back to the Smithsonian, and Mooney's great monograph, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," with its glossary and its three versions of each formula—Cherokee, literal translation, and finished translation—was published as one of the papers in the *Seventh Annual Report*.[5] Major Powell had not made a mistake in his appointment of the intent, grey-eyed Irish boy from Indiana.

It was not until 1891 that Mooney made his first trip to Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. On June 18th, 1890, outlining his work for the Bureau for the coming fiscal year, he had written:[6]

"My present working plans are to stay in the office—with the exception hereafter noted—until my present Cherokee material is worked up as far as possible without another visit to the Indians; then to make a trip, in late fall or winter, to the western Cherokees to make such additions & corrections as may be made there, & then—say in spring—to make a final trip to the reservation to fill in gaps for final publication of the monograph."

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[3] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees, in *Nineteenth Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., (Washington, 1900).

[4] *Tenth Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1888-89, p. XV.

[5] James Mooney. "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," in *Seventh Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1891).

[6] Smithsonian Institution Archives, 4336, No. 5.

But a new factor, the "Ghost Dance" among the Indians in the West, was to make some changes in these plans. This new religion was spreading rapidly among the Plains tribes; and since it was a fanatical faith that promised the extinction of the white man and the resurgence of the Indian, with the return of the buffalo and of all the remembered abundance and happiness of bygone days, the Government feared it might bring about a general Indian uprising. Mooney was sent to the west, not so much to complete his research among the Cherokees as to learn all that an ethnologist could learn about the Ghost Dance religion.[7] Under these circumstances he began the study of the Plains Indians that he was to continue for the rest of his life.

January 19, 1891, found him in the field, writing to the Bureau, from Darlington, Oklahoma Territory, for several dozen photographic plates to be sent at once: "The Indians are dancing the ghost dance day & night & as a part of the doctrine is that they must discard as far as possible everything white man, they are bringing out costumes not worn in years. The same with the Kiowas & Comanches, whom I go to next . . . . . Please push things, as a week means a good deal to me now."[8]

Mooney was still at Darlington on the 27th, when he wrote the Bureau that the plates had come and that he had no need of flash lights, as the night and day ghost dances were the same. He explained:[9]

"With several hundred wild Indians dancing around a dozen maniacs it would be somewhat hazardous to fool with, even if the chances were for success.

"I am so far in with the medicine men that they have invited me to take part in the dance, altho they ordered any other whites away from the ground. They are dancing every day & night & I have obtained a number of songs & translations with mythology &c. There is more than I expected & it takes time. The Caddos, Kiowas, Comanches &c to whom I go from here are all dancing, but I can learn here anything that they know in that connection. Sunday afternoon I counted at one time beside outside spectators 139 dancers with 26 others inside the circle—some in a maniac frenzy, some in spasms & others stretched out on the ground stiff & unconscious. They lie where they fall, like dead men, sometimes for an hour or longer, while the dance goes on. It is the same day & night. It is awful. I go almost every night & being a part of the circle can see everything inside.

"The Supt. of the Mennonite Mission (Arapaho) here is a German professor, a linguist by education & natural bent. He has been here eight years now, & expects to spend his life in the work. He has given considerable attention to the Arapaho language (of which we know very little) so far as his duties permit, & has shown me his Mss translations of portions of scripture, parables, conjugations, declensions, &c.

[7] The results of Mooney's Studies were published as, "Ghost Dance Religion," in *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1891).

[8] Smithsonian Institution, Archives, 4336, No. 6.

[9] *Ibid.*

He is willing, competent & enthusiastic, & wants to make a study of the language in accordance with our alphabet & methods. He can help us a great deal. Please send him one of our vocabularies. Direct to Rev. H. H. Voth, Darlington, Indian Ter."

Mooney had turned eastward again early in 1891. His letter written from Eufaula in the Creek Nation on March 6 indicates something of the variety of his work and the conditions under which he lived and traveled:[10]

"I have now got back to the eastern end of the territory & expect to be in Tahlequah with the Cherokees tomorrow. My work so far has been (1) Ghost Dance with the Arapahos & Cheyennes (2) Linguistics &c with the Kiowas (3) Hunting Pascagulas & Biloxis among the Caddos & Creeks.

"The Caddos know of the Biloxis & Pascagulas, whom they call *Binûgshi* & *Păscăgûnă* & there are three or four among them but they are young, having been born among the Caddo on the reservation & nothing could be done with them. From a Creek at Anadarko I learned that a number of Biloxi lived near Eufaula & on coming here I find that they are about 30 miles out in the country, speak no English & only very broken Creek. But from Ex-Governor Perryman of the Creek Nation & others who should be good authority I learn that there is a bona fide district of Biloxis (& presumably of Pascagulas if any remain) on Kiamishi Creek of Red River in the Choctaw Nation. They are described as keeping aloof from the Choctaws, in a separate settlement, retaining their distinct language & distinguished by a peculiar tatooing on the chin & throat. If the information is correct they are the main body & after balancing matters I have concluded to let the others alone, go on from here to do my Cherokee work around Tahlequah, & then down through the Choctaw Nation after the Biloxi settlement & on through Arkansas to Washington. As nearly as I can calculate the whole trip will cost about $315. Staging costs 10 cents per mile & some railroads in the territory 5 cents. . . . .

"Artemus Ward once said that he had been compelled to eat at the second table so long that potato peelings & fish bones were beginning to work out through his skin. I can henceforth appreciate his feelings."

Soon afterward, Mooney was among the Cherokees of Indian Territory for the first time. From Tahlequah, he sent a letter on March 13 back to Major Charles E. Adams, Agent for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas at Anadarko, saying he would remain with the Cherokees a week or so longer, then go to the Choctaws, and after that return to Washington. "I wish, if you can," he wrote, "you would send to my Bureau address a synopsis of the statements made by Sitting Bull & by Apiatan at the Ghost Dance council—the locality, appearance, manners & words of the Messiah, & the experiences of both men in going, while there & in returning, with the trances incident."[11] This request referred to the report of the Kiowa Apiatan on his visit to the northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes to investigate the Ghost Dance among its originators.

Mooney stopped at his Richmond, Indiana, home on his way back to Washington, but if he was on leave of absence there his

[10] Smithsonian Institution, Archives, 4334, No. 7.
[11] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Kiowa—Relics.

mind was nevertheless concerned with matters left unfinished in Oklahoma. A letter addressed to Major Charles E. Adams at Anadarko and dated April 3, 1891, shows both his scrupulous care as a collector and his concern that no disrespect for their religious beliefs be shown the Indians:[12]

"I have been with the Choctaws & Cherokees & shall be in Washington next week. I was trying to borrow from Ako an image-amulet which he had had prepared to use at a ceremony in connection with prayers for children. He was unwilling to part with it until the ceremony of consecration had been performed. He may have had a chance to use it by this time, & as I am very anxious to borrow it for a sketch and description in my account of the mescal ceremony—which I want to write up at once—I wish you would try your best to get him to lend it to us for about two weeks. Andres (Andali) knows it & can speak to him about it. Ako offered to make another, but I want the original & shall try to buy it for the museum. It is a most interesting piece of sacred paraphernalia & you will be interested in seeing it yourself. Ako is earnest in his belief & try not to laugh at or scold him for it. If secured, you can send the package by mail with enclosed frank."

The early 1890's were unbelievably busy years for James Mooney. In addition to giving his attention to the Ghost Dance religion and the peyote cult, both of which were spreading rapidly and receiving much public attention, he had been appointed to prepare an American Indian exhibit for the Spanish-Columbian Exposition at Madrid in 1892 and another for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, planned for 1892 but postponed until 1893. His idea for such an exhibit, whether at Madrid or Chicago, at Nashville in 1897, at Omaha in 1898, or at St. Louis in 1904, was that it be scientific and strictly representative of Indian life and customs; he was repeatedly shocked and disappointed to discover that something sensational and likely to bring in large gate receipts was expected of him. He wrote to the Bureau from Darlington on July 14, 1891:

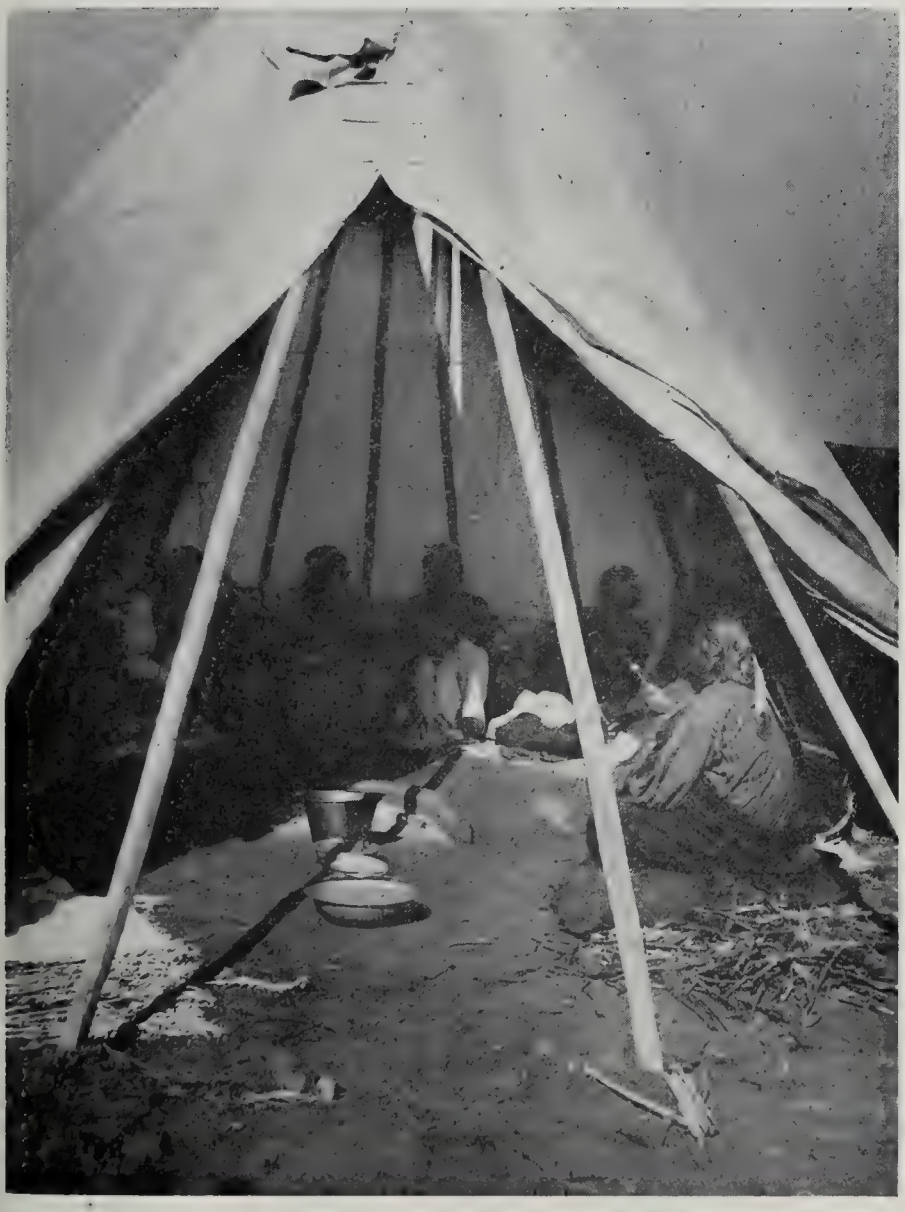
"I left the Kiowas a few days ago & am now with the Cheyennes & Arapahos. I would have written before, but for the last month I have been in such a mental condition with constant worriment that I could not sit down to write calmly. It is too long a story to tell now, but the amount of it is that I am thoroughly sick & disgusted with my experience with the World's Fair."

In spite of annoyances, there were compensations. Mooney was living in country that still retained its virgin quality, and he was seeing and learning much that would soon be lost in American Indian life. So he set aside his worries and continued his letter in a more objective vein:[13]

"A great part of the time with the Kiowas I spent alone in their camp in the Wichita Mountains about thirty miles from the agency. It is a beautiful country of mountains, timber & clear streams, as different as possible from the burnt up country around the agencies. These Indians are now receiving their money from the lands recently sold, & are con-

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Smithsonian Institution, Archives, 4047, No. 41.



The Mescal Tipi. A Kiowa photo by James Mooney, 1892.

fanned with a beaded eagle feather, and with prayers addressed to the mescal, the fire, the rain, the earth, the sun, and the morning star:

"Now the door flap was suddenly lifted and a man stepped in, carrying in his arms an infant. The child was sick almost to death and as a last hope he had brought it to the sacred lodge to be prayed for by the priests of the mescal. There was something deeply affecting in the pathetic earnestness of the father as he watched the priests praying over his child, which seemed in a stupor and made no sound. The ceremony completed, he left as silently as he entered."

At the conclusion of the rites, at about noon of the next day, the women from the camp brought hashed meat, parched corn soaked in water, bread, and coffee. Before eating, each man offered a small portion of his meal to the fire:[23]

"With a final prayer and another request from the old man that I should go back and tell the whites that the Indians had a religion of their own which they loved, the ceremony ended. From sitting full fourteen hours in such a cramped position, with the constant din of the songs and instruments and the glare of the fire in my eyes, I was pretty well used up and for a while hardly able to move, but the mescal eaters appeared to be as fresh as when they began. Before we had made ready our horses to depart the sacred lodge had been taken down and only the mound of earth and the ashes remained to show where it had been."

Mooney was making progress among other tribes besides the Kiowas. In the summer of 1893 he had met George A. Dorsey, and the two men had begun a friendly coöperation in their studies of the Plains tribes that was to continue for many years. The Arapahoes had begun to place confidence in him, and had felt his sympathy for them when they lost faith in their Ghost Dance religion. They gave him an Arapaho name, Heniáit (Long Hair), because when he stayed in their camps for long periods his hair grew long for want of a barber and he did not seem to mind. When, in 1893, they again held their Sun Dance, they invited him to witness it. He wrote from Darlington on October 24th, 1893, asking for an extension of time and an additional allowance of forty dollars. "I have now been with the Cheyennes & Arapahos," he added, "for two weeks & have seen the Sun Dance—soft be it spoken—& expect to return in a few days to Anadarko & Fort Sill for work with the Caddos & Comanches."[24]

It was through Sett'an (Little Bear), with whom Mooney often stayed when he was working among the Kiowas, that he acquired, in 1895, the pictorial calendars on which the principal events of their history were recorded, and so laid the basis for another great monograph, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians." Meantime, he had begun an even more extensive study, that of the Kiowa camp circle and of the heraldry on which it was based. This was a study so involved and so dependent on the acquisition of old heraldric shields and on interviews with old men who knew their origin and their history

[23] Smithsonian Institution, Archives, 1887.
[24] Smithsonian Institution, Archives, 4336, No. 15.

that Mooney was to work at it whenever possible for the remainder of his life, and to leave it unfinished in the end. Of what he was about in the latter part of 1895 he wrote in a letter from Anadarko, dated September 6th:[25]

"My field orders specify particularly studies of Kiowa Calendars & Kiowa Heraldry. The Calendar study is completed in first draft, excepting the linguistic part, which is under revision. It will make about 250 printed pages, with many illustrations. As but little has ever been written about these tribes I have tried to make it a basis for any future study of the Plains tribes, & have incorporated every printed reference, bearing upon the main subject, to be found in the Indian reports for the past 60 years, the early narratives, etc. This alone has meant a great deal of labor. . . . .

"The Heraldry study is incomplete. It has been carried on in connection with the reconstruction of the miniature Camping Circle, as outlined in the Museum Plan previously referred to, each being complimentary & explanatory of the other, one as a Bureau monograph, the other as a tangible Museum exhibit. The complete reconstruction would consist of about 50 pictured tipis & 150 plain ones, each with its shield & tripod with some other appurtenances, with the medicine lodge & tribal 'medicine' or idol in the center. As the elements were continually changing by reason of the death of individuals, the extinction of old tipis & shields & the birth of new ones, the study had to be made for a fixed date. The date selected was the Medicine Dance of 1868, the last one before they gave up their independent existence & came upon the reservation under the present treaty. The work involves a study of pedigrees, & social & military organization. As the Apaches are a component part of the circle they have been included, enlarging the plan by about 1/5. There were necessary about 50 small buckskin painted tipis, 150 common tipis, 200 small shields, 150 tripods, 150 lances, 4500 poles, 4000 pegs, 1500 pins & the tribal 'Medicine.' As nearly everything was a subject of religious veneration & hereditary ownership, it has been one long fight to get the consent of the owners & the tribe to make them, & it has been necessary to visit each owner in the various camps of a reservation nearly 80 miles square. It must be remembered that the Kiowas are a wild tribe, who built their first houses only three years ago. . . . . .

"For myself, the winter was spent in the tipis in the winter camp, the spring & summer in the home campus. Twice for about two weeks at a time I have had to leave camp & go to where I could get decent food & treatment."

In an earlier letter, dated January 29, 1895, Mooney had presented to Professor H. Brown Goode of the National Museum his plan for reproducing the camp circle, with four choices for carrying it out according to the amount of money that could be spent:[26]

"The Kiowas, with the incorporated tribe of Apaches, numbered approximately 300 tipis. In the annual ceremony of the Sun Dance these tipis were arranged in a large circle with an open space or 'door' toward the east, the medicine lodge of cottonwood trees—wherein was kept the tribal palladium—in the center, & behind it the large sacred lodge of the high priest & assistants. The tribe had 6 divisions, to each of which belonged some special social, military or religious pre-eminence & func-

[25] *Ibid.*, No. 16.
[26] *Ibid.*, No. 17.

tion, and each division occupied a definite position in the circle of tipis. A small number of the tipis in each division belonged to hereditary civil, military or religious leaders & these tipis were decorated with colors, figures & ornaments symbolic of the hereditary functions of the owners. The other tipis were plain & without ornament. In front of each tipi the shield of the owner—also covered with symbolic figures & ornament—was suspended from a tripod. Some of the heraldic tipis were decorated with symbolic figures inside as well as outside."

Fortunately, in spite of the cost, Mooney was able to go ahead with his plans for reproducing the camp circle, partly because some of it could be incorporated in the exhibit of the Bureau of American Ethnology that was to be sent to the Tennessee Centennial and National Exposition at Nashville in 1897. On March 9, 1897, he had the whole undertaking well under way, and sent the Bureau a plot of the entire circle with an explanation of how the tipis were to be placed according to the labels representing them:[27]

"I have just had constructed by a carpenter a circular inclosure of canvas, supported by uprights, with door &c, & a canvas rain curtain, in lieu of a roof & running around the entire inside—with diameter of 50 feet & height of 7 feet, banked up around the outside & otherwise secured. This gives a semicircle of about the size mentioned, *viz.* 25 feet radius. Inside of this I propose to bring my Indian workers & set up the tipis &c around the circumference for the final fitting & finish. . . . .

"I have ordered & have now waiting at the railroad $80.00 of chamois, for shields & plain tipis, & shall use the money available to put in order what is required in the Nashville plan & as much more as possible toward the complete plan of 250 tipis. I have set up my inclosure on the grounds of the Catholic mission & have arranged to have my principal workers camp alongside & get their meals at the mission. . . . .

"For the panels &c I shall write in a day or two. It is now nearly midnight & I have been all day talking with Indians & supervising construction with the same program for several preceding days & nights, so that I am just now somewhat tired."

The postscript to this letter is significant, since it indicates the kind of difficulty with which ethnologists of that day contended.

"I may add that I procured the materials for the inclosure from the agent. He has aided me very little during his administration, on the ground that the Indian past should bury its dead, but I concluded to make this a test case, & altho he positively refused at first I insisted that as a government officer I had a right to demand it for government purposes & finally succeeded in getting the required lumber, with door & work table & 400 yds. of sheeting from the commissary without drawing upon the Bureau allotment."

Before the Centennial Exposition at Nashville had closed, Mooney had been assigned to work with the managers of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha. They wanted to include the Kiowa camp circle in their display, and they also wanted Indians in residence on the grounds. While this idea seemed to Mooney to offer an excellent opportunity to the public to learn about Indian cultures, it

[27] *Ibid.*, No. 21.

soon became what he described as "an evident purpose to reduce everything to the level of a 'Midway' performance." On September 28, 1898, he wrote from the Exposition grounds of the turn things had taken:[28]

"On arriving at Omaha last month I talked with President Wattles of the Exposition Management & with Captain Mercer, in charge for the Indian Office, made some suggestions & then went down to Oklahoma & brought back 106 Indians of my tribes, with their tipis & equipment &c, & 51 ponies & a Wichita grass house which is now set up on the grounds.

"This grass house & a tipi & windbreak—for both of which the Exposition management paid—constitute about the only ethnology on the grounds as outlined in the original plans or in the circular for the Commission. The rest of it has degenerated into a Wild West show with the sole purpose of increasing gate receipts. The standard program twice a week or oftener is a sham battle in which Pueblos, Sacs & Flatheads are all mixt up together and an Indian (without removing warbonnet or shield) is tied to the stake & a straw pile set on fire around him. Then there is a great deal of shooting & yelling & about fifty of them roll around on the ground & pretend to be dead until the show is over. There is no attempt at representing Indian industries, skin dressing, hide smoking, corn grinding, buckskin painting, weaving or silver work. Success is measured by the amount of noise & by ticket sales.

"The only gain to ethnology will be in the chance to get a few pictures & to purchase some collections. The precedent may be of value in future Expositions if the Bureau can secure control, but in this place an ethnologist's time is wasted & his labor lost. . . . .

"Also may I draw upon my allotment or any available Museum funds to purchase collections here? I should like to set up the Wichita house on Rock Creek. The Exposition Management paid for it, about $80.00 including wagon transportation to the railroad. It came up with the Indians at the expense of the appropriation. It has taken the labor of 4 women about a week to set it up. It is an actual house which I bought on the reservation & had taken down."

In the years 1902 and 1903 Mooney was again in Oklahoma Territory, after a period of extended office work and of study among the Eastern Cherokees in which he was handicapped by an eye injury and a long illness. The complicated subject of Kiowa heraldry still occupied him, and he continued patiently working his way into the confidence of the old members of the tribe whose shields had special significance. He filled notebooks with detailed accounts of interviews with men who had a knowledge of the origin and history of important shields, or had owned them, such as Sett'an and young Little Raven; he devoted one book to drawings of shields, done in pencil and colored in crayons, with much-abbreviated descriptions accompanying the drawings. He carried on a correspondence with such men as George Bird Grinnell, John D. Miles, and Fred Harvey, trying to complete both his collection and his information; and he began studies of the shields and the painted lodges of the Cheyennes and the Arapahos. Always he was aware of the fact that too much

[28] *Ibid.*, No. 25.

time had been lost; too many shields and other war equipment had been buried with their owners; too many others had been sold to traders and travelers who knew nothing of their ethnological value.

Mooney undertook, too, to extend his studies of the peyote cult, and to ascertain by scientific tests how much of the opposition to peyote rites was justifiable. He had extended this study to the Southwestern tribes when he went to the Navajo and the Hopi in the winter of 1892-93 to male collections for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and continued it on trips to the Southwest in 1895 and in 1897. He visited the Mescalero Apache, the various tribes still remaining in Texas, and then went on to Mexico, bringing back with him not only a large amount of information but a quantity of mescal for scientific analysis, and for study of its medical effects. Nothing moved as fast as he wished it might, either in his own field work, the publication of his writings, or the investigations of peyote that he hoped to push to completion. He wrote to Mr. McGee from Fort Sill on March 9, 1895:[29]

> "I am anxious to hear from my Siouan bulletin, which I had hoped to see in January. Also I should like to know the condition of my Ghost Dance proofs & illustrations. I have just received a letter from Mr. Mitchell in regard to the mescal work & have referred him to yourself for answer. From this it appears that the analysis begun last August is still unfinished, while the only experimental test so far made is that made by Mr. Mitchell himself by eating it on two occasions. This does not look like . . . . a systematic way to conduct a government investigation. I have heard nothing from the Bureau, the Agricultural Dept. or Dr. Prentiss on the subject. As this is a medical subject, & the subject of religious & governmental threats & penalties, we cannot afford to be careless in handling it."

What he hoped for, always, was not only his own continued accomplishments as an ethnologist but coöperation among all agencies and people concerned with Indian affairs. When he found an agent or an army officer who was open-minded and coöperative, he made the most of his opportunities. In Lieutenant-Colonel George W. H. Stouch, who was agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho at Darlington from 1900 until the summer of 1906, he found such intelligence and understanding as he had rarely met with. Stouch had been a Captain in charge of a company of regulars at Medicine Lodge in 1867; he had known many of the old leaders among the Plains Indians, and was a valuable link between the rapidly vanishing past and his own day. The policy of Colonel Stouch and of his predecessor Captain Woodson at the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency had been a tolerant one of allowing the Indians to dress in their own costumes and to hold their tribal dances and ceremonies as long as these practices did not interfere with farming and other labor and with the attendance of their children at school. Under these circumstances, both James Mooney and George Dorsey found their visits to the Cheyenne and Arapaho profitable, and they tried to lend their support to agency

[29] *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

undertakings. John Segar, sending in the Agent's report for 1903 in the temporary absence of Colonel Stouch, mentioned the fact that the Fourth of July exercises were presided over by "Prof. James Mooney, of the Smithsonian Institution, who was appointed master of ceremonies." Following the oration of the day, three Indian chiefs made patriotic addresses. A parade was held, with both Indians and whites "in peculiar and grotesque costumes," and three persons, two Indians and one white man, in full Indian costume. "Indian dress," Mr. Seger explained, "was permitted only for the novelty and variety of the parade, not to encourage its being worn regularly."[30]

Some of Mr. Seger's unofficial correspondence was a little less guarded. On July 20th, 1903, he wrote from Colony to Byron White, Superintendent at Cantonment, about a Sun Dance that he had just witnessed:[31]

"I dropped down in the Indian camp about 9.00 o'clock at night. I found them yet holding a dance and I went to find out what I could see. There were probably about 200 Indians assembled and were together around a light composed of about three lanterns. I saw some ceremony was going on but I could not get up to where it was as the Indians stood shoulder to shoulder about three deep clear around. I am under the impression that old Bear Tongue was undergoing torture unless he had been tortured the night before. I got up the next morning and saw Red Leggins traveling around the circle of the camp with a lariat fastened in the skin of his back, and on the other end was tied a piece of buffalo's head which he was dragging over the ground. I followed along behind him to see if I could find out where the fun was in this performance. When he had made the circuit of the camp he came to where Mooney, Dorsey and the other artist were standing with their cameras and he stopped and let them take snapshots of him in different positions. As it is reported that sometimes the victim of torture sinks down with exhaustion and as Red Leggins had only been encumbered with a small portion of the buffalo head, it took a special effort for him to sink down exhausted. Some twenty-five years ago I saw these Indians voluntarily undergo this torture, and there was as much difference then and now as there is between day and night. The old way of torturing was the real thing. The torture that I saw was a fake, yet there were a few drops of blood fell down when the sticks were pulled from his back. The wounds on his breast showed that he had been strung up by the breast and I think on the whole he had well earned his fifteen dollars that was reported to have been paid him. Not a single Indian that I saw took any interest in this torture except Richard Davis's wife and children who stood and looked at Red Leggins as he passed their camp. When they were taking the pictures of Red Leggins several Indians came and talked with me as I stood near the man being tortured, and their whole conversation was in regard to their lease money on their next payment and the prospects of breaking camp soon. It was very plain to me that the torture had been paid for and there would have been no Sun Dance if Dorsey and Mooney had not worked it up and put money into it. I saw no religious enthusiasm nor any other kind and it should be known as a fake Sun Dance, and hope it to be the last."

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30 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 259.

31 Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cheyenne-Arapaho Customs.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Scouts at Fort Reno. Photo by James Mooney, 1892.

Little came of the investigation that followed these charges, both ethnologists denying the allegations made against them and Mooney filing with the Bureau of Ethnology affidavits to the effect that he did not participate in the dance, as had been claimed, but was present "only as a spectator who happened to be present."

Mooney's last visit to Oklahoma, in 1918, was complicated by more overt opposition to his study of the peyote rites than he had met with before. A letter that he wrote to one Mrs. Prentice from Mount Scott on June 29, 1918, was the occasion of much controversy:[32]

"In regard to your inquiry, the peyote hearing was conducted before a special Committee of Congress, & was open & public—the full report is published as a Government document for distribution. There is no secrecy about it.

"The question which some of the delegates and tribes are debating is the matter of organizing their own native religion on a regular business basis, like any other church or society, as American citizens. Some of the Northwestern Indians have already done this more than twenty years ago."

As a result of this letter, Mooney was accused of "frankly commending the use of peyote," and at one time during the summer both Superintendent C. E. Scott of Concho and C. V. Stinchecum of Anadarko ordered him off their reservations. In the end, Superintendent Scott wrote that he saw nothing incriminating in the controversial letter, though he believed that Mooney inferentially approved of the establishment of a church for the native religion. This was to become known as the Native American Church.

To the end of his life, James Mooney had found the way of the ethnologist hard, as well as rewarding, in matters where a disinterested approach to the truth was involved. Office work took up more and more of his time, during the last few years of his life, and ill health interfered with his efforts to bring some of his most important work to completion in the form of finished monographs. He died on December 22nd, 1921, and was buried from St. Patrick's Church in Washington two days later. Before the material that he left behind was placed in the storeroom of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Director, J. Walter Fewkes reported that a rough classification had been made of it:[33]

'Five main groups were made, corresponding roughly with the five chief papers which Mr. Mooney had under way for a number of years before his demise, namely, (a) A Study of the Peyote and Its Accompanying Religious Cult; (b) A Monograph on the Population of the Indian Tribes When First Known; (c) A Paper on Cherokee Medical Formulas Recorded in the Sequoyah Alphabet by Native Priests; (d) Kiowa Heraldry; and (e) A Study of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Shields. Owing to the peculiar chirography of Mr. Mooney and his excessive use of abbreviations peculiar to himself, this work proved to be a tedious and difficult one."

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[32] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Kiowa—Relics.
[33] *Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1919-1924. p. 56.

In its obituary notice, the American Anthroploogist referred to him as the leading authority on the Cherokee and the Kiowa at the time of his death, and a foremost authority on all the Indians of the Plains area:[34]

"He took an immense interest in them, was always ready to listen to their troubles, to lay their difficulties before those who might be able to adjust them, and to spend time and money in aiding them to obtain any and all advantages which he believed to be their just due. When he had once reached a conclusion he maintained it with unfaltering courage and clung to it with a tenacity which not infrequently seemed to his friends to be carried to extremes, but of the honesty of his intentions there could be no doubt. This attitude was oftenest in evidence in defense of a subjugated race or an oppressed class, for which the circumstances of his ancestry were no doubt responsible. But beneath all was an intense emotional attitude which was a part of himself and was the secret both of his success as an ethnologist and his influence as a man. From this particular point of view he has had few equals among ethnologists and certainly no superiors."

[34] *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1922, p. 210.

ART IN OKLAHOMA

*By O. B. Jacobson and Jeanne d'Ucel**

Frederic Remington

The man who probably expressed best the frontier West with his brush, his chisel and his pen was an Easterner, born in New York state in 1861. His father was a wealthy newspaper publisher, and young Remington had the advantage of a good education. As a lad he remarked that he hoped to succeed in journalism, but, he added, he wanted to be an artist whether or not he was successful at it.

He began his art studies at Yale. His strong personality rebelled at the rigidity of academic teaching, so, when his father died, in 1880, and his sweetheart's father questioned his stability, he left Yale and went west. He was going to show the world the stuff he was made of; he was going to earn a million dollars.

Neither prospecting, nor sheep ranching, nor an interest in a Kansas City saloon brought him any financial returns. He was, instead, spending his modest inheritance, partly because he was so openhanded and generous, partly because he could never buckle down to prosaic occupations. However, he was unknowingly receiving the education that suited him.

He wandered all over the West from Canada to Mexico. Always an athlete (he had been a football star at Yale) he soon mastered the skills of a cowboy and was accepted by the Westerners as their equal. He rode like a centaur, threw a wicked lariat, and was adept at handling a six shooter. He could fight too, at the drop of a hat. He was fearless, much valued as a member of posses out after dangerous "hombres." His cool courage probably saved his life and that of two co-prospectors when they were working in the middle of the Apache country, while Geronimo and his band were on their bloody warpath. A group of Indians appeared one night at the camp of the miners who thought their last hour had come. Remington greeted the visitors pleasantly, offered them food and tobacco, admired their horses; so the whites were unmolested. All his life Remington believed that Geronimo himself was one of the visitors that night.

After wandering with military and cowboy outfits all over Arizona, Remington rolled into Ft. Sill. He settled there for some

* This is the second of a series of studies on art and artists in Oklahoma by Dr. O. B. Jacobson, now retired head of the Art Department in the University of Oklahoma, and Jeanne d'Ucel (Mrs. Jacobson). Their first study, "Early Oklahoma Artists," appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (Summer, 1953), pp. 122-130.—Ed.

time and roamed the region because he was attracted to the Comanches by their superb horsemanship. He admired their intelligent breeding of horses, unique among Indians. He said "I thought of them, that the good white men who would undertake to make Christian gentlemen and honest tillers of the soil out of this raw human material, would be contracting for a job to subvert the process of nature."

The young artist was fascinated by the men of the West, whites and Indians; he made lasting friendships among them. He was thrilled by the plastic quality of their activities, by the play of muscles in both men and horses in action. Wherever he went he sketched furiously, for he was endowed with limitless energy. He developed by practice his sharp sense of observation; he trained himself to catch and to render the climax of action and emotion.

His means were running out, so he sent a batch of drawings to eastern publishers. All were rejected except one that appeared in Harpers Weekly during 1882, but, as the caption explained, "Cowboys of Arizona" had been drawn by W. A. Rogers from a sketch by Frederic Remington. In the west, however, his works were gaining appreciation; their spontaneous charm was prized above technical finish. Remington was making a few sales.

So when he went east in 1884, and found the girl of his dreams waiting still, he persuaded her to marry him. Alas! the saloon venture in which he had put his last funds collapsed; he could not support his bride from art alone, and he had to let her go back home in a few months. Bitter and determined, he soon followed. Arriving in New York with only $3 and a bag full of paintings and sketches, he borrowed some money to finance his attendance at some courses at the Art Students League.

He spent all his waking hours working or trying to sell his drawings to magazines. Everywhere he was turned down. But he was so persistent that Harper's finally accepted "The Apache War" and published it as a cover on its January 9, 1886, issue. This was so well received that Remington's works were soon in great demand, in one of the swiftest stories of rise-to-success ever known. His paintings were accepted by the National Academy and won prizes.

Harpers sent Remington back to the Southwest as a war correspondent, and later sent him to Europe and Africa. He also illustrated the Spanish-American war for magazines and newspapers. He met Theodore Roosevelt with whom he struck a close friendship; he illustrated Roosevelt's first book "Ranch Life" and "The Hunting Trail," as well as many other books dealing with the West. Remington's written reports and comments added to his drawings, are vivid and possess a forthright literary charm, as do his stories of the West.

In 1895 he tried his hand for the first time at sculpture. With his flair for action and his long search for it in drawing, he was at

"The Bronco Buster" by Frederick Remington.
Bronze statue formerly owned by Gov. E. W. Marland.

once successful. His first statue "Bronco Buster" soon won the acclaim of critics; 250 bronze copies cast from it sold in a short time for over $60,000.00. It was the same with the 24 other statues he made.

At the beginning of the century Remington tasted full success. He was the highest paid illustrator of the day, receiving $1000.00 per picture. He had finally been able to provide for his faithful wife not only necessities but the luxuries, a beautiful home and a vast estate. He had a studio large enough to accommodate horses and even mounted riders as models. (I visited him in this comfortable establishment, in 1906. There he was busy painting western scenes from his many sketches, but often using his coachman and neighbors as models. He was always a very hard worker. O.B.J.)

Accute appendicitis claimed his life in Dec. 1909. He was only 48 and could have contributed much more to the world of art. Although Oklahoma can hardly claim him as one of her sons, he found much inspiration in Oklahoma and many of his works are now in the state, perpetuating his renown and the romance of his western subject matter.

Narcissa Chisholm Owen

Narcissa Owen came from very distinguished families. One of her Indian ancestors was the great Oconostata, who was principal chief of the Cherokees during the 18th century, when his people lived on their vast domains in the Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee. On the white side she was a descendant of Scottish and British men of standing and wide education. Her father, Thomas, and her grandfather, John Chisholm, were friends of Thomas Jefferson.

Narcissa was born in 1831 at Webber Falls, Indian Territory. She received an excellent education at the College of Evansville, Indiana, majoring in music and art, for which she early showed considerable talent. She taught music in a girls school, in Greensboro, Tennessee. There she met Robert Owen. In 1853 they were married n the home of the Chief Justice of Tennessee. Later they settled n Lynchburg, Virginia, when her engineer husband became president f the Norfolk and Western Railroad.

The Civil War and the Reconstruction wiped out the Owen ortune, and Robert Owen died in 1873, leaving his widow and two oung sons without any means. Narcissa went back to teaching music; he was successful and educated her children. William studied medicine at the University of Virginia. Robert Latham took law at Washington and Lee Unviersity. With this second son she moved ack to Indian Territory where she built a home that she called Monticello. Robert Latham became very favorably known as Indian gent and lawyer. In 1907 he was elected senator, and for many

years represented the state of Oklahoma in Washington with distinction. His mother had accompanied him to the capital. She died in 1911 at Lynchburg, Virginia, where she is buried.

Narcissa Owen was a painter of more than average talent and competence. Her portrait of several descendants of Thomas Jefferson was awarded a medal at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. The Oklahoma Historical Society now owns this medal and a fine self-portrait dating from 1896. In the same institution one can see a good copy that Narcissa Owen painted of the portrait of Sequoyah by Charles Bird King.

Samuel Holmberg I

In the autumn of 1908 a young artist came from Paris to take charge of the newly formed Art department at the University of Oklahoma. His name was Samuel Holmberg; he was a Swede, and very talented. It is difficult to write about him, for he was my friend. We had been intimate comrades and students-in-arms at Bethany College, in Kansas, as pupils of the now famous Birger Sandzen.

While I was appointed Art attaché to the Royal Swedish Commission at the St. Louis World Fair, then did graduate work at Yale, Sam finished his studies at Bethany and went to Europe. He painted landscapes in the country of his Viking ancestors and studied in the museums of Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Berlin. He went on to Paris where he led the traditional art student life of real privation and constant hard work. In France he produced a vast amount of work, nearly all of which has been lost or destroyed. While in the French capital, studying under noted masters and mingling with brilliant students, he came in contact with the modern art movement that somewhat affected his entire attitude towards art. He was again in Stockholm when he received his appointment to the University of Oklahoma. He organized the art department, using as a studio a room in what is now the Education building.

But a baffling disease had struck him. At 26 he was an old man, with snow white hair and a wasted body. On an unbearably hot July day, in 1911, he went quietly to his last sleep, at the home of one of his friends, in Kansas. His was a soul of rare beauty, a refined aristocratic spirit; he was a real painter and a musician besides, playing his cello with far more than average talent.

During the three short years he was in Oklahoma, his time was almost entirely occupied with teaching, although he produced a series of sensitive landscapes of the Wichita mountains during one summer vacation. The paintings that he left behind are few, for he was a very severe critic of his own work and destroyed nearly all his production. The few things that remain are scattered among his

friends; one painting is in my possession; another that he had slashed was salvaged, and is now or was in the collection of the University.

He was a splendid draughtsman, painter and sculptor. His work may be classified as impressionism, although he anticipated some of the later art movements that have since become well established in the Western world. His influence in Oklahoma was quite considerable. Many of his pupils carried on. He arranged the first art exhibit at the University. It was he who established the tradition of artistic honesty that my staff and I did our best to continue, and that made our art school respected all over the United States. The fact that he came and passed through Oklahoma shall not disappear completely.

Lawrence Pickett Williams

The accident that took the life of Larry Williams on Christmas day 1920, caused Oklahoma a great loss. He was one of the most promising artists and, while as yet little known in his own state, he was beginning to get recognition in art circles. The Art Digest had just honored him with reproduction of some of his work and a shrewd appraisal of his worth.

Larry hailed from Prague, where he was born, in 1899, and received his first education. He arrived at the University in 1918, when the S.A.T.C. was holding forth and the campus was being transformed into barracks. Like other student-soldiers, Larry labored and groaned under the rule of a shavetail with a Napoleonic complex. But, for all his slender build and blond hair, Larry had in him a tough fiber. He survived, and within the space of four years, he managed to earn two degrees, one in art, one in Arts and Sciences. Between smokes he mortared up powerful portraits, two or three of which may still be in existence.

We told him what we knew about the technique of art and introduced him to art history. Towards decorative design he had the then prevailing male scorn. One thing was in his favor during these formative years; he did not, like so many, insist on becoming a get-quick artist, but was willing to buckle down and lay his foundation on solid ground. After graduation there was no job immediately available in his field, so he took the principalship of the High School at Red Rock for two years. This was hardly the place for him; his friend Wadsack and I bundled him off to Yale. He made his way at old Eli, doing hard and sometimes strange chores to that end. But above all he studied and, in Eugene Savage, he had a sympathetic, fair minded master, who allowed him more freedom of expression than is customary at Yale. At any rate, within the year, he brought down the Beaux-Arts Institute prize, a national honor among American students. This entitled him to a sojourn abroad; but, in-

stead of taking advantage of it, he returned to the University of Oklahoma as instructor, to earn some means of traveling. In one year he was Professor Williams.

College life would be ideal if there were no professor or students, depending upon the point of view. Williams had little time for creative work during the first two years on the other side of the desk. But this period enabled him to digest all the things that he had absorbed at Yale. There was a conflict noticeable in him between the labored academic symbolism of Savage and the artistic romanticism of his nature. Then he discovered the Southwest, art and artists, not only of Oklahoma but Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona as well. With a friend and camping equipment he traveled in our rugged landscape all the way from Southern Utah to the Mexican border, all through Texas and Oklahoma in an attempt to assemble the material from which he was to distill his own art.

His paintings possess an epic rather than a lyrical quality. They interpret the stern mountains of New Mexico, the vast loneliness of wide expanses, cloudy weather, the bitterness of nude earth, drifting sands and muddy water. The Oklahoma he painted is different from any other. He wrestles with her savage moods, fields plowed or burnt off, arroyos of red clay, and greyish-purple water. Of course, Oklahoma can be lyrical, but Larry saw another charm more poignant, more stern, less sweet, but equally beautiful. Not only had his palette changed, but also his very attitude towards art, after his intimate contact with the Southwest.

Larry Williams did not belong to any particular school. Only in three respects could he be classified as modernist: there was a modern organization in his canvases, a total absence of sugar in his art, and a Cezannesque weight in his forms. The rest was pure Williams, serious, uncompromising, sometimes grim, brooding, elemental . . . . and beautiful.

Larry worked both in oil and in watercolors; the latter were quick, spontaneous impressions. His friends who own works of his cherish them.

Nellie Shepherd

In 1920 death took from Oklahoma a promising painter, Miss Nellie Shepherd. Born in Kansas in 1877, she had come to the state with her parents in 1890.

Very early she showed an artistic bent; she was encouraged by her mother who gave her her first drawing lessons. Nellie studied at the Art Academy (predecessor of the Art Institute) in Cincinnati, and later, for nearly four years, in Paris, where Henri Martin, her teacher, predicted a brilliant future for her. A portrait of her sister,

"The Run" by John Noble.

Lottie, was one of two accepted for the "Grand Salon" of 1910, out of 800 submitted by American artists; it was awarded an honorable mention.

Returning to the United States, Nellie Shepherd painted in Oklahoma, and spent several years in Arizona where she made a number of sensitive studies of Pima Indians. Her precarious health restricted her production. She had just freed herself from outside influences, and was beginning to assert her personality and to come into her own when she died. Several of her paintings are in the possession of the Oklahoma Art League; one is in my collection, the majority remained with her family.

Nellie Shepherd preferred portraiture, although she painted some interesting landscapes and a few still lifes. She had a good feeling for color; her draughtsmanship was competent. A disciple of the Impressionists, she enjoyed especially painting sunlight effects.

John Noble

John Noble, a member of the National Academy of Design, made his reputation as a painter of the sea. His seascapes are famous for their poetic feeling and delicate atmosphere. But he was a true son of the Plains, that other immensity. He was the first white child born at the present site of Wichita, Kansas, in 1874, and he is buried there by his express wish. As a youth he traveled over the Chisholm trail with his father who was a cattleman, acquiring an undying love for the limitless horizons and the subtle colorings of the Southwest.

When the Cherokee strip was opened for settlement, in September 1893, the young Noble took part in it. It seems that he was entitled to a homestead, but he let another settler with a family have it. The only artist in the run, it proved fortunate that he was there, for years later he put on canvas his memory of that event.

On the gently rolling prairie, south of Kansas, the native grass, bleached by summer, shimmers as it waves in the September breeze. It is noon; a slight haze tempers the light of the sun. Throngs have camped here for days, awaiting the great hour. Soldiers are stationed all along the line to give all an equal chance. With the signal of the guns, the tense eagerness shared by men and horses alike, finds its release in a tremendous surge forward. Noble remembered well, and depicts in his painting, how, one of the signal shots being slightly delayed, the would-be settlers in that section were held a few seconds longer, so that the line of mounted men swayed and curved against the horizon.

John Noble finished "The Run" in New York City shortly before his death in 1935. He worked on and off for years on the 7 by 8 ft. canvas and it was his dream that it might hang in the Capitol in Oklahoma City. The painting belonged to Mr. Marland

for a time and decorated his office while he was governor. Mr. Frank Phillips acquired it later and it is now "at home" at Woolaroc Museum. Naturally it holds a special interest for the people of Oklahoma since it represents one of the most dramatic incidents of the state's history.

Henriette Clopath

For many years there lived in Tulsa an artist so modest that comparatively few people know of her.

Mademoiselle Henriette Clopath was born in Aigle, Switzerland, in 1862, and grew up there. After graduating from a State College in her native land, she went to study art in Dresden, Munich and Paris. She was a pupil of Raffaelli and other Parisian masters, and she learned to paint with oil pastel.

For seven years she was head of the art department at the American College in Constantinople, Turkey; then she came to the United States, in 1895, to take charge of the infant art department at the University of Minnesota. She also taught French at Northrup Academy, in Minneapolis. In 1913 she settled in Tulsa where she opened a studio to paint landscapes and to give private art instruction. She died in Tulsa in 1936 at the age of seventy-four.

In her painting, Miss Clopath followed closely the French Impressionist school, being especially influenced by her teacher, Raffaelli. In her youth she exhibited frequently in the Swiss Salon where she won several honors. Her work was shown also in other European centers, and in this country, in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, also at the World's Fair, in St. Louis, in 1904. At the first official exhibition of Oklahoma artists' works held at the University of Oklahoma, in 1916, Miss Clopath won the gold medal for her painting "Boats at Sunset." The next year she entered a beautiful "Girl reading" and two landscapes from Brittany.

Miss Clopath lectured extensively on art subjects while she was in Minnesota. She made a special study of methods of art education in the United States. During the later years of her life she did little painting. Not long before her death she donated several of her works to the art galleries of the University of Minnesota.

Patricio Gimeno

Patricio Gimeno was born in Peru in 1864. His mother was Italian. His father, a Spanish singer-actor, owned a traveling theatrical company. Little Patricio played his first role at six, and made quite a reputation as a child actor. But, on a voyage back to Spain, his father died suddenly in Puerto Rico. With his mother he went to his Spanish grandfather's home so that he might be edu-

cated. Patricio showed great interest in art and studied at the renowned Valencia Academy of Art.

He settled for a time in Cuba, where he painted the portraits of many important persons; then he came to New York to open a portrait studio and to teach. There he married. He had gone to Lima to paint the portrait of the president of Peru when a revolution rent the country. So the Gimeno family returned to the United States, going to San Francisco. The damp climate forced them to settle inland, in Chicago.

Patricio Gimeno had heard of Oklahoma, through an enthusiastic friend who wrote glowingly of the limitless opportunities to be found in the new state. He came to investigate for himself. Although he was doubtful about the chances of making a living as a portrait painter, he liked the place so well that he settled in Oklahoma as professor of Spanish and art at Epworth College, now Oklahoma City University. A little later he became instructor in art at the University of Oklahoma, a position he held for five years, when he was put in charge of the department of Spanish to which he continued to devote his whole time until his death, in 1940.

He collaborated with Professor Kenneth Kaufman and with Professor Scatori in the writing and illustrating of three textbooks for Collegiate Spanish; and he was very active in the furtherance of Pan American good relations.

Mr. Gimeno spent his summer vacations in southern California, painting. The University of Oklahoma Museum owns one of his best landscapes. He painted the portraits of most of the University presidents, living or dead, and a number of University professors. These portraits are now in the main library. The fountain, north of the Business Administration Building, is dedicated to his memory.

Anna H. Miller (Mrs. Edward H. Miller)

I have yet to be introduced to any young lady who does not tell me that she has an aunt or a grandmother who paints beautifully, though she has never taken a lesson. This is probably greatly exaggerated, but the fact remains that, in early Oklahoma, there were many "ladies who painted" as a cultured accomplishment, some without, others with lessons. Among these last many might list Anna Miller, but she was more than that.

Mrs. Miller was a lady of refinement and taste who, not only painted pictures, sometimes splendid ones, but was one of the major supporters of art in the early days of Oklahoma City. It was she and Mrs. John Shartel who nursed the Oklahoma Art League through its infancy. Mrs. Miller selected and sometimes donated the pictures to the League's permanent collection. It was largely through her efforts that several of the best paintings in this collection were ac-

quired; the excellent Ernest Lawson was a gift from her, and the Everett Warner was obtained through her purchase of a lottery "chance" for the painting at Old Lyme, Conn.

She was a great admirer of Maurice Braun, of California, under whom she studied for some time. His influence appears in her work, where one finds the same pastoral charm as in Braun's landscapes.

Later in life, Mrs. Miller took an active part in the Association of Oklahoma Artists and helped many a deserving student both by encouragement and by the purchase of his paintings.

After Mrs. Miller's death in 1941, Mrs. Nan Sheets gave her "California Landscape" the place of honor as "Masterpiece of the Month" at the Oklahoma Art Center, in December 1944. This canvas was a gift of Mr. Miller to the Art League as a memorial to his wife. Most of Mrs. Miller's paintings are owned by her family and her friends.

Martha Avey

Miss Avey's influence on art in Oklahoma was great and good. It stemmed not only from her own painting, but also from her work as a competent and sympathetic educator. In 1906 she laid the plans for the teaching of art in the public schools of Oklahoma City, becoming the first art supervisor in that city, a position that she held for six years. Then followed a decade of painting and private teaching, until 1925, when she was invited to organize an art department at Oklahoma City University. This she directed until her retirement in 1938.

Martha Avey was born and spent her childhood in Illinois. Very early she developed a great fondness for flowers that she retained all her life. Before she was 10 she knew the names of all the wild flowers of her section of Illinois and she had started to make, untutored, watercolor studies of them.

She attended the Art Institute of Chicago and there captured many prizes and honors. She also took advanced work at the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts, in public school methods; and did so well that she won a scholarship for additional study at Harvard. She had private lessons from Cecilia Beaux, Maurice Braun, Felicia Waldo Howell and George Pierce Ennis. She spent a summer studying art at Fontainebleau, France, and she did considerable traveling abroad, so her art education was vey well rounded.

A shy, modest, and retiring person, Miss Avey never received in the state the recognition she deserved. She was very self-critical and always aspired to greater perfection. At first her painting was influenced by her teachers. While she was by temperament inclined to conservatism and reticence, she was always friendly and

open-minded towards the modern movements, and, in her later years, her manner became large and vigorous, still retaining her fine sense of tonal values.

Besides many landscapes, she made a goodly series of studies of studies of the wild flowers of Oklahoma. The collection was exhibited all over the United States and everywhere received favorable comments. The Art League of Oklahoma City owns her "Hindu".

Father Gregory Gerrer

On July 23, 1867, a boy was born in Lauterbach, Alsace. His father, a baker was Francis Xavier Gerrer. The boy was baptised in a Catholic church and given the name of Robert.

The war of 1870 changed the nationality of Alsace-Lorraine but not the loyalty of her people to France. Many of them left the country rather than bow under the Prussian heel. The Gerrer family emigrated to America in 1871 and settled on a farm near St. Joseph, Missouri, but the elder Gerrer was no farmer. Soon he established a bakery at Bedford, Iowa, where young Robert found his first employment and received his education both secular and religious.

He was full of fun and very gifted. While a small lad he entertained his little friends with drawings on slate and paper; he played the guitar and even tried to compose music. When he was 19 he went to San Francisco with an older brother who became chef on a small coastal steamer plying the coast to Puget Sound and Victoria, British Columbia. Robert as assistant, cooked and spent his leisure hours sketching landscapes.

Returning to Bedford after a year he continued his study of music and entered the Iowa National Guard as a clarinet player. Early in 1891 a circus came to town who needed a clarinet player. So Robert joined the circus, touring the central and southern states. The mounted parade provided him with plenty of excitement as he played his instrument while riding a trick bronco who insisted on jumping over other animals. After some months of this gypsy life Robert Gerrer left the circus for a job with an orchestra in a San Antonio theater.

The newly opened Oklahoma Territory was beckoning. Robert came up, half intending to file a claim in the land opening of April 1892. In the meantime he joined the Southwest Band at Guthrie, and gave private instruction in music. He also became a musician in the choir of St. Mary's Catholic cathedral.

As early as 1876 French Benedictine Fathers had established the Sacred Heart Mission on a tract of land some 30 miles south of present day Shawnee, among the Potawatomi. From this center several small missions had spread among the Indian population. The Sacred Heart Abbot, Father Thomas Duperon came to Guthrie,

See of the newly established bishopric to help the first bishop of Oklahoma, Most Reverend Theophile Meerschaert celebrate Christmas 1891.

Father Duperon became acquainted with Robert and sensed his deeply religious nature. He found that the young man had given serious thought to entering the priesthood. He encouraged him in that vocation, inviting him to come to the Sacred Heart Abbey. In this manner Robert became a Benedictine monk. Closing the first chapter of his life he renounced his secular name, and adopted that of the great saint, Gregory.

At the abbey, Dom Gregory directed the orchestra. His interest in painting continued and, in 1896, at the age of 29 he seriously began to study art. Miss Kate Weyniche of Purcell gave painting lessons to the Sisters of Saint Francis. Young Gregory was permitted to attend the class. From the beginning he showed aptitudes for portraiture.

The French abbot, Leandor Lemoine, visiting Sacred Heart became interested in the young monk and in his talent. (The Benedictine orders have a great tradition of culture and learning.) So he arranged for Gregory to go to Europe for study.

First of all the young man made a sentimental pilgrimage to his ancestral home in Alsace, then he went to the Abbey of Our Lady of Buckfast, Devonshire, England where he completed his religious studies and was ordained to the priesthood in April 1900. Immediately after, Father Gregory went to Paris to study the old masters in the Louvre, then to Rome. In Italy he spent four years with the monks of St. Ambrogio. Later he studied with different painters and art historians. He also learned the art of picture restoration. He had occasion to travel, and to study the Renaissance in Florence and Venice.

In 1901 the Abbot-General, Maurus Serafini, sent by pope Leo XIII on a mission to the Holy Land, chose Father Gerrer as his traveling companion. They visited Greece, Palestine, Jerusalem and Bethlehem. They were entertained by Arab sheiks. Later they saw Nineveh and the Pyramids in Egypt. The eager young monk avidly absorbed the knowledge and romance of these ancient lands. He was already starting to collect treasured artifacts from resurrected cities, sea shells from hallowed coasts, Greek figurines, cuneiform tablets, etc.

Back in Italy, Father Gregory received permission from the Abbot-General to paint a portrait of the new Pope, Pius X. His Holiness gave him several sittings for the 7½ foot portrait, now at St. Gregory's, which was completed in March, 1904, and exhibited at the St. Louis World Fair. The replica that hangs in the Vatican was painted later in Guthrie. The fame of the pope's portrait brought Father Gregory a number of commissions to paint portraits in the United States.

Next, Father Gregory was sent to the Bahamas to illustrate the work of another Benedictine, Father Chrysostomus Shreiner of Nassau. Father Chrysostomus was making an historical study of the islands. Together the priests tried to retrace the steps of Columbus in and around the islands and to locate the real San Salvador. Father Gregory brought back from this journey many sketches and paintings, a travel diary, and innumerable specimens of minerals and marine life.

On his return Father Gregory was appointed assistant to the pastor of the church of St. Benedict in Shawnee. At the rectory a place, though inadequate, was provided for his growing collection. He was allowed to have a private studio where he painted portraits and gave art instruction. Though most of his tme was taken by his religious duties, he managed to paint many portraits and to decorate several churches. He was an inspiring teacher of art and has a long list of pupils who worship him.

In 1916 I called a meeting of artists of the state to organize the Association of Oklahoma Artists; Father Gregory was elected as first president. In 1917 the University of Notre Dame acquired a large collection of European paintings. To expertise them and to restore them the services of Father Gregory were obtained. Thus he became affiliated with Notre Dame and remained for many years its director of Art, in charge of installation and preservation of paintings in the gallery. There he taught art for 12 summers until he retired in 1929. The University of Notre Dame conferred upon him the Degree of Doctor-of-Law in 1918. That same year Father Gregory went to Eastern Canada for a vacation that he spent painting.

The original Sacred Heart Abbey had been destroyed by fire in 1907 while Father Gregory was abroad. In 1915 it was rebuilt as St. Gregory at the present site, just outside Shawnee. In 1919 Father Gregory moved his treasures from the Shawnee studio to the College building. He spent several winters in Cleveland, New York, Chicago and Washington. After his retirement he made two more trips to Europe, including, England, France, Belgium, Algiers and Morocco, and one trip to Mexico and Spain. A tireless worker, he painted during his lifetime 79 portraits, 120 landscapes from all the lands he had seen, and from the United States; also 11 religious paintings and 14 still lifes.

Father Gregory died in St. Anthony's hospital in Oklahoma City, August 24, 1946.

He was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and had been named to the Oklahoma "Hall of Fame" in 1931. He often came to our house in Norman; we learned to respect his scholarship and to love him as a friend.

Nan Sheets wrote of him in *The Daily Oklahoman*, "Father Gregory was a lover of nature and was never happier than when

sitting on the bank of some stream trying to reproduce the beauty of nature as he saw it. He was tolerant of the present-day painter's viewpoint, but he could never understand why it was necessary to resort to distortion or to select the ugly side of life as subject matter for painting or sculpture. He was a friend of any artist whether amateur or professional."

His favorite saying was "Let everybody paint as he feels and then you'll have real painting".

Elbridge Ayer Burbank

Elbridge Ayer Burbank, born in Illinois in 1858, died in California in 1949. A portrait painter, he was interested in primitive types and, for many years, selected almost exclusively negroes as subjects. His uncle Edward B. Ayer encouraged him to paint Indians, in fact commissioned him to do so, and thus started Burbank on his brilliant life work.

Burbank traveled all over the United States west of the Mississippi. He visited 125 tribes, from the Palouses of Washington State to the Apaches and Hopis of Arizona, including Sioux, Cheyennes, Utes, Zunis, etc. He painted all their chiefs and other interesting characters. He also left interesting accounts of his tours and his sitters.

He came to Ft. Sill, Oklahoma in 1898, to paint the fierce Apache chief, Geronimo, who was a prisoner there. Geronimo had to be assured that Burbank was a "chief" before he would agree to be painted. Figuring that the portrait might be worth $5.00 he demanded $2.50 as his posing fee. This amused the artist very much and he proceeded, although he found his model a poor one as he could not sit still. Geronimo, on his part, discovered that posing was a difficult and trying occupation, but he stuck to it manfully; he was so pleased with his portraits that he signed them (that's all the writing he ever learned to do).

Some years later, when the artist returned to Ft. Sill, the Apache was glad to see him and welcomed him in such English as he had picked up in the meantime. He had acquired a taste for civilization, had begun to use tables, chairs, dishes, etc. He had also acquired a sweet tooth and was fond of apple pie. No wonder therefore that he demanded twice as much as formerly in sitting fee. Burbank painted several portraits of him. These later paintings verify the artist's comment that the old warrior's face showed much less cruelty than previously. Geronimo had aged and was saddened by the death of several of his children. Burbank liked him and remarked that the Indian was very gentle to his family and kind and generous to his tribesmen.[1] (This is the same impression I had of Geronimo, gathered

[1] *Burbank and the Indians* as told by Ernest Royce, edited by Frank J. Taylor (Caxton Printers, 1944).

"Gi-aum-e How-o-me-tah," Kiowa. Painted at Fort Sill, 1899, by E. A. Burbank.

from several conversations with the old raider. He gave me his photograph.—O.B.J.)

On this second stay at Ft. Sill Burbank painted a number of Kiowas, among them the artist Hawgone. Another Kiowa sitter was Gi-aum-e Hon-o-me-tah, handsome daughter of a chief. Her portrait makes a very interesting and beautiful study. "Black Coyote" an Arapaho chief, is striking in a portrait where he is shown with a proud but sad expression, and the scars of seventy wounds. For he was painted shortly after the death of several children, when, to appease the gods, the warrior had prayed and fasted. In a dream he had heard a voice telling him to cut seventy pieces of flesh from his body if he wanted to save the lives of his remaining children; he had done so.

"Straight Crazy" was another Arapaho painted by Burbank. He wears a War Dance costume and his face is yellow, as his personal yellow magic was supposed to render him immune to arrows. Other Oklahoma sitters were several Cheyennes, among them "Red Woman Squaw," "Chief Chief Killer," and "Weasel Tail." In addition to his oil paintings, Burbank has produced a large number of crayon and red chalk portraits of Indians.

Burbank's health was precarious for a number of years, and he lived a long time in retirement in California. He copied for the Huntington Library, San Marino, 945 of his crayon drawings, the originals of which are in the Newberry Library in Chicago, (1,250 are in Chicago). They had been purchased by Cl. Ayer who presented them to the Library, together with some of the oil portraits of Indians painted by his nephew.

It is fortunate that this collection, instead of being scattered, is kept in one unit. As the years pass it will become more and more precious for its historical and ethnological accuracy, and the fact that nearly every prominent Indian and chief, alive during the period between 1895 and 1910, is represented. Besides this historical value, the works of Burbank are artistically noticeable for vigorous handling, good characterization, clear coloring and excellent likeness. They possess a forthright honesty somewhat akin to that of Thomas Eakins of Philadelphia. With the passing of the artist, his work will, as is so often the case, acquire greater prestige and probably monetary value.

EARLY DAYS IN MEERS

*By Iva Williams Allen**

I have been asked to tell the story of early days at Meers. I do not feel that I am capable of writing history, but I shall write some of the memories I cherish of the life I knew there; of the friends I knew and loved who have gone, some of them to the Land from which no traveler returns, others to far places, and I know them no more.

In the summer of 1901, thousands of people came into the Comanche-Kiowa-Wichita Reservation in Oklahoma Territory, seeking homes. "Uncle Sam" was giving away land, and we hoped to be among those who were fortunate in getting 160 acres each, of that free land. Of course, there was not enough land for everybody who asked for it.

Many of the strangers bought lots in the new towns of Lawton, Hobart, Anadarko and made their homes there. Of the disappointed ones, some drifted to the Wichita Mountains, lured by the tales of valuable minerals believed to be hidden in those rocks.

On August 5, 1901, George W. Horne and family camped by the big spring just north of Mt. Sheridan. The William McDaniel family were already living in a little cabin there and the spring soon became known as the McDaniel Spring, and I believe it still bears that name. These were probably the first two families in what later became Meers Mining Camp.

The historian would tell of the rapid increase in the number of people who gathered there; of the excitement of all, when one would get a promising return on a piece of ore sent to some assayer, and we did get encouraging reports from different assayers; and people worked and hoped. Moneyed men from other places came, looked around and were convinced and invested money to keep the work going. Of course, when, two or three years later, the United States Government sent a geologist, a Mr. Bain, to search out the land, and he reported "no worth-while minerals in the Wichitas," hopes were blasted and people drifted away. And yet, who knows but that the time may come when mineral, in paying quantities will be found there, and those early assayers will be justified.

The historian would tell of the Minnie Lee Mining Prospect where S. P. Iles, backed by Kansas City men, went deep into the

* Iva Williams Allen here gives her memories of the old mining camp of Meers north of the Wichita Mountains, in Comanche County, Oklahoma. She was married to W. O. Allen in 1906. They reared their family and continued to live at Meers until 1917. Their four living children are Flora (Mrs. Floyd Stone, Meers), Margaret (Mrs. Roy W. Endsley, Blythe, California); and two sons in California, Hugh Allen of Stockton and Bill Allen of Hawthorne.—Ed.

earth near Meers; how they installed machinery and continued digging for gold; he would tell how the Indian Agent and Indian Police came from Anadarko at a time when Mr. Iles was away, and announced their intention of destroying the machinery because the land belonged to an Indian, and they said no man had the right to mine there. He would tell how the miners met them, guns in hands, and told them the machinery should not be destroyed; they said there were courts where the rights of the Indians and the miners could be determined. The Agent had the good judgment to go away, leaving the machinery intact and no blood was shed. There was the Mary Jane prospect where W. O. Allen and Iowa friends, kept a crew of men digging day and night, until they too, were well down in the earth; he would tell of the deep hole where Dr. Salem Hardin's company hoped to find wealth, and many others some of them very promising.

My memories of the history of mining operations are dim. I knew little of mining laws and of miners' rights. I remember much more clearly, the social life of Meers, the friends I knew, the kindnesses shown to me and the fun we had.

When Sam Remer put in a small smelter at his prospect, all the men of the camp were so excited, but I remember more clearly the incident when he sent little Sam, his son, on a burro to borrow some cyanide potassium from a neighbor. Now cyanide is a deadly poison, and, as little Sam was returning home, the cyanide in a sack hanging from the saddle horn, a shower came up. The rain washed the poison down on the donkey's shoulder, and to ease the burn, the animal gnawed it, and dropped dead. Little Sam was left by the roadside with saddle, bridle, sack of wet cyanide, and a dead donkey.

During the latter part of 1901 and into 1902, many people came into the Wichitas and camped at the foot of "Baby Sheridan" inside the Forest Reservation. The Camp continued to grow, until late in 1902 when the U. S. Government ordered them out of the Reservation. A few families had camped between Medicine Creek and Blue "Jimmie" Creek, and late in 1902 the families moved from the foot of "Baby Sheridan" and camped at that place, south of Medicine Creek, though there was no bridge there at that time. While in the Reservation, A. L. Kirk and Ed Compton had put up little stores and had sold groceries. After moving, Mr. Kirk continued to keep a store, and a post office was established there and given the name of Meers. Up to that time, we had no post office other than Mt. Scott, several miles away. Henry Thurmand's teenaged son, Ira, carried the mail from Mt. Scott Post Office on a burro, making the trip twice a week. Mrs. Anna Kirk became the postmistress at Meers.

After my invalid mother died at Marlow, my father, J. Moore Williams, my sister, Tessie and I came to the Wichitas in May, 1902.

We pitched our tent in the area between the two creeks. My sister Mrs. G. W. Horne and family, Carl Rosson's family, the Henry Thurman's and the Garrett Thurman's families were already camped there at that time.

We had lots of rain that spring, and on one occasion, Father went to Marlow, expecting to return shortly; the rains came so strong, the creeks rose so high, he could not get back, and we could not get back, for we could not cross the creeks. We five families ran low on groceries; we borrowed from each other until we were all lacking necessary things. As soon as the creeks ran down a little, George Horne said he would go to the store. Sisters, Ida, Tessie and I had been kept inside by the rain for such a long time, we also wanted to get out. With George and Ida on the wagon seat, Tessie and I in chairs, and a tub in the wagon to bring the groceries in, we went to the store, and then to Mt. Scott for the mail. We crossed the Creeks five times that afternoon, and at each crossing the water ran into the wagon bed from two to seven inches. That was joy-riding in 1902.

There were many wild animals in the hills at that early date, mountain lions, bears, and others. There was a scope of prairie southeast of Mt. Sheridan where now is the beautiful cedar grove, and scrub trees nearer the mountains. Often there were horses staked out on that prairie. One day a man came, driving a mare, with a young colt following. In the evening there was a commotion among the horses and several men ran out, only to see a lion carrying the colt away as a cat carries a rat. Before anyone could bring a gun, the lion disappeared into the timber toward Roosevelt Mountain.

We often saw coyotes, and once I saw a big wolf. Garrett Thurman had trapped him and then brought him home as he wanted to train his young hounds. The dogs killed him. Many people gathered to watch the fight.

The three Teague brothers went hunting one night. They found two wild kittens. When they caught the kittens they also had the mother cat on their hands, and she was not easily turned loose. The three boys brought home the three wild cats alive. Later they sold them to a saloon keeper at Lawton, and pioneers of Lawton remember seeing them in the windows of the saloon.

And there were the "Biff Bulgers." Once a gullible stranger was asking the local boys about the country, and what animals were around. They named several, and then Lynn Baker said, "And the 'Biff Bulgers.' " The stranger asked, "What is a Biff Bulger?" He had never heard of that animal! Lynn told him it was a medium-sized animal. "He has two short legs on the left side, and two long ones on the right side. Always he walks with the short legs on the higher side of the path. He has a flat tail with which he throws rocks—his only method of defense!" The people of Meers

Sunday School at Meers, Oklahoma Territory, on Easter Sunday, 1903.
Meeting in the home of J. Moore Williams.

had many a hearty laugh over Lynn's fabulous animal and for long afterward when anyone heard a far-fetched story, it was called "just a Biff Bulger."

July 4, 1902, we had a picnic near the foot of "Baby Sheridan." A brush arbor had been erected there and politicians were there to make patriotic speeches, and to talk on any subject that interested the people. At that time people all over the United States were becoming interested in Labor Unions, therefore the speakers spoke long and earnestly on that subject. People knew that in the cities Labor was organized but little interest had been manifested in the rural districts. Some of the speakers were quite eloquent and could hold the interest of the listeners with their oratory.

A beef, or maybe two, had been barbecued, and at noon we spread our tablecloths on the ground and put out our bread, pies, cakes, salads, and pickles and with generous helpings of the barbecue, we really feasted. After noon there was a baseball game played by the camp boys; there were races for fat men, the greased pig race, where the boy who caught and held the pig was given the animal and ran, or stumbled along toward a given goal, the winner to receive a small prize. There was a platform where there was dancing to music funished by local fiddlers. Some of the boys rode bucking bronchos for the entertainment of those who enjoyed that form of sport.

Comanche County was so new, there were no school houses, no churches, but we felt the need of a Sunday School. So in that month of July there was another arbor built. It was about half-way between the two camps, just south of Medicine Creek, and a Sunday School was organized. G. W. Horne was elected superintendent, and Miss Maud Robins was chosen secretary. I do not remember any other officers nor who were the teachers, except that I taught the boys and girls of the early teen-age.

In August, the Comanche County Sunday School Association held their first convention and picnic at the foot of "Baby Sheridan." Comanche County was a large county that time, and Sunday School workers came from every part of it. Scores of people came in wagons and buggies bringing camping outfits prepared to stay the entire time of about three days. Mornings there was a Sunrise prayer meeting on top of "Baby Sheridan," when earnest men and women met to seek God's blessings on the activities of the day, and to enjoy the glorious sunrise. Later in the mornings was given over to picnicing and climbing mountains, fishing and hiking. Afternoons were devoted to Sunday School matters and nights we had song service and sermons. There was an organ there, and we had some good singers. We heard some inspiring sermons and learned how other people were meeting the problems that faced us in trying to carry on a Sunday School in this new land. After the last sermon

had been given, the last discussions finished on Sunday night, all the congregation formed a circle holding hands, and we sang "Blest Be the Tie that Binds." We said goodby to our new friends, some of whom are our friends yet, and we parted feeling that we had attended one of the most inspiring meetings we had ever known. We carried on our Sunday School with renewed courage and ideas, realizing that many others were meeting the same conditions that we were facing.

I believe that a Mr. Fuell, Lawton, was president of the Association and that Mr. Stubblefield was secretary. I do not remember the name of the woman who played the organ, nor the names of the preachers who spoke to us. In the summers of 1903 and 1904 the Sunday School convention was also held at that place, and were very inspiring.

Meers had a newspaper, the *Mt. Sheridan Miner,* Frank Davis, editor, that began publication in October 1903. It was a weekly, but during the Sunday School convention of 1904, Mr. Davis printed a daily edition for free distribution among the visitors. The *Daily* was discontinued after the convention was over. The *Weekly* was published for some time.

Mr. F. A. Brown, a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher from Marlow, held a series of meetings under the brush arbor that summer, and organized a church of that denomination, the first church at Meers, and the only one for some time. In October, the weather became too bad for us to continue meeting under their arbor and the Sunday School was moved into our house where we continued to meet for the next seven months.

Uncle Donnell Stockton was pastor of the newly organized church, and he preached once a month at our house. Every Sunday afternoon or night there would be singing at our place. We had many impromptu gatherings and parties there. At Christmas time we had a Christmas tree. We then had a room, that was 16 feet square and a lean-to of about 10 by 16 feet, as well as a tent. In the larger room, we had two beds, dresser, organ, sewing machine, heating stove, book case and stand table. In the smaller room we had a full size bed, a cot, a stand which was made of the stump of a tree, left standing, and the room built around it—a heating stove and a trunk. We cooked and ate in the tent, and we often had boarders and roomers. On Christmas Eve we took the beds out of the larger room and put them outside, placed the bedding in the tent. When we wanted to put the beds up after the people were gone they had been rained upon and were covered with ice. The beds were made on the floor that night.

After taking out everything in the room that we could dispose of, we put the organ in the corner and leaving barely enough room for the singers we set the tree in front of it. The rest of the room

was filled with planks laid on blocks of wood, for seats, and they were all filled. All standing space in both rooms was taken up. We had a short program and the gifts were distributed. Everybody got fruit and candy and the children some other gifts. There was no drinking, no rude conduct, nor misbehavior, and we know that even in crude, crowded quarters people can celebrate the birth of the Christ Child and can associate happily together.

At Easter time we also had a nice little program. We had a picture made that day, and we can count fifty-five men, women and children who were present at that time.

In 1902, Mrs. Bruss and Mrs. McKnight came out from Lawton and organized Women's Christian Temperance Union which we carried on in regular meetings for two or three years. We also gave frequent parties that the young people of Meers might have good, clean entertainment. There were so very many boys in the camp who lived alone or shared living with other boys and they needed some place to go evenings.

The first wedding at Meers was in August, 1902. Isaac Hodge and Josie Walker were married at Carl Rosson's tent. Mrs. Rosson was a sister of the bride. Many of the campers attended the wedding and Mrs. Rosson served refreshments to the guests. Ike had a tent furnished and waiting to receive his bride. Mr. and Mrs. Hodge lived together for many years. They had four children. Ike died at some place in Texas I believe.

In 1903 or 1904, there was another wedding when Ida Keck became the bride of Tom Thurman. They were married at the home of the bride's father, Wilson Keck. Most of the people in the camp were there. That night we serenaded the newly-weds and then it turned into a "chivari" and the boys called for a treat. Tom answered that he had not prepared anything for a treat, but said he was going to Lawton the next day and would bring out something. He did bring the treat, and that night a large number of the camp boys got drunk on Tom's whiskey. That was the only time, I believe, when Meers had a "big drunk."

In the summer or fall of 1902, a school house was built in our district, but it was so far from our camp that we continued to hold the Sunday School and other meetings in our house, and in May, 1903, the camp bought a big tent and put it across the ravine from our house and Sunday School and church services were held there. We had the only organ in the camp, and after the Sunday School was moved from our house, the boys of the camp would come over on Sunday morning and, leaving the high top of the old parlor organ at home, they carried it across the ravine to help out with the music.

The new school house (Gordon school, located where Meers cemetery is now) was finished in time for school the winter of

1902-03. Mrs. Kirk was the teacher. The next year Mrs. Edwards, wife of Dr. Edwards, taught. The school house stood several years, and after it was burned a new house was built nearer to Meers. Mrs. Kirk's son, Lynn, taught the first term in the new building. That old school house is still standing but is used only as a community meeting place.

The first death at Meers occurred in June, 1903. I forget the name of the woman who died very suddenly one morning. Meers had no cemetery and after consultation, the husband and other men of the camp decided to bury her on a hill near Meers (N.E. ¼ of Sec. 33, 4 N. and 13 W.). This was public building land, and belonged to the State. A request was made to the State that a small plat of that land be given to Meers for a cemetery. The request was refused, and later land was secured just east of Gordon school house, but not until another grave was made beside the first one. It was made for a tiny baby, infant of Mr. and Mrs. Thurman.

Possibly the first birth in Meers was the son of Mr. and Mrs. George L. Orr. They gave him the name of Robert. He was born in September, 1903.

We had a study club in Meers, "The Pure English Club," and we attempted to improve our language. I was named president of the group. Some of the other members were Lura Decker, later Mrs. William Partain, Lindsay, now deceased; Wallace Stockton, now of Oklahoma City; Dr. and Mrs. F. A. Starbuck, W. O. Allen. The club meant much to some of us.

After we had the big tent, we organized a Literary Society. Almost everyone in the camp, as well as many of the farmer families around there attended the Saturday night meetings, and both old and young took part in making the programs interesting. We had songs, readings, question box with answers, debates, discussions, of many topics of interest to the people of that day. We had a paper filled with interesting bits of news, and many jokes. We had many visitors from Lawton and other places, and any time a visitor came, we of the program committee would invite them to contribute to our program, explaining that as we were such strangers, we did not know who might give us something. We got pleasant responses in many instances.

The Literary Society of Cache became our friends, and we exchanged visits. We have one very unhappy memory of the Cache peoples' visit. They came one night and they brought along a cake to be eaten as they went home. They carefully concealed it in the wagon, so no dog could get at it, nor anybody else except prowlers. Well, the cake was stolen, much to our humiliation. Our people had an idea who were the guilty boys, and although they had no way of proving their convictions, they most emphatically gave those boys to understand that no such thing must ever happen again;

that the good name of Meers as an honest, law-abiding camp must, and would be, upheld. They apologized to the Cache people, and so ended the affair, but it really ended such things, too.

In 1903 and 1904, times were hard among the people of Meers, and there came to be quite a bit of pilfering in the homes. It got so we could not leave our tents but some small theft would occur. Usually groceries were taken. Finally there was a mass meeting and the men of the camp agreed that if, at any time, some thief should leave a clue they would follow it up, and would prosecute him. One night we returned to our tent to see that someone had poured flour from our can into a small square box, and had let the flour spill over, had lifted the box, leaving the print plainly on the floor. The next day, twelve or more men came, saw the imprint of the box on our floor, then followed the traces of flour that had fallen from the box, until they came to the door of a certain man's tent. A little later the man was charged with petty larceny and brought to trial. He was not convicted but that ended that touble in the camp.

Some years later when we began to grow nice gardens along the highways in that country, people on vacation got to stealing corn, tomatoes and melons from our gardens. Again a mass meeting, and a request for a peace office in our district. Hebert Hodge[1] became constable, and when people knew that they were in real danger of arrest, they desisted. One night several hens were taken from our henhouse and six or eight from Mrs. Kirks. My father, Mr. Kirk, and G. W. Horne followed them. They came on to the boys who started to run each carrying hens. George Horne was not County Judge at that time, accustomed to sitting in an office all day, but was an active young man and he came so near the boys they dropped the six hens they were carrying. He stopped and picked up the newly-killed hens. Mrs. Kirk recognized them as hers, but there were no deep freezers where she could keep them, so she, the Hornes, and our family each had two fat hens. The men then went near to the home of the boys whom George thought he had recognized, and waited. Long after midnight, those two boys came along. Accosted, the boys said they had been hunting. George told them that he could not swear that he had seen them earlier that evening but if any more chickens were stolen in the neighborhood in the near future, he would swear that he had followed two boys who were dressed as they were dressed until they had dropped the hens they carried. That ended that trouble for some time.

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[1] The following notes are on some of the people mentioned in this recollection: Herbert Hodge and his wife, Della, moved to Norman, Oklahoma where they still reside. Mr. Hodge was elected and served as County Judge of Cleveland County. G. W. Horne moved to Lawton where he was elected County Judge of Comanche County, serving in this office until his death. Mrs. Anna Kirk has lived in Rush Springs, Oklahoma, since the death of Mr. Kirk. Mrs. Albert (Tessie) Decker lives in Tucson, Arizona, and Mr. Wallace Stockton lives in Oklahoma City.

One evening Mr. McDaniel, who lived at the foot of Mt. Sheridan, heard a cry for "Help" from the top of the Mountain. Of course the camp was near the mountain, and we knew that many people climbed it and there was always a possibility of falls, of snake bites, or other accidents. Mr. Teague and W. O. Allen climbed the mountain that night. It was dark, and the wind blew too hard to keep lanterns alight. We had no flashlights in those days, so they cached their lanterns and ascended in the darkness. They reached the top and called. No answer. They passed along the entire length of the mountain, and to "Baby Sheridan," but could find no one. The next day some of the boys from Meers visited the camp of some strangers who were vacationing in the mountains and they laughingly told of the fun they had on the mountain the preceding evening. They said they had called for help, and they wondered if anybody had gone up the mountain so late to help them. The local boys told that the people of Meers were willing to help anybody who needed their help, day or night, but that they did not appreciate having their men risk their lives by climbing the mountain in the dark to give fun for the boys. The visiting boys took the hint and left.

In the days of Camp Meers, we did not have access to a grocery store where we could buy fresh vegetables at any time during the winter as we now have, and when spring came we were so glad to get fresh, new greens, peas, beans, and other fresh vegetables. Before the gardens came on wild greens could be found along the creeks and in the woods, so we women had great times, and lots of fun on our expeditions of gathering wild greens. There were many kinds of them: dandelion, lambs quarter, poke-weed, sour dock, wild lettuce and others. Oh, yes, we knew which weeds to gather, and we and our families appreciated them, too. We also had other foods that are not used in these days. The wild pie-melon makes a good pie when other fruits are scarce. There was a tree that grew near Meers, the leaves of which made a tea that was a good substitute for green tea that we sometimes bought at the store. I have forgotten the name of the tree, and do not know it at all now. Fifty years is a long time to remember such things.

In 1904 Mrs. G. W. Horne bought a croquet set for her own family. She told the boys of the camp that if they would make a ground ready, everybody might use the set. All that year and the next the young people had croquet parties and lots of fun. Several players became almost unbeatable at the game.

I think it was 1904 or possibly 1905 when the bridge was built across Medicine Creek at Meers. Oh, how glad we were to have it! For so long we had forded the creek, and in the rainy season we often could not cross it for days at a time.

In 1905 when the terrible tornado nearly destroyed the town of Snyder, some of our people went there and helped those stricken

people in every way they could, with money and with services. Several articles that were carried by the wind from that area were dropped at Meers.

In 1908, a tornado struck Meers. Mrs. Decker's house fell, and other houses southeast of there but I do not think any lives were lost. A terrible hail storm accompanied the tornado, decidedly the worst hail storm I have ever known. The hail killed orchard trees, and even many forest trees. Gardens and all crops were beaten to the ground. Mr. Gordon had eight head of cattle killed by lightning.

I have never seen so many beautiful wild flowers any place as were blooming around Meers in 1902-04. Through the ages the flowers had bloomed in profusion unmolested by people, just as animals and reptiles had lived there, and raised their young protecting them only from other animals and reptiles their natural enemies.

I have not mentioned the other businesses that were established at Meers, but there were several stores besides the Kirk grocery. Mr. Compton did not carry on after the camp was moved away from the Reservation, but Mr. Teague and Mr. Bryan kept groceries. Mr. Frank Davis and Dr. Starbuck had a drug store. Mr. Tom Goss and his sister, Miss Tennie, later had a stock of groceries in the building that had housed the drug store. There was a cafe, although we usually called all eating houses "restaurants," as the word "cafe" had not yet come into general usage. There was a confectionary where we could get ice cream and cold drinks.

One night four angry bulls met in the large camp for cattle were running free all through the country at that time. The bulls bellowed and pawed until almost everybody was out watching, lest the angry animals fighting would wreck the place and injure people. John Liverett finally came out of his tent armed with his six-shooter, and after a few shots into the air and considerable yelling, drove the animals away. We could still hear them for sometime, bellowing as they went off to the east.

There were few bridges in Comanche County, even up to 1907, and the mountain roads were rough. Although we had become accustomed to seeing automobiles on the streets of Lawton, it was in the summer of that year that we first saw a car out in our own community. And even then, these first courageous motorists who dared attempt that trip out into the wilds, usually had more or less trouble. Sometimes the water was deeper in the creeks than they had thought, or they had failed to take along extra gasoline, and there was no place where gasoline could be bought, except from some man who might happen to have a few gallons for his own use. One evening three men came to our door asking for gasoline. We had a little but it had been used for some cleaning purposes.

It looked clear and, as it was their only chance, they put it into their car. For three hours they sat by our lamp "cleaning and fixing" things. About midnight they did drive it away, but I later heard they called some Lawton man to take them into town about daylight.

I think it was in 1909 or a little later, that a telephone line was run out to Meers. It was a party line, and we could talk to most of our neighbors without bothering "Central." Miss Maud Robins was telephone girl at a way station at Dr. Hardin's house. I believe the line came out from Cache.

The Kiowa Indians were living around Meers, and the Comanches were not too far away. It was only 20 or 25 years since these Indians had surrendered and were at peace with the United States Government. Many then living had been on the warpath and on horse stealing raids. Quanah Parker, Hunting Horse, I-See-O, generally known as Tah-Bone-Mah or Tarbone, and others were living, and were interested in whatever affected the lives of their people.

Geronimo and his Apaches had been at Fort Sill only about seven years. They were prisoners of war and they lived at Apache village a short distance northwest of the Fort. They were not given freedom until after Geronimo's death in 1909.

The first Kiowa Indian that was ordained to preach in the Methodist church preached at the Mt. Scott Mission, and we sometimes attended the services there. He preached in the Kiowa language and a young Indian interpreted his sermon, so we could follow it. There was a Baptist Mission at Saddle Mountain, but I do not remember that I ever went there. Few Indians of the region had learned the English language well enough to carry on a conversation, and they had not yet become adapted to white people's ways, so we had little in common with them.

I happened to be at Rainy Mountain at the time a white man accidentally shot and killed Poor Bear's wife. There had been some misunderstanding and discontent on the part of the Kiowas before the accidental killing of the Indian woman. Poor Bear's daughter had married a young Kiowa in tribal ceremonies, and the U. S. Government would not recognize the validity of the marriage, causing resentment among the tribe.

Another time, the Indians had gathered at Rainy Mountain at the appointed hour to receive their government issue, but for some reason there was a delay of several days. The Indians, out of money and low on supplies, had to purchase their meager supplies from Mr. Bok, the licensed Indian trader at Rainy Mountain. The Indians claimed they were compelled to pay much more for their food and goods from Bok, than at Hobart, Carnegie, or other surrounding towns. Trading at the store was done on the "Red Card" system, whereby an Indian might purchase articles without cash but the

amount of the purchases were marked on his "Red Card" and he must pay off such obligations before receiving his annuity payment. Many times the amount of money due on the "Red Card" was almost as great as the amount due the Indian.

Anyway, it was unfortunate that the victim of the accidental shooting, should be the wife of an Indian already embroiled in a disagreement with the whites. It was stated that the accident happened when a man was removing his gun from his wagon, and it discharged, the bullet going through a tent, and killing Poor Bear's wife. The incident provoked a great deal of excitement, and dire threats were made by the Indians against the whites, but saner heads prevailed, and no blood was shed. After a few hours, quiet reigned, and white people no longer feared.

Meers was a prospecting camp, and mining towns are always supposed to be places of drinking, carousing, and wild parties, but I do not believe that anyone can truthfully say that Meers was in that class during the years of her greatest activity and interest in mining, 1901-1905. There were men there who drank but they seldom drank to excess or staged a wild party at Meers.

Through all the months when my father's house was a public meeting house, everyone showed the most respectful attitude. We enjoyed their company and they seemed to enjoy our hospitality. Everyone was made welcome and the most of the people of Meers did, at some time, come to the services or to the parties. At the Sunday services and at the Literary Society as well as at other meetings the behavior was good.

Meers was a camp of common folks. Some had education, some could barely write their own name. Some were fine characters such as can be found at any place; some were men and women of lower standards but on the whole I think Meers was a respectable place, and we who lived there can be proud to remember its friendly spirit.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AMONG THE OSAGE

By Velma Nieberding

"When the United States and Osages made peace, the United States gave the chiefs of the Osages a medal of silver, on one side the two hands shaken, with these precious words Peace and Friendship; And on the other the likeness of the President with a pipe of peace, and the hatchet crossed with a five foot gold chain and not a link to be broken. Was the great covenant made by our Old People kept unbroken?"[1]

The difficulties accompanying the establishment of St. Louis School at Pawhuska, Indian Territory, in 1887, and the establishment of St. John's Mission School near Grayhorse, Indian Territory, in 1888, are better understood when studied against a background of early Catholicity among the Osage.

From the year 1763, when Father Marquette, reporting on his explorations of the Mississippi River, located this tribe on the south bank of the Missouri River, the record of close friendship existing between the Osage and the "Black Gowns" is unmistakable.

The first official visit made to the Osage was that of Lieutenant Claude Charles Du Tissennet (frequently written Du Tisné) who, in the Spring of 1719, went up the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage River.[2] From this time it is possible to trace the predominant French-Catholic influence in the history of the tribe. French traders came to the Osage seeking their friehdship; they entered Osage homes, adopted Osage customs, married Osage women. The name *Osage* is a French phonetic reproduction of the Indian name *Wa-zha 'Zhe.*[3]

In 1723, after a Spanish expedition had trespassed within the limits of French Louisiana, a fortification was constructed on the Missouri River. This was Fort Orleans, built in Carroll county Missouri, and apparently evacuated in 1728.[4] During the brief existence of the Fort, the Chaplain, Father Jean Baptist Mercier, a Quebec seminary missionary, visited the Osage villages and made a good impression on the Indians.[5] For, although no extensive missionary activity is indicated for the next several years, the Osage were the first of the western tribes after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, to apply for Catholic missionaries. The tradition of the earlier Jesuit workers in the Mississippi persisted far into the nineteenth century. Father Van Quickenborne relates that he and his men after their arrival at Florissant, Missouri, met

[1] W. P. Mathes, "A Voice from the Indian Territory" in *The Kansas City Catholic*, 1890.

[2] Anna Lewis, *Along The Arkansas* (Dallas, 1932).

[3] Very Rev. Urban de Hasque, Historian, Diocese of Oklahoma.

[4] Anna Lewis, *op. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*

St. Mary's Mission, 1887, at Pawhuska. This school was locally called the "Convent."

Indians who had known these predecessors of theirs in the western field.[6]

In 1820, a delegation of Osage from Western Missouri journeyed to St. Louis, by order of the Indian Agent, William Clark. They requested Bishop Dubourg as "Chief of the Blackrobes" to send priests among them to teach them the white man's religion and the way to heaven. The delegation was led by Sans Nerf, principal chief of the nation, who told Bishop Dubourg that although Protestant Missioners had settled among them, they were not content with them because they were not the French Black Robes as they had thought at first.[7] The Bishop received the Indians cordially and promised to visit them. He had intended to go to the Osage villages himself in company with Father Felix De Andreis. Father De Andreis died however, before the trip could be arranged.[8]

In his place was sent Father Charles de La Croix, a Belgian priest, whose name was thus made immortal as the founder of the Osage missions. Father de La Croix made two visits to the Osage, the first in July, 1821, the second a few months later. During this time he baptized forty of their number. His second visit brought him into what is now southeastern Kansas.[9] On this second visit he suffered constantly from fever, and was forced to relinquish his work because of his health.

Father Felix van Quickenborne, another Belgian priest, was next sent to the Osage. Providentially for the Indians, Bishop Dubourg had induced a group of Jesuits, priests and scholastics, to establish themselves on lands at Florissant, Missouri in 1823. It was 1827, however, before missionary work could be undertaken. In this year,

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[6] Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), p. 177.

[7] Rev. John B. Ebel, "Osage Sought Black Robe in St. Louis," *The Denver Register*, May 2, 1954.

They (the Osage) came in full dress; their copper colored bodies were coated with grease, their faces and arms were striped in different colors, white lead, vermillion, verdigris, and other colors formed a great variety of furrows all starting at the nose. Their hair was arranged in tufts. Bracelets, ear rings, rings in their noses and lips completed their head dress. Their shoes were made of buckskin which they ornamented with different designs in feathers of various colors. Hanging from their robes are little pieces of tin shaped like small pipes. These are to them the most beautiful ornaments. Their great object is to make a noise when they walk or dance. Their heads are ornamented with a sort of crown in which are mixed up birds' heads, bears' claws and little stags' horns. A woolen robe hung over their shoulders covers nearly all the rest of the body; again to this robe are fastened the tails of different animals, etc. Such is the attire in which the Chiefs of the Osages paid respects to the Bishop of Louisiana. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.* (St. Louis, 1928) The quotation is from a letter written by Father Eugene Michaud.

[8] Rev. John E. Ebel, *op. cit.*

[9] The Rev. John M. Moeder, *Early Catholicity in Kansas and History of the Diocese of Wichita* (1937). See also, T. H. Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921).

Father van Quickenborne visited the Osage village near the present town of Papinville. There he found the Mass vestments left by Father de La Croix five years before, carefully guarded by the Indians.[10] He visited again the Osages on the Neosho in 1829 and 1830 and held services in Salina and at the Chouteau Trading Post in present Oklahoma.[11]

Osage history in the eighteen-thirties parallels that of the Civilized Tribes, in that it is not pleasant to read. With Indian removal legalized by Congress in 1830, the Osage began to feel that inexorable push westward. Their poverty became acute as they found their efforts to obtain subsistence from land always considered their own, cramped by the presence of other tribes. Despite sincere efforts of missionaries at this time, the Government's policy of Indian removal hampered attempts to civilize them. Being pushed out of established communities to the frontier kept them in a constantly unsettled condition. To add to their suffering they were brought into contact with that portion of the white population which had the least respect for their rights.[12]

In 1836, Father DeSmet, the gifted Jesuit priest, writer, explorer, visited the Osages. According to a historical sketch published in *The Osage Magazine,* Pawhuska, in 1909, (George E. Tinker and C. J. Phillips, Editors) the priest baptized many Osages among them, Jane Conway. Several years later he performed the marriage ceremony of "aunt Jane Conway," to Mr. Tinker, father of the present Tinker family of Osage."

The Government seemed content to let the Osage remain as the "wild, predatory tribe" described by Commissioners' reports. It continually discouraged the various applications to erect missions and schools among these Indians. On March 26, 1838, the Protestant Episcopal Church expressed the willingness of the Society to establish schools among the Osage, Kansas and Delaware and "to become the disbursing agent of the Government in expenditure of the whole or a considerable part of the income of the education fund."[13] The writer was informed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that such a project would be inexpedient because the tribe had given no indication of making permanent settlements and owing to their impoverished condition were wholly engrossed in the struggle to procure a subsistence.[14]

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[10] Father Van Quickenborne is sometimes called "Father of the Osage" because of far-sighted plans he drew up for the systematic civilization of the Indians. Although the plan he proposed was unrealized, his other accomplishments were numerous, one of which was to establish, in 1828, the college which was chartered as St. Louis University on Dec. 28, 1832.—Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, "Beacon on the Plains" (Leavenworth, Kan., 1939).

[11] W. W. Graves, *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission,* (St. Paul, Kan., 1916), p. 164.

[12] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

[13] School File C596, Indian Office Files, (Washington, D. C.), Carder to Harris.

[14] Indian Office Letter Book, 24:144. C. A. Harris to J. D. Carder, May 4, 1838 (photostatic copies in files of author).

Between 1838 and 1843, the Osage were visited by Jesuit Missionaries from the Pottawatomi Mission at Sugar Creek in Linn County, Kansas. The Osage, seeing the progress of the Pottawatomi under the leadership of Father Christian Hoecken petitioned the government for a school to be established by Catholic missionaries "and no others." The years between 1843 and the establishment of Osage Mission in 1847, are marked with correspondence, petitions, councils and unsatisfactory negotiations as the Osage pleaded for Catholic missionaries.[15]

In 1845, Major Harvey entered into a contract with Father J. Van De Velde, vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Missouri, who agreed that the Jesuits would take charge of a school among the Osage, the Government to furnish the buildings (log cabins) and pay the Jesuits $55 per year for each pupil attending the school. The present site of St. Paul, Kansas was selected for the school and on April 29, 1847, Father John Schoenmakers, destined to become the "Blackrobed Chief of the Mission," later called "Apostle of the Osages" left St. Louis to live and work among the Osage tribe.[16]

The impact of the Jesuit missionaries upon the Osage tribe has not been generally known nor understood. The story of Osage Mission opening in 1847, and serving the Osage until they were removed to Indian Territory in 1870, is a dramatic record of a handful of courageous Religious attempting the education of a restless, warlike tribe, beset with its own temporal problems of adjusting to a new way of life in a limited territory. The Osage mind had, for centuries, associated God only with material forms in the elements. They believed the air to be full of Indian spirits. They practiced polygamy. Horse-stealing was considered an honorable sport and work was degrading. Not only must they be taught that heathen customs must be exchanged for Christian if the Osage were to live in the White man's world. They must be shown that they could learn to work and that they could live without the hunt.

Father Schoenmakers seems to have possessed those qualities most needed for dealing with Indians. "There was nothing dynamic about the man," writes Sister Fitzgerald,[17] "nor was he unusually gifted. But the Osage and the descendants of Kansas pioneers have cherished his memory in a manner not granted to more talented men." To the Indians, their version of his name (Shouminka) became synonymous with priest.

Father Schoenmakers deplored the horse stealing, the excessive drinking, the polygamous marriages, the superstitious worship rites of the tribe. But he went about his teaching patiently, methodically, knowing that a religion not fully comprehended could only cause

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15 W. W. Graves, *op. cit.*
16 *Ibid.*
17 Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*

confusion. His great influence over the Osages, says Graves, was gained by his kindness and by the diplomacy with which he conducted all of its relations with them. The new school opened unpretentiously in 1847 with thirteen Osage boys. Four Sisters of Loretto, Kentucky, came to teach the girls.[18] Father Schoenmakers had as his co-worker, Father John Bax. He was joined by Father Paul Ponziglione in 1851.[19]

The problems of the Mission during the years of the Civil War were excruciating. Father Schoenmakers, intensely loyal to the Union, is credited with keeping the greater part of the Osage loyal to the North. It was said of him that he preached with the American flag in one hand and the crucifix in the other.[20]

The Civil War had scarcely ended when the people of Kansas began to look with covetous eyes toward Osage lands. A great cry went up, "Drive the Indians out of Kansas." It was inspired by the same spirit that drove the Cherokees out of Georgia.[21]

The old Chiefs of the Osage were saved from the Sturgis Treaty of 1865, by the intervention of Father Schoenmakers although his role was necessarily in the background. Under the terms of this treaty (called also the Drum Creek Treaty) one-sixth of the entire area of Kansas or more than eight million acres would have passed to an eastern railroad corporation for the sum of twenty cents an acre! During the negotiations of the treaty, Father Schoenmakers stood firm in his role of protector of the Indians, insisting that they deal only with the Government and that the land was to be sold for the benefit of White settlers and not to any Corporation. The Indians gave this decision to the Commissioner, who urged them to re-consider the matter.

There followed a page of history indicative of the treatment of all Indians when a land-grab was in process. Father Schoenmakers was offered a section of land by the railroad interests if he would influence the Osage in its favor. Four barrels of whiskey had been brought into the Osage country as a further inducement for the Indians to sign. Finally it was reported that an Osage had

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[18] W. W. Graves, *Father Schoenmakers, S. J. Apostle to the Osage* (The Commercial Publishers, Parsons, Kan., 1928).

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] "If the Osages remained loyal to the Union after their Agent, A. K. Dorn, had gone over to the Confederacy and after the emissaries from the five civilized tribes residing just south of them in the Indian Territory were daily coming among them with flattering offers from the southern officers, the influences that were most effective among the Osages must be attributed to their fatihful friends and advisers under the leadership of Father Schoenmakers at the Mission."—W W. Graves *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[21] "Shoot the half-breed renegade and I will pardon you before the smoke gets away from your gun" was the advice of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford to Theodore Reynolds when informed of the trouble Reynolds was having with Augustus Captain over a claim. George E. Tinker and C. J. Phillip, "The Osage," in *The Osage Magazine.* Files of W. W. Graves.)

killed a white man near Winfield, and the chiefs were advised that unless the murderer was delivered up they would forfeit the titles to their land.[22]

Then they were told that the Governor would call out the militia to drive them off their lands or to kill them. Thus, they were tricked into signing the treaty in favor of the railroad company.

Incensed state officials belatedly realized that if the treaty were ratified that Kansas would be deprived of 444,160 acres of school land and that about eight million acres of the best agriculture and grazing lands of the state would pass into the hands of an eastern railroad corporation and finally that no provision had been made in the treaty to protect settlers already cultivating lands on the Diminished Reserve, nor those living on Osage Trust lands.

Sidney Clarke, Congressional representative of the southeastern district of Kansas, carried the fight to the House of Representatives and his intervention together with petitions of other citizens, eventually forced the Senate to reject the treaty.[23]

On July 15, 1870, Congress approved an act which provided that the Osage then located in Kansas would sell the Diminished Reserve to the United States for $1.25 an acre and that from the proceeds the government would purchase land for a reservation in the Indian Territory. The Act also provided that all money left above the cost of the new reservation (purchased at fifty cents an acre) would be placed in the United States Treasury to the credit of the Osage Indians to be paid to them, with interest, as annuities as the Government might direct.

This Treaty, known as the Treaty of 1865, further provided that:

> Article 8: The Osage Indians being anxious that a school should be established in their new home at their request, it is agreed and provided that Father John Schoenmakers may select one section of land within their diminished reservation and upon the approval of such selection by the Secretary of the Interior, such section of land shall be set apart to the said Schoenmakers and his successors upon condition that the same shall be used, improved, and occupied for the support and education of the children of said Indians during the occupancy of said reservation by said Tribe.[24]

The ratification of this treaty eventually made the Osage one of the fabuously rich tribes of the world for under its provisions they removed to Indian Territory. But they lost their great friend and benefactor for he was not allowed to accompany them. Although the treaty expressly provided that "we retain our Catholic priests

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[22] Graves, *Schoenmakers,*

[23] *Ibid.* See also, Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*

[24] "Treaty of 1865" printed copy in possession of author. Kapler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II, pp. 673-76.

to live with us and give us their honest advice," events were happening in the Government which were destined to cause the Osages many years of unhappiness and discontent.

In President Grant's first annual message to the Senate and House of Representatives in 1869, was presented his famous "Peace Policy":[25]

"I have attempted a new policy toward those wards of the nation (they cannot be regarded in any other light than as wards), with fair results so far as tried and which I hope will be attended ultimately with great success. The Society of Friends is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. They are also known for their opposition to all strife, violence and war and are generally noted for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations of Indians to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the Society itself. The result has proven most satisfactory. It will be found more fully set forth in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

History shows that the "Peace Policy" removed thousands of Indians from Catholic influence to Protestant control under the plan to give the agencies to "such religious denominations as had previously established themselves among the Indians." As the plan worked out, only Quakers were appointed as Superintendents of Indian agencies during the fourteen years the policy remained in effect. Of the seventy-two Indian agencies in 1870, Catholic missionaries had been the first to establish themselves in *thirty-eight*. Despite this fact only eight were assigned to the Catholic Church and none of these were in Indian Territory. Furthermore, no Catholic Agents were sent to the Territory during Grant's administration, and exceptionally few during subsequent years.[26]

The Osage, pinning their faith on the treaty clause that they retain their Catholic priests and teachers, were removed to Indian Territory, confident that Father Schoenmakers would accompany them. Instead, they were placed under the jurisdiction of a Quaker Superintendent who was bitterly anti-Catholic in feeling, practices and expression. The next seventeen years are a record of constant intercession on the part of the Osage for Catholic missionaries and a constant suppression of the practice of their professed religion by Government agents.[27]

Isaac Gibson was made agent of the Osages in 1869, and accompanied the tribe from Kansas. The first agency was at Silver

[25] *Messages and Papers of Presidents*, First Annual Message of President Grant to the Senate and House of Representatives (Washington D. C., Dec. 6, 1869).

[26] Very Rev. Urban de Hasque, *Early Catholic History of Oklahoma. Cap.* 14 "The Catholic Osages under the ndian Peace Policy" (*The Southwest Courier*, 1928).

[27] *Ibid.* Reports of Agents in Indian Territory, 1875, *Osage File*, reveal the hostility of the Agent, Isaac Gibson to Catholic missionaries.

Lake near the present city of Bartlesville. When a new survey was made it was discovered that the agency was in the Cherokee Nation. It was moved to Pawhuska in 1872.[28]

Although the Jesuits from Osage Mission made occasional visits to the Osage, these were discouraged by the Agent to the extent that they were threatened with forcible ejection from the reservation. The priest (said the Agent) disturbed the regulations of the (government) school and caused too much excitement, in the camps. The Indians ran after him to have their children baptized; all of them wanted to go to Confession and to attend Mass. They even insisted on the priest going to the cemetery to bless the graves of their dead.[29]

To protect the rights of Catholic Indians and to correct false and partisan information sent to the Department of Indian Affairs, it was agreed that the Catholic Bishops of the United States should have a civil agent at Washington to represent them before the Government. On January 2, 1874, General Charles Ewing was formally appointed Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions.[30]

Ten months after his appointment, Ewing in a printed communication to the Secretary of the Interior called attention to the numerous, unanswered petitions of the Great and Little Osage that their former Catholic missionaries and school teachers be restored to them.

In June 1873, the petitioners had again addressed the President of the United States, reminding him that the Treaty of 1865 had been signed with the provision that "we retain our Catholic Priests to live with us, to teach our children and to give us honest advice." They recalled to his attention the clause on education contained in the same treaty: "Said Osage Treaty of 1865 provided besides the original Education Fund of $3,565, an addition of $4,000 annually for the sole purpose of board, tuition, and clothing for our children."

Nothing came of the petition. On March 31, 1874, a delegation of twelve Osages went to Washington and presented their grievances in person. Petitions and counter-petitions were filed until the Chiefs of the Nation asked for the removal of Agent Gibson. An investigation by Generals Blair and Ewing followed and the Agent was temporarily relieved of his duties at the agency.[31]

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[28] The city was named for Pa-Hu-Ska, fourth Chief of the Great and Little Osage tribes. He was the last of the White Hair dynasty of Osage Chiefs. He died near Osage Mission, Kansas in 1869. For an account of this Chief's conversion to Christianity by Father Schoemakers, see Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[29] De Hasque, *op. cit.*

[30] Rev. Peter J. Rahill (St. Louis University) *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy*, 1870-1884, (Catholic University Press, Washington, D. C., 1953) presents in detail how religious liberty was denied to the Indians by a Government ruling under Grant's Peace Policy. Particularly cited are operations among the Sioux.

[31] Fitzgerald, op. cit. p. 247. The Osage File (1875) contains evidence taken during this investigation.

Meanwhile an event destined to have an important bearing on Osage history occurred in the Church. The Rt. Reverend Isidore Robot, of the Benedictine Order, was given jurisdiction over the whole of the Indian Territory by Bishop Fitzgerald of the diocese of Little Rock. Father Robot arrived at Atoka on October 12, 1875, and began his duties as a missionary to the Indians. Nine months later the Indian Territory was separated from the diocese of Little Rock and erected into a Prefecture Apostolic. Pope Pius IX at the same time appointed Father Robot its first Prefect Apostolic.[32]

From his personal observations and studies of events with reference to missionary activity on the Osage Reservation, Father Robot was convinced that the majority of the tribe were Catholics; that their Chiefs were most anxious to have Catholic missionaries; that the Indian "Peace Policy" of President Grant, in its application to the Osages was preventing the realization of these desires.[33]

In Order to implement the Peace Policy in what was considered the most effective manner, President Grant had provided that only one denomination should be tolerated on a reservation in order to prevent strife and bickering. Catholic missionaries had encountered opposition not only among the Osage but among other tribes when they dared cross the boundaries of a reservation to look after the Catholic Indians. In the year 1877, however, the barrier was removed and Catholic missionaries were allowed to enter all Reservations.[34] That the barrier had not been removed on the Osage Reservation was due to local prejudice, sustained and tolerated by Government officials in Washington.

In July, 1876, Father Robot made his first trip to the Osage nation where, during a ten days' stay, he visited the Indians and discussed with them the possibility of founding a mission Church and school. His plans were presented to the Indian Agent, who gave him little encouragement.[35]

In January, 1887, Father Felix de Grasse, a Benedictine, left Sacred Heart Mission for a visit to the Osage, having been instructed to ascertain further the possibilities for establishing a mission among them.[36] He spent the first Sunday among the mixed-bloods of Bird Creek and the next day directed his steps toward the capital of the Osages:[37]

> An Indian who spoke English fluently preceded us on horseback. On the way we met a full-blood arrayed in all the glory of the Sons of the Prairie. A stately fellow with a good countenance as Washington Irving

[32] De Hasque, *op. cit.*
[33] *Ibid*
[34] *The Indian Sentinel,* 1907 Annual p.21.
[35] De Hasque, *op. cit.*
[36] Letter of Jan. 4, 1889, to the Tr. Father Stephan Abbot of La Pierre Qui-Vire by Felix de Grasse, published in *The Indian Advocate,* 1890.
[37] *Ibid.*

would have put it. His dress consisted of leggins, moccasins, a shirt of gaudy color and a red blanket. His hair was cropped close except a bristling ridge on top like the crest of a helmet, with a long scalp-lock hanging behind. His prominent cheeks and his temples were tattoed with vermillion and deep blue; bracelets, ear-rings and beads completed his attire.

Our guide stopped the Indian to tell him who I was. You would have been moved to tears if you had seen the eagerness with which this poor native came forward and grasped my hand, uttering these cordial words with which the Indians who do not know any English always greet us: "Howe Wahkonta Tapouksa? Howe Shouminka?" (How do you do Father. How are you, Father Shoemaker?) Every since Father Schoenmakers was their apostle in Kansas for thirty long years, the Osages have saluted every priest with name of their great benefactor, which they pronounce "Shouminka".

We arrived a little before nightfall at Pawhuska, the capital of the Osages. It is a village composed of about forty houses, of which a few are fine stone buildings, as the government school, the Indian Agent's residence and that of his clerks, also the Capitol where the Indians assemble to discuss the affairs of their tribe.

Father Felix celebrated Mass the next day in the large hall of the capitol building and since the Osage had assembled at Pawhuska to receive their annual payment, a considerable number attended. Among these was their principal Chief, Ni-ka-ke-pa-nah. After Mass the priest made known to the Indians the object of his presence among them. The letter continues:

Scarcely had I finished speaking when Ni-ka-ke-pa-nah came forward majestically draping his stately form in the folds of a long, red blanket, trimmed with colored fringes with the dignity of the 'gens Togata' of the ancient Roman patricians, to inform me through the interpreter that his people had been very happy under the direction of the Catholic priest in Kansas. The Osages had lost much, he declared, by coming into the Indian Territory. They had agreed to sign the treaty with the United States and to sell their lands in Kansas on the express condition that the Catholic priest should accompany them to their new reservation. For the past twenty years they have been deceived in their dearest hopes, obliged to live at the mercy of Protestant sects who are determined to rule everything. They have sent petitions unceasingly to Washington in order to obtain justice and satisfaction but up to that time all their efforts have been in vain. Ni-ka-ke-pa-nah concluded his harangue by saying how happy he was to see, at last, a Catholic priest.

On January 19, 1887, the Osage National Council petitioned the Right Reverend Ignatius, Sacred Heart Mission, Indian Territory, as follows:[38]

We, the Osage Council, do appeal to your honor for your kind assistance in trying to establish on our Reservation a Manual Laboring and Training Catholic School and for us in this place, Pawhuska, a suitable place to worship, as well as to furnish us priests and Sisters whom we can work with and encourage us in our good work. We have been neglected for over

[38] The petition was signed by Ni-ka-pa-nah, Principal Chief, and by Charles Choteau, President of Council and Anthony Dell'over, (Des Laurier) Acting Secretary.

twenty years and have been frequented by other religious denominations contrary to our wishes and religion and can assure you our desire is with the Catholic Church.

The petition was signed by Ni-ka-pa-nah, Principal Chief, and by Charles Choteau, President of Council and Anthony Dell'oiver (Des Laurier), Acting-Secretary.

Father Felix de Grasse took up residence in the hotel conducted by Mose and Clemy Plomondon and there awaited developments. During the months of March and April, he was visited by the Rt. Rev. Ignatius Jean, the Superior of Sacred Heart Mission, and by Rt. Rev. Fathers Stephan and Willard, directors of the Catholic Indian Bureau of Washington. A small house had been secured, promise of financial assistance to build a school had been received, and an appeal had been sent out for Sisters to staff a school. A petition had been addressed to the Osage Council to obtain the grant of 160 acres of land in a central location for the establishment of an Industrial School.[39]

The response to all of these appeals was encouraging. The Osage Council had unanimously agreed to grant land for the school; the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, were to send teaching Sisters, and the generous benefactress of the Indians. Miss Katharine Drexel, had promised financial aid to the school.[40] Scarcely had contracts been signed for the erection of a school when the priest was enjoined by the Agent from erecting any kind of a building in Pawhuska intended for school purposes.[41]

Father Felix, knowing that the way had been cleared in Washington for a mission school among the Osage, was not prepared for opposition on the local level. The unexpected blow made him ill. "I remained in bed for several days with a burning fever, brought on perhaps by my worries." As soon as he felt able to explain the situation in writing, he asked Father Stephan at Washington to lay the problem before the Indian Commissioner. The petition of the Catholic Indian Bureau to D. C. Akins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, brought forth a letter to the Agent, C. I. Potter, that settled definitely the question of a Catholic school. Wrote the Commissioner:[42]

I have to inform you that after full consideration of this case, I have decided that the religious choice of the Osage Indians will be respected

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Later Mother Katherine Drexel. In 1981 she founded a Congregation of Religious belief called "The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People" and thus dedicated herself and her vast fortune to these two races. The Convent of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament is located at Cornwalls Heights, Penn. The mission at Pawhuska was the first Indian mission school sbe built.

[41] Sister Ursula Thomas, Ph.D., "The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier," unpublished manuscript for Doctoral Degree to St. Louis University, Graduate School, 1937.

[42] *Ibid.*

by this office. If, through their Council, they express a preference for the Catholic or any other religious denomination, the representatives of this denomination must be given every facility to prosecute their missionary and educational work. In doing this I am not expressing an individual preference or attempting in any way to establish or force a particular religion upon these people but am recognizing their right to choose their own religion, and am endeavoring to simply give them the facilities to worship God in the way which to them seems best.

The new mission, St. Louis Industrial School, was opened October 10, 1887, in a most humble and unpretentious way. Four Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, were in charge of the school. When the Sisters reached Pawhuska they found their convent only partly constructed. Mrs. Patrick Rogers, a full-blood Osage, whose husband was a native of Ireland, kindly offered them hospitality which was gratefully accepted.[43]

"By the end of October," wrote Father Felix, "by the side of a little house bought and turned into a convent for five or six nuns, we could look upon a two-story building fifteen feet wide by twenty-two feet long."[44] This was the new St. Louis School. The buildings consisted of a house for two priests, a boarding school for 75 students and a convent for the Sisters. One of the school rooms was used for divine services on Sundays.

Father Felix De Grasse and Father Savinian Louismet were the missionaries for the Osages at that time. They were very poor. The altar in the chapel was made up of a door laid over the head of flour barrels while nail kegs with boards stretched across, served as benches. The Sisters had purchased furniture for the new convent as they passed through Chicago enroute to Indian Territory, since nothing of the kind could be bought on the reservation. But freight was slow in transit and for a time they were reduced to using a soap box for a dining board and their table service which was of tin, consisted of four cups and four plates. They had no knives, forks nor spoons. Three bricks served for a stove and an old lard can found on the grounds was scoured and converted into a coffee pot.

On November 15, the Sisters received forty-five young Indian girls, twenty as boarders and twenty-five as day scholars. By the end of January, 1888, the boarders had increased to forty, twenty of which were by Government contract. By June, 1888, the number of girls in the school had increased to eighty.

The Osage, the next year obtained a contract for fifty pupils for St. Louis School, and passed a law in Council that every child of school age was compelled to attend school for eight months of the year. Loss of annuity payment was the failure to comply. The

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[43] "Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis," from the records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XL, No. 4, Dec. 1929. This society is hereafter referred to as *ACHS*.

[44] *Ibid.*

Indians displayed a great deal of interest in the school for which they had waited so long. "They come to see us daily and go all over the house, see what is to be seen, then go again," wrote a Sister. They were discontented however, because the new school was inadequate to accommodate all of the Indian children who wished to attend. Consequently a new petition was formulated asking for a larger school.[45] A larger building was purchased and the Sisters made preparation to take care of additional students. Improvements necessary on the new property were delayed because the Agent, Potter, stopped the work saying no orders had been received from the Indian Agent.[46]

On October 17, 1888, Mother de Sales was thanking Miss Drexel for a check for $400 and certain furnishing goods. "Instead of a passage from one house to the other I have found it necessary to building a little larger, to serve as a playroom on stormy days as the children have none."[47] A month later she wrote to Miss Drexel indicating that the improvements had been made and they were occupying the new department, with forty children in the old dormitory and forty in the new: "The children are well with the exception of one girl who has pneumonia. Their ulcers and other ailments are decreasing. There were several children I refused to take—we are unable to take care of more. All the beds are taken and our two schoolrooms will not give a single child another seat." She thanked Miss Drexel for a box of medicines and expressed the wish that she might visit the school and see some of the Indian dances and capers: "Every day at recreation they will take a shawl or other clothing and make a tent; then they all crush themselves tightly into it and begin to pray or sing. The only thing you can hear for an hour is 'Higha! Higha.' "[48]

On February 14, 1889, the school of St. Louis Mission burned to the ground. The fire, believed to have been of incendiary origin, was discovered at one o'clock in the morning. All of the Sisters and the seventy little Indian girls boarding at the school escaped unharmed. The buildings were a heap of ashes.[49] To show their appreciation of the good work done by the missionaries and Sisters, the Osages on the following day voted sixty thousand dollars to be appropriated from their tribal funds for the rebuilding of the mission. They set aside 160 acres of land for the same purpose. The appropriation of money was never approved in Washington.

The Osages through their Chiefs sent an expression of condolence on the burning of the St. Louis Mission. It was dated February 20,

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45 Thomas, "Dissertation," *op. cit.*

46 *Ibid.*

47 From the archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwalls Heights, Pa.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *The Kansas City Catholic* April 18, 1889 lauds the heroism of the Sisters insaving the children from the burning buildings.

1889 and signed by Cyprias Tayrien, President of the Council; Eu-tsa-tah-wah Tah in Ka, Principal Chief and Thomas Mosier, National Secretary.[50]

The outlook for the missionaries at this time was anything but cheerful. Rev. Father Felix had been transferred to Guthrie, leaving Father Savinian as Pastor at Pawhuska. Homeless, with a Community of Sisters without a Convent, they were discouraged from rebuilding by officials of the Government school.[51]

Monsignor Stephan of the Catholic Indian Bureau continued with his plans to rebuild the school. Mother Katharine Drexel furnished funds for its rebuilding and for a church. The school was of stone and much larger than the first school. The cost was $18,000.[52] There were forty-seven rooms surrounding an open court in the center of the building.[53]

An article on Osage Indians and St. Louis School[54] stated that the girls were taught all kinds of housework besides playing and singing, and added that some of the little girls began organ or piano lessons when only six or seven years old. Taking Easter Sunday for an example the *Chronicler* stated that for breakfast the children were served "ham, fried a delicious brown, and eggs, fresh from the little chicken house on the hill; jelly, sweet cakes, bread, butter and coffee."[55]

From 1889 to 1900, the difficulties of the Indians seem to have ceased and the new school progressed. The curriculum of St. Louis included besides the ordinary grade school branches, instruction in the domestic arts, sewing, dressmaking, baking, cooking, housekeeping and laundering. One Sister of St. Francis recalled her almost fruitless efforts with a sewing class in those early days. Her pupils insisted they did not have to sew as their mothers did the sewing. They were brimful of protest: "We don't wear patched clothes," or "We don't wear darned stockings!" were stock objections to learning the homely art of mending. At times they sought refuge from work in the protecting shelter of a convenient haystack.[56]

In 1915 the Sisters of St. Francis found it advisable to relinquish the direction of St. Louis School which was assumed by the Sisters

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[50] *The Indian Advocate*, April 1893

[51] W. P. Mathes, Executive Secretary of the Osage, in a letter to the *Kansas City Catholic*, June 10, 1889.

[52] "The Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis," ACHS, *op. cit.*

[53] Today a portion of U. S. Highway 60 crosses one corner of the 160 acres where the school is located and the Osage County line and Santa Fe railroad track crosses the center of the school.

[54] Archives of Sisters of Blessed Sacrament. *op. cit.*

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] "Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis," ACHS *op. cit.*

of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross.[57] The attendance for that year was listed as 80 boarding students with nine Sisters teaching.

In 1942, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, the Community founded by Mother Katharine Drexel in 1891, assumed charge of the school, succeeding the Sisters of Loretto. At this time the school was completely renovated so as to modernize it in every way. Improvements were made that brought the school up to the standard of efficiency required in the diocese. In addition to the elementary department the first year of high school was added and the Sisters planned to continue adding courses until a full high school course could be obtained.[58] The attendance this year (1942) was listed as 69 girls with nine Sisters teaching; Mother Pierre was the Superior and The Reverend William Huffer was Chaplain.

St. Louis School was closed in 1949. The Osage girls, now welcomed into local academies or in school anywhere in the United States by this time, were averse to attending a so-called 'Indian'' School.[59]

The highest attendance of the school was listed in 1926, when 123 Osage girls were enrolled. That year Mother Agnita was Superior and the Reverend Albert Negahnquet, a Pottawatomi priest, was Chaplain. Throughout its existence the school, according to diocesan records, retained a steady enrollment of boarding students, the average being forty.

The fortunes of the Osage changed as the Indian Territory grew into a state, and civilization transformed the wild prairie lands into farms and cities. The school had served its purpose. Osage children can now attend a parochial day school staffed by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

St. John's School for Osage Boys
1888-1913

The Osage seeing the progress of St. Louis School for girls desired a school for boys. The Sisters of St. Francis opened St. John's School near Hominy, on October 23, 1888. 160 acres of land for this school had been given by the Osage Council.[60]

The new school had been made financially possible through the efforts of Father Joseph Stephan of the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions and of Miss Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia. Sixteen boys, full-bloods, were received the first week. Later the number increased to twenty-six. There were three log cabins; the twenty-

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57 Chancery Records, Diocese of Oklahoma.
58 Archives of Sisters of Blessed Sacrament, *op. cit.*
59 *Ibid.*
60 "Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis" ACHS *op. cit.*

Sisters of St. Francis and pupils at St. John's Mission, 1901, at Gray Horse, Osage Nation.

six Indian boys were lodged in two of these; Father Savinian occupied one cabin. The teaching Sisters lived in the cottage.[61]

By October, 1888, the Very Reverend Ignatius Jean, Prefect Apostolic of the Indian Territory, stated that when the projected buildings for the new school were finished that the missionaries would have in their schools among the Osages alone, more than two hundred children.[62]

Ponca City, thirty-five miles distant from St. John's, was the nearest railroad station. The postoffice was fifteen miles away and once a week the Sisters' hired man drove this distance for the mail and provisions. The nearest neighbor lived seven miles from the school.

Hominy Creek supplied water for cooking, drinking and washing. In summer the creek ran dry and the Sisters were obliged to go two miles for drinking water. Finally a well was started and after digging and blasting for several months, water was found at a depth of eighty feet.

The small building had proved inadequate by 1891 because of increased enrollment. Father Stephan represented the needs of the school to Miss Katharine Drexel, who offered to defray the entire expense of a new building. The cornerstone of the new school was laid April 5, 1892, by Bishop Theophile Meerschaert, Vicar-Apostolic of Indian Territory (later first Bishop of Oklahoma).

The new four-story stone building was eighty by eighty-four feet, with an interior court thirty by forty feet, insuring maximum light. A Chaplain's cottage, a bakery, a blacksmith shop, a Sister's Convent and a cottage for the help made up the mission. Ten Sisters of St. Francis were in charge in 1892, and the Government gave a contract for fifty boys which was later increased to sixty-five at the request of the Indian Agent. The appropriation was to be taken from the Osage tribal funds but only on the condition that the Osage Council would approve. Chief James Bigheart was the first to sanction the appropriation and all the other Chiefs later followed his example.[63]

The Indian boys were very easily managed, the Sisters of St. Francis thought, although as a rule they were averse to mental or physical exertion. They liked music and easily learned to play the Band instruments. Nothing pleased them like hunting and fishing; they were good ball players and experts with the bow and arrow.[64]

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[61] *Ibid*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Chancery Records, Diocese of Oklahoma.

All the usual subjects of an Industrial School were taught at St. John's including a course in tailoring and baking. A man was hired to teach the boys to tend stock, milk cows, chop timber, etc.[65]

In January, 1889, Father Savinian was Chaplain at St. John's School and Father Thomas of Sacred Heart Mission was assisting Father Felix DeGasse at Pawhuska. Other priests serving the Osages were: Father G. T. Dugal (1891), Father D. I. Lanslots (1892), Father Willebrod Voogden (1894), Father Alfred Dupret (1895-98). During those years, these priests were also in charge of the Osages for very short periods or as substitutes or visitors: Father Paul M. Ponziglione, Jesuit; Father Ignatius Jean, Benedictine; Father Germanus, OSB; Father Hippolyte Topet, OSB; Father Placidus Dierick (Chaplain at St. John's School); Father Yserman and Father Edward Reynolds. Father Edward Van Waesberghe was appointed pastor of the parish of Pawhuska (which then included practically all of Osage County) in 1898 and remained until 1925. Priests serving St. John's School also included Father Andrew Poey, OSB (now at Belloc Abbey, France) Father Bernard Mutsaers and Father E. Van der Grinten.

St. John's School maintained a steady enrollment of around seventy boys until 1907, at which time the Brothers of the Christian Schools of St. Louis assumed its management.

St. John's School for Indian Boys was closed in 1913. At that time, Brother Mathew of the Brothers of Christian Schools was in charge. Ten Brothers were teaching in the school at the time of closing, and the attendance was listed as fifty boys.

Conclusion

Those Indians who sat in the Osage Council year after year petitioned for the right to worship God as they pleased and to educate their children in schools of their choice, are gone. Their children walk the White Man's road, as the old Chiefs dreamed they would.

This sketch of Catholicity among the Osage, the account of the establishment of St. Louis Mission School for girls at Pawhuska and of St. John's Mission School for boys near Hominy, is fully confirmed by official documentation and reports. Space does not permit a chronicling of the story in its entirety—the suppression of religious liberty among the Osages, the disappointments, opposition and suffering incurred by the missionaries. Nor does it permit accounts from official records of the growth of these two schools in the field of Christian and scientific education or their gradual decline after the mission school period.

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[65] *Ibid.*

Where Mission Schools were established in Territorial days—wherever and by whomsoever—they were a boon and a blessing to the Indian tibes. Their contribution to the civilization of the Indian cannot be ignored.

St. Louis and St. John's schools during their co-existence, served the Osages an aggregate of 86 years under the direction of some twelve different foreign priests (but all Americans by naturalization and spirit!), two of whom each year consecrated an aggregate of 172 active years to the welfare of the Osages. An average of 18 teachers (Religious Sisters and Brothers) each year added another total of fully 1,548 years of service in the slow, gradual, laborious progress of the Osages in general and of the mixed-blood in particular.

The Osage Nation through its Chiefs has paid many public tributes to the Church whose years of unselfish and loyal devotion helped to advance this tribe in intellectual culture, patriotism and Christian principles.

THE BEAN FAMILY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

It is claimed that the Bean family has been represented in America for two hundred and thirty-seven years.[1] When the pioneers, near the end of the eighteenth century, were crossing the mountains into the valley of the Watauga, Mrs. William Bean was captured by the Cherokees near Watauga and taken to their town. She was bound and placed upon the top of a mound to be burned, "when Nancy Ward, then exercising in the nation the functions of the 'beloved' or 'pretty woman,' interfered, and pronounced her pardon."[2] Ramsey, the historian of Tennessee, does not give his authority for this account, but he probably received his information from descendants of Mrs. Bean, who were living in Hawkins County as late as 1850:[3] "Those who had ventured fartherest into the wilderness with their families, was Capt. William Bean. He came from Pittsylvania county, Virginia, and settled early in 1769 on Boon's Creek, a tributary of the Watauga. . . . . His son Russell Bean, the first white child born in what is now Tennessee. . . . ."

The George Nidever manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California was written by E. T. Murray and signed by Nidever "in 1878 . . . . with his own quivering uncertain hand." The journey was made into New Mexico in 1831 and from San Fernando (Taos) he wrote: "Having arrived here our party separated, but 14 or 15 of the original company remained together." In a note Nidever said that forty-eight men had left in May, 1830, from just above Fort Smith:[4]

"Those who left us here, as far as I can remember were, Col. Bean who by this time was looked upon by all the company as the most insignificant among us. We had made a great mistake in choosing him for our leader, but the high estimation in which he was held by all, and his rank as Col. of the Militia led us to suppose him the best man.

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[1] Josiah H. Drummond (ed.), *Proceedings of the John Bean* (1660) *Association Haverhill, Massachusetts, August* 31, 1897, Portland, Maine.

[2] Cyrus Thomas, *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times,* (Washington, July, 1890), pp. 33, 34. The mound upon which Mrs. Bean was to be burned was on the supposed site of Chota.

[3] James Gattys McGregor Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee,* Kingsport, Tenn., 1926, 142, 94. Samuel Cole Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History,* Johnson City, Tennessee, 1937, pp. 337 (note 7), 338, 339, 367, 432-33. John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers,* Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938, pp. 1, 129, 192, 194, 201. James Sevier commented that the Bean brothers, William, Robert, John, Jesse, and Edmund were noted Indian fighters and gunsmen, and that they were always on hand for a campaign (*ibid.,* 201 note 25 Draper Mss., 30-S 140-180, James Sevier to L. C. Draper, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

[4] Blanche C. Grant, *One Hundred Years Ago in Old Taos,* (Taos, New Mexico, 1925), pp. 24, (note 1), 26.

"His brothers were well known to my family, my father having been with them in the early Indian wars. They owned the salt works on the Ark.[ansas] and were men of very good standing.

"William Bean also left us here with his father. He was a quiet sensible young man with none of his father's cowardice and was very much liked by all. They both returned to Arkansas with the first annual trading trains that left San Fernando. . . . ."

The Arkansas Gazette of November 2, 1831 announced from Van Buren in "News from the Trappers" that "Colonel Robert Bean got home yesterday. All the company are still trapping, except three, Nideavor, Christ and Judge Sanders, who are clean. Colonel Bean came by way of St. Louis and he is coming back shortly."

Mark Bean

Mark Bean arrived in Crawford County, Arkansas in 1818 and bought the salt kettles at the abandoned Campbell's salt works;[5] they were brought down Grand and Arkansas rivers, then up the Illinois and overland a mile or two and installed on a small stream, later called Salt Branch, on an old Indian trail. The stream flowed into the Illinois about a mile below.[5a]

Captain J. R. Bell who accompanied Major Stephen H. Long on his expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819 visited the salt works of Mark Bean on Illinois River. He reported that Bean had a neat farmhouse with a considerable stock of cattle, hogs, and poultry, and several acres of Indian corn.

He had built a good log house near the spring and a shed for the furnace; His salt kettles which he had bought from the owners of the abandoned Neosho works, had not been put in place. "On the side of a large well, which he had sunk to collect the salt water, and perhaps two feet from the surface of the soil, he pointed out

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[5] Grant Foreman, *Indians & Pioneers* (Norman, 1930), pp. 59, 60, 134, 152, 156, 167. From Riverton,Kansas August 29, 1950, Mrs. Beulah Blake wrote to Dr. Charles Evans, Oklahoma Historical Society, " . . . My grandfather, William Quesenberry . . . . spent most of his life on the Arkansas and Oklahoma line. His uncles had a salt mine on the Territory side. They were Mark and Richard Bean." According to Mrs. Blake Richard H. Bean was a son of Mark Bean. He attended school in Bardstown, Kentucky at the same time William Quesenberry although the latter was a junior when Bean entered the college. Bean was graduated from the Bardstown Law School and admitted to the bar. During his first case an opposing attorney called him a liar and Richard hit him over the head with a chair. That ended his law career and he became a farmer (Beulah Blake, Riverton, Kansas, March 23, 1946 to Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma). Grant Foreman, "The Three Forks," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol 2, No. 1, (March, 1924), p. 45.

[5a] Information from the Rev. H. D. Ragland, Sallisaw, Oklahoma, gives the location of Bean's Salt Works about 4 miles northeast of Gore, in Sequoyah County, on "Salt Branch," north side of State Highway to Tenkiller Lake, in SE¼, Sec. 21, T. 13 N., R. 21 E.—Ed.

the remains of a stratum of charcoal . . . . which was a certain proof that these springs had been formerly worked by the Indians.''[6]

''L'' Reuben Lewis wrote to the Secretary of War, from Cherokee Agency Arkansas on January 21, 1820:[7]

" . . . . There have been strong efforts made by citizens of the United States to settle the country lately acquired from the Osages on the Arkansas. I have endeavored to prevent it. . . . .

"There are on the Illinois River within the late purchase from the Osages three *valuable* Salines within 15 miles of its mouth. . . . . There is one Mark Bean making an establishment at one of them, and the Cherokee Chiefs I have been informed have granted those salines to some of these people very prematurely I think as the country has not yet been ceded to them."

Jacob Fowler kept a journal of his trip through ''Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico to the Sources of the Rio Grande del Norte in 1821-22.''

He and his party left Fort Smith on September 6, 1821. After crossing the Arkansas and the Illinois they ''Stoped for the night at Beens Salt Workes. . . . . Works one Small Well With a few kittles about 55 gallons of Watter make a bushil of Salt and the Well affords Watter to boil the kittles about three days in the Weake. Been and Sanders Has permission of the govem [government] to Worke the Salt Spring — The Sell and Salt at one dollar per Bushil.''[8]

When the Cherokee Final Rolls were finished in September, 1902, there were twenty-five persons of the name of Bean in the Nation. Twelve were females and thirteen males. There were two of the name of Mark Bean. One was fifty-nine years old and one-eighth Cherokee; the other was two years old and a quarter blood. Nancy J. Bean was a half blood. John M. Bean was forty-three years old and he was a one-sixteenth. Nannie E. Bean was registered next and her age was 38. She had three-eights Cherokee blood. Several children followed whose ages were from sixteen to three years of age.

Sanders and Bean had been licensed to operate salt works on Illinois river before the arrival of Colonel Arbuckle at Fort Smith in 1822 and he excepted them from his orders to remain outside the prescribed teritory. The site of these salt works is about seven miles north of the village of Gore, on a small stream called Salt Branch about two and one half miles above where it discharges in Illinois River.[9]

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[6] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp 40, 41, 48, 83.

[7] War Department Files, Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, "L" Reuben Lewis.

[8] *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, edited by Elliott Coues (New York, 1898), 1,2.

[9] Arbuckle to Secretary Calhoun Oct. 27, 1823, AGO, OFD 64 A. 23.

The Fourth of July, 1822, was celebrated in the grand manner at Batesville, Arkansas when "the whole county turned out and a grand jubilee was held. . . . . Among the men who responded to toasts were men that afterward added fame and honor to Arkansas. There was Richard Bean, one of the men from Tennessee whom Scholarcraft has named. . . . ."[10]

Among the first officers who served the County of Crawford, Arkansas was Mark Bean who succeeded Jack Mills who died in office. Bean held the position until 1825.

Mark Bean, who must have been a member of the Bean family that came from Tennessee and settled on Big Mulberry. In all probability he moved with others to Lovely Purchase or County, as mention is made of salt works at the residence of Mark Bean and his brother in Lovely county.[11]

Governor George Izard of Arkansas wrote from Little Rock to Mark Bean on August 7, 1825: "As the lease which you received from the executive of this territory, three years ago has expired and as it appears conformiable to the intention of Government that the salt works which you have established should be worked on terms and authorizes him to continue for twelve months without rental."[12]

From Crawford County, Territory of Arkansas, Mark Bean, Esquire made an affidavit as follows:[13]

"Mark Bean . . . . depose and say that he settled in the county that is now Crawford County Arkansas Territory in the year 1818 and in 1819 moved to what was called Lovely's purchase and engaged in making Salt until the Treaty with the Cherokees in 1828 and removed back to Crawford County in the fall of said year 1828—remained until 1832 when he removed to Washington Co."

During the Fifth Territorial Legislature of Arkansas which met in 1828 and the Sixth which was held in 1829, Mark Bean represented Crawford County in the house of representatives.

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[10] Josiah H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1908), p. 161.

[11] Clara B. Eno, *History of Crawford County, Arkansas* (Van Buren, n. d.) p 196. Before the Revolution William L. Lovely had lived for some time in the home of President James Madison. He became assistant to Colonel Return J. Meigs, the Cherokee agent in Tennessee, and was assigned to the Western Cherokees. He arrived there in July, 1813, and chose for his home a place which had been an old Osage settlement. Major Lovely made an agreement with the Osage for the Government to pay all claims against them for depredations and in exchange the Indians were to cede to the United States all the land lying between the Verdigris and the home of the Arkansas Cherokee and this tract became known as Lovely's Purchase.—(Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, (Norman, 1930) Note 35, p. 41).

[12] Office Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files, 1825. On September 16, 1825 Izard wrote to Colonel Thomas L. McKinney that the two principal salt works are those of two brothers named Bean.—*Indians and Pioneers*, p. 41.

[13] Office Indian Affairs. List of claims for Spoliation in Cherokee stock in 1828 & 29.

On November 11, 1828 the *Arkansas Gazette* announced the marriage of Mark Bean of Crawford County to Miss Hetty Stuart, daughter of the late Colonel Stuart of Lawrence County. The service was performed on November 2 by the Reverend Mr. Brookfield.

"Mr. Bean's lease of the Saline will expire it is believed in August next." This will fall in the Cherokee limits ceded to them—notify Bean that the lease cannot be renewed; he must abandon it and all improvements except iron pots & boilers "to the order of the Cherokees or their agent, for their use."[14]

On November 15, 1829, Mark and Richard Bean were reporting on their contracts, made throuh Colonel David Brearly, to furnish beef to the emigrating Creek Indians. Payment was made to M. & R. H. Bean, January 27, 1831 for the sum of $8,748.28. "Amount of requisitions drawn in the Indian Department between the first of January, and the thirtieth day of September, 1832."[15]

Mark Bean, in the Arkansas General Assembly in October, 1835, made a motion to the Legislative Council to build "a road from the upper county of Missouri south within the territory, and parrallel with the western boundary, to Van Buren and Fort Smith, and thence to Red River." Mark Bean was on the select committee to establish the Bank of Arkansas.[16]

On July 30, 1839, "the Community of the Cain [*sic*] Hill Independant regulors" sent the following communication to "George Bushyhead and through you to your principal Chief and head man John Ross":[17]

"State of Arkansas, Washington County.

"We the committy of the Cain Hill Independant regulators do in solemn Committy assembled, demand the person of Jack or John Nicholson for the following reasons.

"1st. On the night of the 15th of June last, the dwelling house of William C. Wright was burned to ashes, and Wright and four of his children were most inhumanly butchered and murdered, and one wounded and left for dead. . . . . we sentenced 3 to suffer death by hanging. . . . carried into execution . . . . the 29th Inst. and by the confession of John

[14] Office Indian Affairs, McKinney to Izard, May 26, 1828.

[15] Office Indian Affairs, *Report* of the Secretary of War, 1832. Document No. 2, 165.

[16] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), October 9, 1835, 2, col. 2. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1835, 1, col. 4; *ibid.*, October 27, 1835, 1, col. 6 Dec. 27, 1837 Journal of B. B. Cannon, Conductor of a party of Cherokees put in his charge by Genl. N. Smith on 13th day of October 1837. "Dec. 27th, 1837. Buried Alsey Timberlake, Daughter of Charles Timberlake, Marched at 8:00 A,M, halted at Mr. Beans, in the Cherokee nation West, at 1/2 past 2 o'c, P,M, encamped and issued corn and fodder, Fresh pork & some beef, 12 miles to day."

[17] Office Indian Affairs. Retired Classified Files. Cherokee File A 666. Mark Bean was one of a committee of thirty-six to investigate the murder of the William Wright family at Cane Hill (in the neighborhood of Boonsboro), June 15, 1839.—*History of Benton, Washington, Carroll Counties, Arkansas* (Chicago, 1889), p. 154.

Richmond. . . . . He says Jack or John Nicholson was one of the murderers. . . . . demand said Nicholson to be given up—

"Your very humble servants Andrew Buchanan Chairman of Committee Mark Bean Capt. Comdg. L. Evans Secretary."

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
July 9th 1857

Sir:

I have the honor to make the following report in the matter of Mark and Richard H. Bean, for whose relief an act was passed by Congress on the 3rd March last.

It is alleged by the Mefsrs. Bean, in their memorial to Congress, that being authorized, as they conceived, by the laws and policy of the Government, they settled in the year 1817 upon the Illinois river, a tributary of the Arkansas, near its confluence with the last named stream, having there discovered a Saline spring. That in the year 1819, they were induced by Major [William] Bradford, of the Army, Commanding at Fort Smith, to engage in the manufacture of salt for the use of the garrison, that they erected, at heavy cost, residences and other necessary buildings, expended large sums of money in procuring the various implements and fixtures, —relying with certainty upon a greatly augmented demand when the contiguous country should become settled and occupied by white people.

That they realized little or nothing until the year 1826, when they began to reap some reward for their labor, hardships and expenses. But by the treaty of May 6th 1828, with the Cherokees, they were despoiled of their property, in consequence of the whole county, embracing their salt factory and the entire land which they had located upon and reduced to agricultural cultivation, having been stricken off of the Territory of Arkansas and given to the aforesaid Indians.

By reference to the Cherokee treaty alluded to, it will be found that its third article is in these words,

"The United States agree to have the lines of the above cession run without delay; and to remove immediately after the running of the Eastern line from the Arkansas river to the Southwest corner of Missouri, all white persons from the West to the East of said line, and also all others, should there be any there, who may be unacceptable to the Cherokees, so that no obstacles arising out of the presence of a white population, or a population of any other sort, shall exist to annoy the Cherokees; and also to keep all such from the west of said line in future."

And it is further alleged in the memorial, that their houses, furnaces, fixtures and implements, not only for manufacturing, but farming purposes, are at the present day in the possession of the Cherokees, who are actually engaged in the manufacture of salt on said premises.

It appears from a copy of a lease, found on file in the General Land Office, dated the sixth of August 1822, that James Miller, then Governor of Arkansas, by virtue of authority vested in him by the Secretary of the Treasury, granted to Reuben Sanders, Mark and Richard H. Bean the exclusive privilege and profits of working the Illinois Saline, where they then resided, for three years, also the use of wood, timber &c, for carrying

on the work. It was represented by the Messers. Bean that they had purchased all interest of Sanders in the business, and obtained from him a deed of release, but that said deed was lost, with the other original papers by the Committee of Congress—none of which papers can be found, but Senator Johnson and Hon. Mr. [Alfred B.] Greenwood vouch for the accuracy of the printed copies now produced. As the Deed was not printed, it was necessary to write to Arkansas for evidence as to the rights of Sanders, and Mr. Greenwood in replying says that he was cognizant of the fact that Sanders had disposed of all his interest, but thought it best to send other evidence, That evidence consists of the deposition of Mrs. A. M. Moore a daughter of Sanders, who says that for some years previous to the date of the treaty of 1828, her father had no interest in the works, having sold out his interest to Mark and Richard H. Bean, and that he died in Santa Fe in 1830 or 31—and of the deposition of William M. Martin who says, that he was well acquainted with all the parties—that he frequently heard Sanders say he had sold his interest in the Salt Works to the Messers Bean, that he knows that he removed from the Salt works previous to 1826—and that Mark and Richard H. Bean were regarded by the whole community as sole owners of the works, at the time they were dispossessed. Martin also testifies to the fact of the Messers Bean, owning two farms with houses upon them separate and distinct from the Salines—that of Mark Bean being twenty miles distant, and that of Richard near the works—

Both of these witnesses are said to be persons of Character and veracity—

The evidence as to the value of the improvements and fixtures at the Sales is this;

William Quessenbury thinks that the losses of Mark and Richard H. Bean, in abandoning the works, could not have been less than $15,000 that he was an eye witness to what they had—and if other things were taken into consideration besides the actual loss of utensils, fixtures &c the amount would be much larger.

William McGarrah says he was a neighbour of these persons, when working the Salines, that they made from 35 to 40 bushels of salt per day, that it was worth $1. per bushel—that with their improvements they had to abandon, all utensils and fixtures, that the loss from the enforcement of the treaty, was not less than $12 or $15,000,

General M. Arbuckle says, the Messers Bean were making salt on the Illinois in the spring of 1822 — or 23, — that he understood they were permitted to do so by Major Bradford, and he knows that they were making salt there, when compelled to remove under the treaty.

Col. B.L.E. Bonneville of the Army, says he went to Fort Smith in 1822, that the Messers Bean were then at work, at what was called "Beans Salt Licks"—that they supplied the whole of the country adjacent with salt. That he regarded their possessions as a fortune. That he regarded their loss by the abandonment of their buildings, outhouses, furnaces, warehouses, and a five mile road to the falls, and a warehouse there, at not less than $15,000—That he does not think that they would have sold out for double that amount, considering the prospects in view from the filling up of the country, That they were considered men of the highest character, and their removal was regarded as destruction to them.

Col. D. S. Miles, of the Army, says he regards $15,000 as a moderate estimate of the loss. That the improvements consisted of a good double log house, negro quarters, and stables, two drying houses, and a large

salt house for deposits, with sheds over two rows of Kettles at two springs He estimates that there must have been one hundred Kettles which were transported at great expense in Keel boats over 600 miles, before Steam navigation was deemed practicable on the Arkansas.

The Act referred to as passed at the last session of Congress for the relief of the Messers Bean, on the 3rd of March, is "That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to adjust upon principles of equity and justice, the claim of Mark and Richard H. Bean, and to pay whatever may be found to be due, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, deducting what they may have heretofore received, Provided, That the compensation shall not exceed fifteen thousand dollars."

It has been found upon examination at the Genl. Land Office that two donation tracts, of 320 acres each, have been patented to the Messers Bean —the one to Mark on the 1st December 1830, and the other to Richard H. on the 5th of February 1846.—These tracts were granted under the laws of the 24th May, 1828, (Stat: at Large Vol. iv, 307. Chap. 108, Sec. 8th), which provides that two quarter sections of land should be given "to each head of a family, widow or single man over the age of twenty one years actually settled on that part of the Territory of Arkansas, which by the 1st Article between the United States and the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi, ratified the 23rd day of May 1828, has ceased to be a part of said territory, who shall remove from such settlement according to the provisions of that treaty," "as an indemnity for the improvements and losses of such settlers under the aforesaid treaty."

This act seems to be an admission upon the part of the Government of the principle, that all persons situated upon the lands, finally given to the Cherokees, should be indemnified,—and the donation claims granted in pursuance of that Act must be taken as complete indemnity, except where a special law has been passed as in this case.

These Acts having recognized the claim it is not your province, in my opinion, to go behind them to enquire whether the Messes Bean had originally an equitable just demand upon the Government but merely to settle, "upon principles of equity and justice" the amount of their loss, Congress having decided as it seems that they have demands the extent of which you are to decide. And although the original papers have been lost, some of which were not printed, I am the more inclined to this opinion, as three separate reports were made by the Congressional Committee expressly declaring that the claim should be allowed. And although the Act says that the amount allowed shall not exceed $15,000;— Yet it seems to have been the intention, from the comments upon the evidence adduced, that that is the amount which the Committees thought should be paid, deducting anything which might be found in the Executive departments which could justly be applied in the way of offset. Therefore the testimony having established that their improvements, implements, and fixtures were worth $15,000 and the reports of Committees, and the Act passed seeming to recognise that as the just Value—I presume that sum must be awarded them, deducting therefrom the sum of $800 which must be taken and considered as the value, at $1.25 per acre, of their donation claims. All the papers in the case are herewith submitted

Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt
J[ames] W Denver
Commissioner[18]

Hon. J[Acob] Thompson
Secretary of the Interior

[18] Office Indian Affairs. No file number.

The Commissioner states that he has made a settlement in the case of Messers. *M. and R. H. Bean* and asks attention to a misunderstanding of his opinion in the case:[19]

To Hon. J. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior.

Department of the Interior,
Office Indian Affairs.
July 22, 1857.

Sir: I have the honor to state . . . . that in compliance with your directions, and upon the principles contained in your award of the 13th instant, I have based a settlement of the claim of Messers. Mark and Richard H. Bean, for whose relief an act was passed by Congress on the 3rd of March last; and have found due to them the sum of $14200, which settlement I have transmitted to the proper accounting officer of the Treasury, for the purpose of having the sum paid. . . . . I said that Congress had settled the question, that they had a valid claim against the Government, consequently that, in my opinion, you were precluded from inquiring into the justice of its origin—but I never intended to be understood as saying, that you were bound to allow the sum of $15000; taking it for granted that Congress so intended, because it had fixed that as a limit beyond which you could not go. I moreover said that the evidence fully established the fact, that their losses amounted to at least $15000, and that I was fortfied in that opinion by the opinions of the several Congressional Committees who had reported in the matter. Very respectfully your Obt. svt. J. W. Denver, Commissioner.

During the Civil War, Miss Rachael Couch lived in what is now Alma, opposite Farris Grove, was a member of a party which went into Indian Territory, for salt which was greatly in demand and difficult to obtain. "Their destination must have been the Bean Salt Works on the Illinois."[20]

In the Probate Court of Washington County, Arkansas was found the will of Mark Bean dated April 4, 1855. The document which was probated January 22, 1860, stated that Bean willed to his children Richard H. Bean and Eliza Bean his Estate at death of his wife Nancy Bean. The executor was Richard H. Bean and the witnesses were Renkind and E. W. McClellan.

From Boonsboro', Arkansas, May 9, 1861 a committee of citizens addressed a letter to Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation:[21]

"Dear Sir: The momentous issues that now engross the attention of the American people cannot but have elicited your interest and attention, as well as ours. The unfortunate resort of an arbitrament of arms seems now to be the only alternative. Our State has, of necessity, to co-operate with her natural allies, the southern States. It is now only a question of north and south, and the 'hardest must fend off,' We expect manfully

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19 Office Indian Affairs. Retired Classified Files. G. B. July 24, 1857.

20 Clara B. Eno, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

21 *Report* Commissioner Indian Affairs (Washington, 1863), p. 232. According to the *Cherokee Advocate,* February 1, 1879 (3, col. 1) Professor Mark Bean had been appointed a teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary and he had had lots of experience. This man must have belonged to a younger generation. Grant Foreman, *Indian Pioneer History,* Vol. 82, p. 345 in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

to bear our part of the privations and sacrifices which the times require of southern people. This being our attitude in this great contest, it is natural for us to desire, and we think we may say we have a right to know, what position will be taken by those who may greatly conduce to our interests as friends, or to our injury as enemies.

"Not knowing your political status in this present contest, as the head of the Cherokee nation, we request you to inform us by letter, at your earliest convenience, whether you will co-operate with the northern or southern sections, now so unhappily and hopelessly divided.

"We earnestly hope to find in you and your people true allies and active friends; but if, unfortunately, you prefer to retain your connexion with the northern government, and give them aid and comfort, we want to know that, as we prefer an open enemy to a doubtful friend.

"With consideration of high regard, we are your obedient servants,

Mark Bean.
W. B. Welch
E. W. MacClure
John Spencer
J. A. McColloch
J. M. Lacy
J. P. Carnahan
And many others.[22]

Hon. John Ross.

In reply Chief John Ross wrote from Park Hill, May 18, 1861: "....You are fully aware of the peculiar circumstances of our condition, and will not expect us to destroy our national and individual rights. . . . . I am—the Cherokees are—your friends, and the friends of your people; but we do not wish to be brought into the feuds between yourselves and your northern brethren. Our wish is for peace—peace at home, and peace among you. . . . ."

Robert Bean

During the years 1818 and 1819 Henry R. Schoolcraft kept a *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas*[23] and on Monday, January 18, 1818 he wrote:

"We passed Hardin's Ferry . . . . on the south bank. Here the main road from Missouri to Arkansas crosses the river, and a mail is carried from St. Louis to the post of Arkansas . . . . once a month. Two miles below is Morrison's Ferry, a branch of the same road crossing there, and eight miles farther Poke Bayou, a village of a dozen houses, situated on the north bank of the river, where we arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon, and were entertained with hospitality by Mr. Robert Bean, merchant of that place."

During his memorable trip up the Arkansas River in 1820, the Reverend Cephas Washburn made the acquaintance of Colonel Robert Bean aboard the steam boat. Bean had lived in Arkansas several years where he was well known and a member of the Territorial Legislature. "This man was intemperate, a gambler, and most horribly profane. With all these faults, as the sequel will show, he possessed no little share of the 'milk of human kindness.' He

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[23] Published in London, 1821, p. 80.

was quite intelligent; and we obtained much valuable information from him, particularly concerning the Cherokees and the Cherokee country.''[24]

The missionary was so shocked at Bean's profanity that he spent most of his time on the guards, when the weather permitted:

"One day, while thus on the guards, he came out, and in the kindest manner entered into a conversation with me, evinging a deep interest in our object, and a desire to be of use to us. But he interlarded every sentence with most horrid and blasphemous oaths. I appreciated his kindness, and wished to return it in a way to do him good.

" . . . . In the kindest and gentlest manner possible to me, I reproved him for swearing. In a moment he was in a perfect rage. His countenance expressed the rage of a tiger; and, with awful oaths, he swore he would put me overboard if I ever reproved him again. . . . . From this moment he seemed to imbibe the bitterest hatred towards me."

Mr. Washburn decided he was ''an utter reprobate, and avoided him as much as possible.'' The following September while on the search for a suitable location for his mission he met a large party of white men on their way to examine Lovely's Purchase and among them was Colonel Bob Bean. Washburne, not wishing to ride with him, delayed his departure by staying in a store, but just as he left the place he saw the Colonel returning there:[25]

"He entered the store and remarked, 'I am going up to see my old mamma, and I must take her some sugar and coffee and tea.'

" ' What! said the clerk, 'you a man of a family of your own, and not forgotten your mamma yet!'

"With a quivering lip and tears running down over his eyelids, he answered, 'I have not forgotten my mamma, and I never shall, while I have a memory.'

That speech decided Washburn that there was still some good in the man; when Bean rode up to him on the trail, offered his hand, and said:

" 'I have wanted to see you more than any other man I ever met. You have not been out of my mind for an hour, when I have been awake, since I parted with you on the Mississippi. I want to ask your forgiveness for treating you in a most ruffian like manner, and I want to thank you for the kind and delicate manner in which you reproved me for swearing. I can never forgive myself, and I shall not blame you if you refuse to forgive me.'

"I assured him of my most hearty forgiveness, and my fervent prayers for his salvation."

Thereafter Mr. Washburn and Bean were devoted friends and the Colonel was known to have ridden as much as fifteen miles to hear the missionary preach.

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[24] Rev. Cephas Washburn, *Reminiscences of the Indians* (Richmond, 1869), p. 90.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

Governor James Miller appointed Sam C. Roane, Robert Bean and James Billingsly commissioners to locate the site for a court house in Pulaski County. Bean and Roane selected Little Rock and the Circuit Court confirmed their choice.

Batesville, in Lawrence County was cut off in 1820 and called Independence County, was at one time the state's best town. For more than twenty years it "was the leading town in Arkansas, excelling every other in population, wealth, cultivation, schools and regard for law. Robert Bean was a resident of Independence County, and he was speaker of the Territorial Legislature.[26]

During the removal of the Choctaw Indians their agent, Francis W. Armstrong[27] obtained from the government at Washington an order directing Lieutenant Colonel James B. Many,[28] commandant at Fort Gibson, to furnish a detail of soldiers to build a wagon road from Fort Smith to Red River over which the emigrants could travel.

Colonel Many ordered Captain John Stuart[29] on March 22, 1832 to proceed to Fort Smith to consult with Colonel Robert Bean, a famous woodsman, and begin construction of the road.[30] Armstrong selected Bean to accompany the command to "point out the precise ground over which the Road will run," and he stressed the importance of finishing the road before the extreme

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[26] Josiah H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas,* Little Rock, 1908, 87, 114, 156. "The first white child born in East Tennessee bore the name Bean, but whether its parents were kin to Robert Bean I can not say. Certain it is that either Robert Bean or a son organized a body of Rangers in Independence and Izard Counties in 1832 or 1833 who attached themselves to the expedition of Captain Bonneville, which made fame for itself in what is now Oklahoma. It was on this expedition that Washington Irving gathered materials for two of his excellent books, and in this way through either Robert or Mack Bean, North Arkansas connected itself with a glorious enterprise "(Shinn, *op. cit.,* 155). As a matter of fact it was Jesse Bean who was a captain of one of the famous Ranger companies. Captain B. L. E. Bonneville was "on an Exploration to the 'Far West', across and beyond the Rocky Mountains, 1831-36, his Journal was edited and amplified by Washington Irving, and published in 1843 . . ." (George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point* [New York, 1868], Vol. I, p. 157).

[27] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory" (Francis W. Armstrong) *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 30, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp.293-308.

[28] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Colonel James B. Many, Commandant at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson and Fort Smith, "*Chronicles of Oklahoma,*" Vol. 19, No. 2 (June, 1941), pp. 119-28.

[29] Captain John Stewart (Stuart), a native of Kentucky was a private in the army from July 20, 1814 to June, 1815. He reached the grade of second lieutenant August 13, 1819; first lieutenant October 6, 1822, and captain June 30, 1828. He died December 8, 1838. (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army,* Washington, 1903, Vol. 1, 925).

[30] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma,* Norman, 1942, 69. Foreman, *Indian Removal,* Norman, 1932, 72. Muriel H. Wright, *Our Oklahoma,* Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1939, 82.

heat of summer because of the flies which would be hard on the horses and oxen employed in the work.

In Stuart's report,[31] he said that the road had "never been regularly surveyed but was marked out by a citizen of Arkansas Territory [Col. Robt. Bean] he commenced his blazes at Fort Smith and terminated them at Red River." When Stuart reached Fort Smith in a keel boat on March 26 he reported this incident: "Col. Bean whom I was instructed to consult with in relation to the locality &c of the road, was absent, and I could find no one who knew anything about it, except that Col. Bean had left that place a few days before and had blazed a way through the cane brake in the direction of the Choctaw Agency, where they understood a road was to be cut."

Stuart finally had an interview with Colonel Bean on the 28th and learned that he had no written orders but was acting under verbal instructions from Colonel Armstrong. With the greatest difficulty Stuart constructed the road to the "Fouche Maline, a fork of the Porteau, where I met Col. Bean, who had completed the blazing of the road, and was then returning to join my party." However, Bean went back to Fort Smith before joining Stuart and his men on the south side of the mountain.

Bean informed the officer that he was then ninety or a hundred miles from his destination. It was not until July 19, 1832 that the party returned to Fort Gibson.[32]

Jesse Bean

The Arkansas Gazette, July 18, 1832 (p. 1, col. 1) wrote of Jesse Bean:[33]

"A more experienced woodsman or one better acquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, can hardly be found in any country than Capt. Bean. He took a gallant part in most of the principal engagements at New Orleans, while that city was invested by the British army in 1814-15, and was with Gen. Jackson in some of the subsequent Indian wars in Florida, where he commanded a company of spies and rendered important service for which he was complimented by the Commanding General."

The *Tulsa World,* September 4, 1932 printed a letter written by General Andrew Jackson from the Hermitage, July 8, 1844 to Captain William Russell in which he declared:

I can assure you that I have not forgotten you or the Beans. They were amongst my first acquaintances in Tennessee, amongst my first

[31] War Department, Adjutant General's Office. Old Files Division. 130 A. 32.

[32] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of Captain John Stuart on the Construction of the Road from Fort Smith to Horse Prairie on Red River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 5, No. 1. 3 (September, 1927), 332-347.

[33] Grant Foreman, *Advancing Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 115, note 20.

compatriots in arms and in the field, from whom I always and on the most trying occasions received the most prompt and efficient aid.

No, my dear sir, I have not forgotten and as long as my faculty of recollection remains I cannot forget the Russels and the Beans. . . . .

On February 24, 1833 Jesse Bean wrote to the Secretary of War that "Two hundred of these Choctaw arrived in Texas in 1831 and 1832 and located west of the Sabine, and the Alcalda complained to General Leavenworth. He said that four hundred more were coming."[34]

Captain Jesse Bean of the Dragoons resigned his commission to take effect May 31, 1835.[35]

Congress passed an act on June 15, 1832 authorizing a Ranger organization of 600 men who should arm, equip, and mount themselves. They were to receive $1.00 per day "as a full compensation for their services and the use of their arms and horses." Commissioned officers were to receive the same pay as officers of the same grade in the army. Captain Bean of Independence County, who lived near Batesville, was to raise a company.[36]

The following order was issued to Captain Bean on July 7, 1832: "As it will be too late for you to reach Chicago [to participate in the Black Hawk War] . . . . you are directed to proceed to Fort Gibson where your men will be inspected and mustered in." The recruits were mustered into the service by Colonel Matthew Arbuckle who also inspected their horses which were to be not over eight years old and not under 14½ hands. The men were to be not over forty and equipped with a rifle each. In addition the Ordnance department was to furnish the outfit with one hundred pistols and the same number of swords.[37]

Samuel C. Stambaugh, secretary of the Stokes Indian Commission, wrote the editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* (letter printed May 15, 1833) from Fort Gibson saying:

"One of the finest looking commands that ever penetrated the Indian country west of the Mississippi, left here today [May 7], on an expedition to the extreme western boundary of the United States, and have encamped this evening on the Arkansas, a few miles below. . . . . The principal object of Col. Arbuckle in sending this expedition is to display a large military force in the heart and extreme hiding places in the Indian country where no white soldier has ever yet appeared. . . . . Contemplated . . . . to strike the Red River about the head waters of the Boggy and ascend to the Blue and Fausee Washita. On the route, troops will scour the country between North Fork and main branch of the Canadian."

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[34] *Niles Weekly Register*, Vol. 12, p. 317. Adjutant General's Office. Old Files Division, 76 132, Gaines to Leavenworth, August 28, 1832.

[35] *Military and Navy Magazine* (April, 1835), Vol IV, p 158; *Niles Register*, August 29, 1835, p. 454; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, February 18, 1836, p. 112.

[36] *Arkansas Gazette*, July 18, 1832, 1, col. 1.

[37] War Department, Adjutant General's Office. Letters Sent, Vol. 10, 18, 19, 20. Another letter relates that the troops were delayed because Third Lieutenant George Caldwell developed the measles (Arbuckle to Jones, September 15, 1832, (A. 1832.).

In a letter from Fort Gibson dated July 16, 1833 it is stated: "The enlistment of the rangers being about expiring, it became necessary that we should kill and dry a sufficient quantity of buffalo meat, for our eastern march to Fort Gibson, which place we reached after 54 days absence, and with the loss of only one man; having lived for 30 days on buffalo meat alone without either bread or salt, and for the last eight days of our march on dried buffalo meat, boiled in water with tallow."[38]

In the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington is a "Memorial to Congress from Jesse Bean Relative to a Silver Mine in the Territory of Missouri," as follows:[39]

To the honorable the Senate, the House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The Memorial of Jesse Bean, a native of the United States, and resident of the Missouri Territory respectfully represents to your honorable bodies, that he has lately discovered on the waters of . . . . river, or near the same, within the limits, as he is informed, of the said Missouri Territory, a silver mine, which he believes to be rich and valuable, that being a Blacksmith by trade, and having occasionally worked on silver, on a limited scale, he is enabled, in some degree, to judge of the quality of the metal. He further begs leave to propose to your honorable Bodies, that if Congress will grant to him, his heirs or Assigns the privilege of working Bullion from said mine, and enjoying all the profits and emoluments thereunto appertaining, for the term of five years, he will disclose to your honorable bodies the place where the same is situated. He begs further to represent to your honorable bodies, that he is far advanced in years, and by the ordinary course of Nature, cannot much longer survive the infirmities of age, and its attendant diseases, and therefore he wishes the privilege prayed for granted in such a manner that his heirs &c may enjoy the benefit of same.

And your Memorialist will ever pray &c. *Jesse Bean*

During the Black Hawk War in Illinois, Congress passed an act, July 5, 1832, to raise a battalion of mounted rangers, to be composed of six companies of about one hundred officers and men in each company, to serve one year.

A company was raised in Arkansas by Captain Jesse Bean of Tennessee and he made his rendezvous at Batesville the last of August. From there he marched to Fort Gibson where he arrived September 14 and took up duty.[40]

Colonel Matthew Arbuckle had decided to send Captain Bean and his company on a tour of the southwest to overawe the wild

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[38] *The Military and Naval Magazine*, Vol. 11 (September 1833 to February, 1834), p. 123. The same magazine announced that Bean was to become a captain of Dragoons on August 15, 1833. In the issue of May, 1834 the distribution of the Dragoons locates Jesse Bean, Lieutenant J. F. Izard, Second Lieutenant B. A. Terrett and L. B. Northrop at Fort Gibson in charge of Company K.

[39] Superscription 1817 Feby 19 read & refd to Comee on Pub. Lands.

[40] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, Cleveland, 1926, 88.

Indians with this new arm of the service. Two days after they left the post Washington Irving and Indian Commissioner Henry L. Ellsworth arrived at Fort Gibson and the Commissioner decided to join the troops while awaiting the arrival of the other commissioners. He wished to explore the country between the Canadian and Cimarron rivers, with a view of locating there some of the troops from the East.

On May 6 Colonel Arbuckle ordered a force under command of Lieutenant Colonel James B. Many to Red River with instructions to ascend Red River where white troops had never been seen. The troops left the fort on May 7, 1833. It was made up of two companies of the Seventh Infantry and three companies of the Rangers commanded by Captains Nathan Boone, Lemuel Ford and Jesse Bean.[41]

When Captain Bean arrived at Fort Gibson with his company of Rangers in 1832 he was joined in November by Nathan Boone and Lemuel Ford with their companies. As there was no room for them in the fort, Bean's company went into winter quarters in hastily constructed huts on the Grand River, about seven miles above Fort Gibson after their return from the famous tour described by Washington Irving in his *Tour on the Prairies.*

The Dragoons reached Fort Gibson from their tour to the Kiowa and Comanche Indians worn out, in rags and ill. There was a fearful amount of sickness and many deaths among the Dragoons and 163 members of the regiment died in a little more than a year. Captain Bean, together with several other officrs, resigned within a short time.[42]

Captain Jesse Bean raised a company of Mounted Rangers at Batesville on the 30th; he enrolled thirty recruits. Joseph Pentecost, a first lieutenant; Robert King, second lieutenant; George Caldwell, third lieutenant.[43]

Colonel Arbuckle wrote to Adjutant General Roger Jones, August 12, 1832 that when Captain Bean's company arrived that it would "be usefully employed in protecting the tribes in this quarter who have treaties with the United States against depredations by Pawnee and Camanche. A war party of 100 Cherokee and Delaware will march in a few days against Camanche and Pawnee." Arbuckle complained that many of the officers of the regiment were absent from Fort Gibson.[44]

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[41] *Ibid.* 93, 104-05. These three officers later were members of the Dragoon Regiment (*Ibid.*, 109)

[42] *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, pp. 40, 46. Arbuckle had counted on the Rangers to protect the emigrating members of the Five Civilized Tribes from the western savages. *Ibid.*, 113, note 12. For a description of the equipment of the Rangers see *Ibid.*, 115, note 20. Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, Norman, 1942, 16. Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 101, 102; *Tulsa World*, January 3, 1932, Editorial Page, col. 7.

[43] *Arkansas Gazette*, August 3, 1832.

[44] War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Arbuckle to Jones. A. 1832.

From Fort Gibson, September 17, 1832, Captain Bean sent to the Commissary General of Subsistance a contract with an abstract and account of Noadiah March for furnishing provision to the U. S. Rangers on their March to Fort Gibson.[45]

This expedition from Fort Gibson became famous because of the presence of Washington Irving and several other interesting persons who accompanied the Mounted Rangers.

When Captain Bean was recruiting his Rangers in 1832 he had no idea that his troops were to be joined by civilians until he arrived at Fort Gibson.

In his Journal for October 13, 1832 Irving described Captain Bean as "about forty years of age, in leather hunting dress and leather stock—[in]gs." The meeting was very pleasant and the visitors were glad to overtake "the main army. . . . ." Bean's costume was well suited for the journey he was undertaking and no doubt he came through the Cross Timbers in better condition than Irving who lost the tail of his coat. Ellsworth wrote:[46]

"I never saw a man more impatient, to be out of them, than Mr. Irving—and well he might complain. He had nothing but cloth gloves to defend his hands—his frock surtout, was in a moment, shorn of its beauty and use. . . . . the whole of one skirt of his coat was taken off, and done so expertly, that he never knew it at the time. . . . ."

"Captain Bean shot at some Buffalo near by, hit one, but did not kill him. . . . ."[47]

"Capt Beans is a very worthy, good natured, easy sort of a man—personally brave, and possessing the qualities of a good woods man—he is worthy of confidence, and actuated by correct motives—but he is greatly deficient in energy and more so in discipline—his army were without the least discipline—they often went in a row (Indian file) because it was difficult for the horses to travel without a trail. . . . ."

Dr. David Holt, a civilian surgeon, was Beans adviser and scribe.[48]

From Camp Munroe on Lake Munroe, Florida, February 9, 1837, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel A. C. W. Fanning reported to Major-General Thomas S. Jessup that on the morning of the eighth, a little before daylight, "we were aroused by warhoop all around us." The soldiers sprang to their breastworks and a sharp contest

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[45] War Department, Commissary General of Subsistance, Letters received III. No. 8, #3002.

[46] Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *Washington Irving on the Prairie*, edited by Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison (New York, 1937), pp. xl, 23; Washington Irving Miscellanies No. 1, *Containing A Tour on the Prairies*, (London, 1835), pp. 58, 59. Also many other references throughout the narrative.

[47] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *The Cross Timbers*, (Muskogee, 1947), pp. 27, 29.

[48] Ellsworth *op. cit.*, p. 24. For Bean see also pp. 25, 36, 39, 40, 41, 45, 48, 49, 52-3, 57, 58, 64, 66, 85, 92, 113, 128, 139, 140-41. Washington Irving. *The Works of Washington Irving* (New York, 1856), p. 48. Grant Foreman, "The Centennial of Fort Gibson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 122.

ensued. "The enemy pertinaciously hung upon our front and right flank for nearly three hours, and then retired, wearied of the contest."

When the ground was examined no Seminole bodies were found, but they discovered several trails made by the dragging off of dead bodies. "It is true that we are without the trophies of victory, but this is no reason that the officers whom I have had the honor to command, and whose gallant bearing I have witnessed, should not receive honorable mention. Lieutenant-Colonel [William Selby] Harney, commanding the four companies of dragoons, displayed during the contest the greatest boldness and vigor, and inspired his newly-enlisted men with great confidence. . . . with the officers of his battalion I have every reason to be well satisfied. My eye was upon every one, and I discovered nothing but firmness and confidence in all. In justice to them their names must be mentioned: Captain [William] Gordon, Captain [Jesse] Bean. . . . ."[49]

The steamer *Charleston* passed Jacksonville on June 6, 1837, "bound for St. Augustine, with about 100 sick soldiers, from Volusia and Fort Mellon. It was stated to us that in one company, Capt. Bean's, we think there were only five men fit for duty."[50]

Jesse Bean was born in Tennessee and entered the army from that state. He became a captain of the Mounted Rangers June 16, 1832; captain of the First Dragoons August 15, 1833 and resigned from the service May 31, 1835.[51]

Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett wrote from the War Department August 9, 1837 to Major R. W. Cummins at Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, that Captains Gordon and Bean had been selected to assist him in performing the duty of engaging the Shawnees, Delawares, and Kickapoos, for service in Florida.[52]

The St. Louis Republican, October 4, 1837, reported:[53]

"The steamboat Wilmington passed this port yesterday, for Jefferson Barracks, having on board one hundred Indian warriors, designed to operate in the war against the Seminoles in Florida. They belong to the Delaware tribe, a nation of brave and hardy men.

"We learn from Capt. Bean, by whom these Indians have been received into the service, that a party of Shawnees, amounting to about one hundred men, are also expected to engage in this campaign It is not probable that the service of any other Indians will be procured for this war." Those red men were to be paid $45.00 per month, although the regular pay to citizen volunteers was $8.00 a month.

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[49] John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War . . .* (New York, 1848), pp. 168, 169.

[50] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* June 29, 1837, p. 409. On June 26, Captain Bean was registered at Brown's Hotel in Washington, D. C. (*ibid.,* p. 409).

[51] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army,* (*Washington,* 1903), p. 203.

[52] *House Document* 27, War Department. Twenty-fifth Congress, First Session.

[53] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* October 19, 1837, p. 253.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Dr. McCash Reports the Oklahoma Historical Tours Popular

The Oklahoma Historical Tours sponsored annually for the past three years by the Oklahoma Historical Society have aroused great interest in the State's history according to Dr. I. N. McCash, President Emeritus of Phillips University, and Honorary Director and Member of the Historical Society. The first of these was a three-day tour through South Central and Southeastern Oklahoma in May, 1952; the second, a three day tour through Western Oklahoma and the Panhandle in June, 1953. These were attended by large groups of members and friends of the Society, and gained for this annual event well deserved popularity this year when another three-day tour was made through North Central and Northeastern Oklahoma (May 6, 7, 8, 1954). Dr. McCash made this report in a recent letter to the President of the Society:

Lenoir Memorial Home
Columbia, Missouri
July 20, 1954

General William S. Key, President
Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma Natural Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
My dear friend:

Newspaper items, radio commentators and official reports rank the Oklahoma Historical Caravan of 1954, highest in the number participating, region encompassed and historical material garnered. The plan to put the Oklahoma Historical Society on wheels, once a year, to acquaint Oklahomans with their aggressive society which preserves relics of educational values, is fully justified.

Through you, Mr. President, I wish to express my profound appreciation of the honor of being made an honorary director for life, of so noble an organization. Fellowship for many years with members of lofty ideals and unselfish purposes, make me a legatee of many memories. I hope health will permit me to sit in, as a listener, sometime in the quarterly assembly.

May mounting achievements reward all efforts of officers and life members through coming years.

Yours with high esteem,

Most sincerely,
(Signed) I. N. McCash

The 1955 Historical Tour will be held three days the latter part of April, and will follow modern highways and country roads along the route travelled by Washington Irving when he visited Oklahoma in 1832, and later described in this book, *A Tour on the Prairies.* Word has come that a large group from the Tarrytown region

round Irving's old home, in New York, will visit Oklahoma for the 955 Historical Tour. Members of the Society and others interested n making this tour should send in their reservations by March 15, 955, to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Build- ng, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Corrections for the Records in Oklahoma History

The following corrections are made of two errors that occurred n printing the article on "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," y Muriel H. Wright, appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for ummer, 1954 (Vol. XXXII, No. 2): The reference to the second attle against the Creek leader, Opothleyahola, on page 165, lines 2 and 33, should read, "in the second battle, at Chusto Talasah December 9, northeast of Tulsa near present Turley," making the orrection in the name of the battle and in the date. Again, the eference to the signing of the truce (or surrender) of the Chickasaw orces, Confederate States Army, at the end of the War (1865) on age 180, line 3, the date of this event should be corrected to read July 14." —M.H.W.

In the 4th line, footnote 1, page 142, the name "Elizabeth" ould read "Emma" (Emma Buckner Heiston Butts).

Bloomfield Seminary Answers

The questions asked in the Winter, 1953 issue of the Chronicles f Oklahoma (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, Page 444) have now been answered. ince the notation in that issue of *The Chronicles* on the Bloomfield entennial, letters from Mrs. Alex (Lula Burris) Rennie of Durant ld an important footnote to the published data on this important hool.

Regarding the date of the death of Holmes Colbert, she writes:

My husband's mother, the late Mrs. Alexander Rennie, Sr. was a half ster of the Hon. Holmes Colbert. She made her home with us for many ars. I have heard her say many, many times "Brother Holmes was a atesman, he wrote the Constitution for the Chickasaw National govern- ent and was in Washington D. C. attending to National affairs when died there and his body lay in state in Washington until the comple- on of the M. K. and T. Railroad then under construction.

His body was returned to Indian Territory on the first passenger train at came over M. K. and T. Railroad and was received by his family at d Colbert Station, then taken across country ten miles for burial in e Bloomfield Cemetery." His home then known as "The Colbert Plan- tion" was five miles south of Bloomfield on the Red River. Hendricks, klahoma has been built on that site. Although the original house has en remodeled, the old chimneys and much of the material are still in e. Much Indian History has been handed down by "word of mouth" , the answer to your mystery was given to me.

Mrs. Frankie Overton Love, a grand niece of the Hon. Holmes whom I consider the most reliable source of family information as her 89 years old mother passed on only two years ago.

Foremost in interest was my visit to "Aunt Polly Colbert" 103 years old, family servant (ex-slave) who was given to Mr. Colbert at the time of his marriage by his mother.

Mrs. Love has the same information concerning Mr. Colbert's death as I wrote in my letter of April 2nd. We agree that the date on the grave stone—March 24—1873 is authentic.

"Aunt Polly" at 103 is remarkable—is in full possession of her faculties. I said, "Aunt Polly, tell me what you know about Mr. Holmes Colbert." She smiled, raised her right hand to her breast and replied: "I know he was a good Master—my Master. I was studying about him last night." I showed her the *Chronicles* and told her a man is writing about him and what information I had written you and asked if that was all true.

"Yes. He died in Washington and was brought home on the first Passenger train that came over the Katy railroad."

We were in Colbert. She pointed to the station site and said, "They took my Master off right there, put the coffin in a wagon drawn by two grey mules and we followed him to the Bloomfield graveyard."

I asked, "Aunt Polly, how long did his body lie in state in Washington?" She promptly and positively replied, "Five years." Using language that she would understand, I again asked, "Did they bury him there, then dig the body up where they were ready to bring him home?"

"Oh, no!" She struggled for a word, then said, "Dey pickled him, and after five years he looked natural 'cept his nose was a little dark."

Mrs. Rennie has also called attention to an important aspect of the Seminary, and that was the fact that through the period of its existence at this site, the Academy occupied three different buildings. She writes:

You mention the original building, erected in 1852, also the building in 1896, but omit entirely the one constructed in 1889-90 which was destroyed by fire October 15, 1896. When the original Bloomfield building was condemned, a new building was erected on a new location in Section 5 several hundred yards northwest of the former site, the section line dividing the two locations. This second Bloomfield building is pictured opposite page 276 in O'Biernes Leaders and Leading Men of Indian Territory and was burned October 15, 1896. Then on October 24, 1896, the Chickasaw Legislature appropriated $14,000.00 for the 3rd Bloomfield which was erected on the exact spot as the one just destroyed. The 3rd building was destroyed by fire January 24, 1914. At the time of the October 15 1896 fire, the original Bloomfield building was still standing and housed the families who did the laundry for the school. This record, I know to be correct. I was a very young girl, fleet of foot so I was chosen by Prof. E. B. Hinshaw to run across the prairie to the old building and summon the men to help fight the fire.

The second building was erected under an Act approved November 13, 1888 by Gov. Wm. L. Byrd. This Act provided:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation That a committee of three competent persons, residents of Panola County

Bloomfield Seminary. Original building erected in 1852. Photograph taken in 1870's.

Bloomfield Seminary. Last building erected in 1896, burned in ~~1954~~. 1914

Bloomfield Seminary. Second building erected in 1889, burned in 1896.

who shall be appointed by the Governor to be styled a "Building Committee" who shall select a good, healthy and suitable location, not exceeding five miles distant from Bloomfield Academy, which shall be known as the Bloomfield Academy.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That the Building Committee shall use discretion and good judgement in selecting a location convenient to wood and water, and a sufficient quantity of land fit for cultivation, and other conveniences suitable and necessary for a first class boarding school, and after such selections shall have been made, the committee shall proceed at once to let the contract for building said Bloomfield Academy to the lowest and best bidder.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That when the Committee, when advertising the letting of the contract to build said Academy, shall give dimensions, style of work, and such other specifications, as may be necessary to give a definite plan of the kind of structure contemplated in this act.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That the committee shall enter into a written contract with the contractor to whom the contract for erecting said academy may be awarded, upon such terms and agreements best adopted to a speedy and satisfactory consummation of the provisions of this Act, with this restriction, that no payment on said contract shall be made earlier than 1889, and paid by installments from that time on until completed.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That as the installments become due agreeable to contract, the committee shall issue a certificate stating the amount due the contractor, and the Auditor of Public Accounts shall issue a warrant for the payment of the same on the National Treasurer.

Section 6. Be it further enacted, That when said Academy is completed and received by the committee, they shall report the same to the School Superintendent, and shall receive three dollars pr day each, while in actual service, to be paid out of the National Treasury, upon presentation of the school Superintendent certifying the number of days each committee served.

Section 7. Be it further enacted, That the sum of eight thousand dollars ($8000.00) or so much that is necessary be and the same is hereby appropriated to pay for said Academy when completed according to contract, that is in the hands of the National Treasurer or that may come in his hands, after said Academy is completed and received by the Building Committee.

Section 8. Be it further enacted, That when said Academy is completed and received by the Building Committee, the school superintendent shall cause to be removed at the expense of the Nation, the children now at Bloomfield Academy to the new academy which shall be styled and known as "Bloomfield Academy," with the household, kitchen furniture and all effects that belong to said academy, and upon a certificate from the superintendent of Public Schools to the Auditor of Public Accounts shall issue his warrant on the National Treasurer, who shall pay the same out of any money in his hands, or that may come into his hands, and this Act shall repeal all Acts or parts of Acts coming in conflict with the provisions of this Act, and that this Act take effect from and after its passage.

The final building was erected in accordance with a later enactment approved October 24, 1896 by Gov. R. M. Harris. This act provided:

Sec. 1 Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation—that the Superintendant of Public Instruction and the Trustee of Bloomfield Seminary be and they are hereby authorized empowered and directed to have drawn the necessary plan and specifications for the re-building of the Bloomfield Seminary—And thereupon immediately contract with some suitable reliable and able person or persons for the building and erection thereof—at or near the place where the former buildings were burned—and the Superintendant and Trustee shall Superintend said work and have the same built after the plan of the old buildings with such necessary changes as may be most conducive to the comfort and welfare of said Institution—and to use every means to have the same completed and ready for school purposes by the first of February 1897—or as soon thereafter as practicable—having in view a neat substantial and durable building out of either frame or Brick Structure as may be most convenient and expedicious in the building thereof—Bids for said building may be advertised for, or the contract let privately as may be found best to save time and expedite said work—And the Superintendant shall have an itemized account of all judicious expenditures and report the same to the Governor when the buildings have reached a completion—and by him the Governor laid before the succeeding Legislature for its information—together with the services rendered by the Superintendant and Trustee for allowance thereof as the Legislature will determine—And the Sum of Fourteen Thousand Dollars $14,000.00 or so much thereof as may be necessary be and the same is hereby appropriated out of the money to become due the Chickasaw Nation known as the Feby and July payments, and interest on Chickasaw Trust funds held by the U. S. Government—said moneys coming due in Feby and July 1897—in proportion of two thirds of amount to be paid out of said Feby payment 1897, and one third out of the July payment 1897—and if from any cause such payments due the contractor on building said Seminary should not be met as contemplated by this act—then such unpaid accounts shall draw an interest at the rate of 8% eight percent per annum from date of Maturity until paid by this Nation which shall be computed and paid the same as the principal amount—and the contract so made by the Superintendant and Trustee with the builder shall be in keeping with the provisions and stipulations of this act—and the Auditor shall draw his warrants on said National Treasurer upon the certificates of the Superintendant and Trustee signed jointly for the payments coming under this act and the Treasurer shall pay the same out of the moneys herein specially appropriated for such purposes—and immediately after said Seminary has been re-built in all respects—and the same is received by the Superintendant and Trustee—The Superintendant and Trustee shall then proceed to at once inform the contractor of said school of the fact of the buildings being ready to commence the school—and in the mean time public notices shall be given the people of the time, at which the school will open for business so the girls can be allowed to enter said school—as heretofore and proceed with such school work—

The provisions and appropriation of this act is intended to rebuild and supply said Seminary with all needful contents as is required of the Chickasaw Nation by contract to supply—if sufficient therefor—and all expenditures shall be accounted for by the Superintendant and Trustee with such recommendations as will be most conducive to the welfare and prosperity of said Seminary—and this act take effect from and after its passage.

Mrs. Rennie writes as follows regarding the circumstances of the 1914 fire:

"Mrs. Mark Marable (Lucretia Perry) was a six year old primary student in Bloomfield at the time of the 1914 fire. She well recalls the

circumstances. The girl who set the fire was Louisa McGuire, 20 years old, a full blood Indian, definitely retarded as she was in the same primary class. Lucretia remembers the teacher struggling to teach Louisa to print the A.B.C.'s There was never any doubt about her not wanting to go to school as she ran away from Bloomfield twice and was brought back each time wearing shoes and clothing that did not belong to her. As a final escape she burned the building."

"We have heard she was sent to a girls' Reformatory somewhere in Indiana but do not know for how long nor if she is yet alive."

"The fire occurred about 10:00 A.M. so the Bloomfield girls were once again in the original building to await the arrival of their parents and guardians. My Bloomfield attendance was unique. I was taken there at the age of eight to join my older sister—attended school in the original building, near the cemetery one week when the school moved across to the new building, then attended school in that second building until it burned. While the third Bloomfield was being re-built I was sent to Kidd-Key College in Sherman, Texas, then when school was resumed, I returned to graduate from Bloomfield Seminary."

Mrs. Rennie also supplies the answer for the identity of Little Kittie'':

"Mrs. Murray was quite familiar with the old Bloomfield Cemetery. She says, "Little Kitty" was the child of the founder of Bloomfield, Rev. J. H. Carr and Mrs. Angelina H. Carr."

Even the bois d'arc stakes received Mrs. Rennie's attention, and on that point she has written:

"In regard to the bois d'arc pegs in the old Bloomfield cemetery, I have been unable to get any definite information. Those of us familiar with the cemetery in the early years recall, a few of the family burial lots were fenced. The following is merely a matter of opinion. During the W.P.A. years, Judge R. L. Williams made a great effort toward preserving the old cemetery."

"It may be that he saw many unmarked graves and had the bois d'arc stakes placed to mark the locations."

"I tried to locate some one who worked on the project but failed to do so."

Published herewith are photographs of each of the three buildings. Mrs. Rennie's help is a contribution to the available information on Bloomfield and *The Chronicles* is pleased to make it here a matter of record. —George H. Shirk

Recent Accessions in the Library

The following list of books (325) was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1953 to July 1, 1954, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger:

Abee, Blanch Humphrey. *Colonists of Carolina in the lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey.* Richmond, Va.: The William Byrd Press, 1938. 259 pp.

Adams, Ramon Frederick. *Six-guns and Saddle Leather*; a bibliography of books and pamphlets on Western outlaws and gunmen. Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1954. 426 pp.

A. F. & A. M. Grand Lodge of Oklahoma. *Official proceedings*, 1953. 323 pp.

Allen, Agnes. *The Story of the Book.* London: Faber & Faber, 1953. 224 pp.

American Antiquarian Society. *Proceedings*, 1951, 1952. Worcester, Mass. Vols. 61, 62.

American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. *Records*, 1952. Vol. 63. 252 pp.

American Genealogical-Biographical Index. Fremont Rider, Editor. Middleton, Conn., 1953, 1954. Vols. 3-7.

American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1951, 1952. Washington, D. C.

American Jewish Archives, 1948-1952. Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College. Vols. 1-4.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Rise of Methodism. By Richard M. Cameron. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. xv, 397. $4.75)

The author is professor of Church History in Boston University, School of Theology.

His book is devoted largely to the Methodist Revival in 18th Century England, based on the vigorous and authentic words of John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield and others.

The story of the early years of Methodism is one of the most stirring epics of Christianity since the Reformation. In the words of the author, "It is fitting that it should often have been retold by masters not only in the fields of history and religion, but of literature as well." These first Methodist leaders wrote not only with the authority of those engaged in a determined program, but with an integrity which surpassed the literary style of the period.

The author further states: "The method has been to select extracts which give as far as possible in the leaders' own words, a faithful picture of the movement, beginning, as John Wesley advised, 'before he was born,' and carrying it up through the holding of the first Conference in 1744."

The Wesley family for many generations was outstanding in devotion to Christianity. Quoting further from the text as follows:

"One great-grandfather and two grandfathers of the founders of Methodism were ornaments of the ministry in that wing of the Puritan tradition which, while clinging as long as possible to the national church, sought to rid it of 'the dregs of Popery,' to raise the standard of preaching, to mould Church and Nation into one Holy Community which should glorify God by pure worship and saintly living after the pattern in His Word. Some of the Puritans had left to begin afresh in New England. More stayed home to advocate their cause in press and pulpit and Parliament, and finally on the battlefield under Oliver Cromwell. While Cromwell lived, their cause prospered; when his strong leadership was removed, the nation, weary of conflict and military rule, swung back to the Kings, the Bishops and the Prayer Book. In 1662 a Parliament 'fiercely royalist and Anglican' passed a new Act of Uniformity which became effective, as those who suffered under it significantly pointed out, on the day of St. Bartholomew, made memorable by the massacre in Huguenots in Catholic France. It required that all ministers of religion qualify by being episcopally ordained, sub-

scribing the XXXIX Articles, and conducting public worship according to the Prayer Book only. Continued conformity under these conditions would have been apostasy to their faith for two thousand 'burning and shining lights' of Puritanism, who, half in sorrow, half in triumph left their pulpits for lives of reproach and suffering. The ejected ministers were, by the vengeful 'Clarendon Code,' forbidden to exercise their ministry, forbidden to teach, forbiddn to live near their old homes; many, detected at conducting unlawful services, faced the courts and languished in prisons.

"Bartholomew Westley (1600-1671), the great-grandfather of John and Charles, was ejected from his living at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. He was able to make a meagre living by practicing as a physician, for which he may have studied at Oxford. Apparently he avoided imprisonment through the five years between his objection and his death. His son John Westley (1636-1670) did not fare so well."

Susuannah Wesley, while a member of the Wesley family only by marriage, was the twenty-fifth child of Dr. Samuel Annesley, a very learned and distinguished member of the Church and a chaplain in the Royal Navy, but she has another distinction. She was the mother of Methodism and while her husband, Samuel Wesley, was loyal to the Church of England, she entertained very independent ideas about religion. She was a remarkable mother and few mothers in history have made the record she made in rearing her family. The systematic discipline and regularity of instruction of her children resulted in a family which recognized discipline and order and which obeyed without hesitation their mother's instruction.

Women in the England of that day were not given the opportunity for education that men were and yet to read Susannah Wesley's letters to her husband and to her son John constitute convincing proof not only of her deep religious piety but her literary ability as well. In her letter of July 24, 1732, to her son John, who was then a student at Oxford and who was hesitating about following in the footsteps of his ancestors as a minister in the church, she gives the program which she followed in her home: the simple lessons as to their course of conduct in almost every activity, her views upon religion and her position with reference to a real revival in religion, all of which disclose a mastery of the English language and a logical and forceful reasoning upon every subject which she discussed.

From the letters and writings cited in the book one has little difficulty in concluding that the influence of Susannah Wesley over her sons John and Charles was perhaps the most effective influence in their religious lives.

Every Methodist who is interested in the history of his church should read this remarkable book.

Edgar S. Vaught

Oklahoma City

Dwight Presbyterian Mission. Compiled by Betty and Oscar Payne. (Tulsa: Dwight Presbyterian Mission, Inc., 1954. Pp. vii, 33. Ill.) $1.00)

Any account of the early missions and missionaries in Oklahoma is always interesting, and this small booklet is made doubly so by the use of many excellent photographs. In fact, it is almost possible to trace the history of Dwight through these pictures beginning with the early log structures, laboriously erected by the first mission family, and bringing us to the present well tended grounds and buildings. Necessarily brief, the Paynes nevertheless give an amazing amount of data—dates, places, people—around which Dwight Mission, Old and New, has been built. For Dwight is a continuing institution begun well over a hundred years ago, and still working today in its plan of Christian education.

The early years of Dwight were hard ones, of course. Men such as Cephas Washburn and Albert Finney must have been truly inspired to undertake missionary work in the face of family separations, personal danger, inclement weather, and unsettled countryside. But none of the mission family had time for looking back to more comfortable and settled lives, for each had arduous duties and responsibilities that contributed to the success of the station. Through the years the little mission settlement grew with additional buildings, increased school population, and more extensive instructional program.

Again and again this Cherokee mission was all but destroyed by fire, but each time the "spirit of Dwight" prevailed and rehabilitation brought greater improvement. Until 1948, Dwight operated as a Christian education school for Indian youth, but in June of that year the Synod of Oklahoma voted to close the school. But rather than give up to the encroaching weeds and timber, Dwight has entered a new era of service through the summer conference schedule of retreats and church camps. Today Presbyterians all over the state feel a little of the love and devotion which characterized those early missionaries who built the foundation for the educational and religious training institution along the banks of Sallisaw Creek.

—Lucyl Shirk

Oklahoma City

Indian Women Chiefs. By Carolyn Thomas Foreman. (Muskogee, Oklahoma; Press of The Star Printery, Inc., 1954. Pp. viii, 86. Ill. Index, Notes and Bibliography. $1.50)

Americans in general have long fancied Indian women as holding a slavish position in their families, and no position at all in tribal affairs. *Indian Women Chiefs* refutes this belief.

Mrs. Foreman's published books now number half a dozen. All treat, at least in part, of Indian subjects. Several years ago while doing research for her writings, Mrs. Foreman was startled to run across an item concerning the governing power of Indian women. She made a note of this novel idea. Thereafter, when she found similar material, she made a note of it. This book is the result of those notes.

Indian women leadership is discussed in the first chapter. Women played prominent parts in most, if not all, American Indian tribes. In some they had the sovereign right to select candidates for male chieftainship. Many women became chiefs, queens, sachems, medicine women, and other tribal aids. Women chiefs provided for tribal festivals, ceremonies, and general assemblies. In many tribes they guarded the public treasuries of belts of wampum, furs, meal, corn, dried meats, and quill and feather work. Considering the value of women to the tribe, it is not surprising that among the Iroquois, Susquehanas, and Hurons, the punishment for killing a woman was double that for killing a man!

The succeeding six chapters are specific case histories of Indian women leaders. In the 1500s daring De Soto met a beautiful and intelligent Yuchi Queen, and a member of Sir Walter Raliegh's Expedition met a regal leader in Florida. On his foot trip through the southwest, Cabeza De Vaca learned of the Queen of Quivira.

In the 1600's, there were Wetamoo, Queen of the Wampanpas; the Massachusetts Queen; and the masterful Montour sisters. Trustworthy Awashonks ruled in Rhode Island, and Queen Anne was the power of the Powhatan Confederacy in eastern Virginia.

Moving into the 1700's, Sophia McGillivray Durant was a leader among her people, the Creeks. Mary Musgrove was a leader among the Creeks, though a turbulent one. The Seneca Queen Alluquippa was dignified, yet demanding, and Great Joseph's niece was gentle.

The 1800's, saw queens, prophetesses, advisory interpreters, chiefs, and sorceresses among the Chippewas, Chickasaws, Paiutes, Alaskans, Senecas, Modocs, and Mohawks. In 1875 the Osages elected Rosana Chouteau second chief of Beaver's Band. Lucy Toyiah Eads began her successful term as chief of the Kaws in 1908.

Much space is given to the life of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, loyal and efficient chief of the Seminoles, probably the last woman chief in Oklahoma. The final chapter concerns Nancy Ward, Beloved Woman of the Cherokees.

Mention is made of Oklahoma Indian women who are, or have been, leaders. Among these are Rachel Caroline Eaton, Mabel Washbourne Anderson, and Muriel H. Wright, historians; Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, former Clerk of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and Mrs.

Susanna Drew Adair Rogers, who acted as Clerk of the Creek Courts; Mrs. Eliza Missouri Bushyhead Alberty, outstanding in business and politics; and Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

This book is a monument to all Indian women. Through its insight future historians and writers have a wealth of new material, and the general reader has a true concept of the American Indian woman.

—Frances Rosser Brown.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Bibliographical Procedures & Style. A Manual for Bibliographers in the Library of Congress. By Blanch P. McCrum and Helen D. Jones. (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1954. 65¢)

In 1944 the Library of Congress published a brochure on the technique for bibliographers, giving a number of suggestions for the planning and carrying through of a bibliographical project. The brochure was soon out of print, and until the publication of the present volume there has been no reference available to workers giving a standard style for their guidance in bibliographical compilation.

As stated by the Director of the Library of Congress Reference Department in his preface, this publication has three purposes. First, it suggests methods of planning and carrying through a bibliographical project. Second, it provides a style manual of forms of entry developed by the General Reference and Bibliography Division, through the adaptation of rules followed by catalogers of the Library's collections. Third, in response to numerous requests from students and scholars, it makes currently available a manual used by Library of Congress bibliographers. Bibliographical procedures are of prime importance to the researcher of Oklahoma History and the present volume should be a handbook on the subject.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City.

MINUTES OF THE REGULAR QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY HELD IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING JULY 29th, 1954

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order by the President of the Society, General W. S. Key, who stated that because of the inability of Dr. Evans, the Secretary, to be present because of illness, he was asking Miss Muriel H. Wright to sit in on the meeting. He asked that Miss Wright call the roll and it was found that the following members were present: General W. S. Key, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Judge Baxter Taylor, Justice N. B. Johnson and Mr. H. Milt Phillips. Mrs. Ethel P. Buell, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mr. W. J. Peterson and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle were execused for good and sufficient reason.

General Key brought up for discussion Dr. Evans' resignation. He stated that he had talked with the Secretary and that he wanted to be released August 1, 1954. Therefore, he made the recommendation to the Board that this be done. He urged, however, that the Board keep Dr. Evans on special duty during the month of August and that his duty will be to continue the program he has undertaken of soliciting Life Time Memberships. The President proposed that at the end of August he be given 30 days final leave of absence. So he will leave the payroll as of the last day of September, but he will leave as Secretary the last day of July.

Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that Dr. Evans' resignation be accepted and that he be released to do this particular work he has outlined during the month of August and that he be given September as a paid leave of absence.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison offered a substitute motion. He stated that Dr. Evans has rendered a fine service to the Oklahoma Historical Society and suggested that they ask him to stay on until the first of January. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion and a written ballot was taken. The motion did not carry.

Judge Vaught made a motion that Dr. Evans he released effective July 31st, upon conditions set forth by the President and also that Dr. Evans be elected Secretary Emeritus for the rest of his life. The motion was seconded by Mr. Bass and carried unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor arose and read a resolution he wished to present as the sentiments of the Board and to be adopted by it relating to Secretary Evans' life and service to the Society. After its reading, it was adopted. It ran as follows:

"DR. CHARLES EVANS ON HIS RETIREMENT
FROM THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SECRETARYSHIP."

"The press of the state has recently carried the information that Dr. Charles Evans is retiring at the end of this week as Secretary of the

Oklahoma Historical Society. Thus he severs a close and beneficient relationship that has existed for ten years.

"When Dr. Evans assumed the responsibilities of directing the vital work of the Oklahoma Historical Society, it was near the close of a long toilsome era of this institution. Soon the old leaders passed from the scene, and the Society entered a new era.

"Dr. Evans has been the eyes, ears, the voice and directing mind of the Society under the authority of this Board in these critical and crucial ten years. A man of ripe scholarship and of broad learning and culture and able of speech, he gave new life and vitality to the Society. He opened its doors to public appreciation. He awakened and energized the public interest as never before in this great Institution's usefulness, its noble purposes, and its work of implanting in the hearts of the people the spiritual values that enrich the life of the State. More than any other person of this era, Dr. Evans made our Historical Society a cultural fountain whose waters irrigate and fruitify the patriotic and the spiritual of the rising generations. Of a cultured soul, of refined sensibilities, he has led the lifting of the Society to the high hills of achievement that it never before attained.

"When Dr. Evans goes out here he will leave his lasting touch, and the vibrance of a voice to encourage and inspire the people of our glorious commonwealth. To him this Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society offers their enduring gratitude, and may God be with him. This is our parting word and farewell."

General Key read a letter which had been sent to him by Dr. I. N. McCash. He asked that it be included in the Notes and Documents for the *Chronicles*, which was approved by the Board.

Judge Vaught moved that Miss Muriel H. Wright be elected with full Secretary salary until such time as the Board elects a Secretary. The matter of selecting a Secretary to be decided by the Executive Committee. After discussion, the motion was seconded by Col. Shirk and carried.

General Key brought up the report of the State Examiner and Inspector and read a letter which had been received from Mr. R. W. Dugan, the Examiner. General Kay stated that in regard to the Revolving Fund, many brochures had been given in courtesy for the Society's benefit to members of the Legislature, the Executive Officers and the Exchanges and this had reduced the cash in the Revolving Fund by a small amount. He also stated that the last issue of the brochure, *A Brief Pictorial History of Oklahoma*, cost more than the 50 cents per copy for which it was sold. He called attention to Mr. Dugan's letter saying that all accounts were in splendid order. The members of the Board unanimously agreed these brochures had been of great help to the Society and the State throughout the Nation.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore brought up the subject of the payment of Dr. Evans salary and the payment of the additional amount after August 1, 1954 to Miss Wright. It was moved by Col. Shirk that Dr. Evans would be paid his regular salary until he leaves and that the portion necessary to bring Miss Wright's salary up to the amount the Secretary received should be paid out of the Special Fund. The motion was seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously. General Key stated that after the end of his month, Miss Wright will be acting Secretary and as such will approve all documents and vouchers.

It was decided that Miss Wright would act as Editor of the *Chronicles* and *News Letter* for the time being.

Mr. R. G. Miller stated that he thought the "News Letter" should be abolished. Judge Cole said he disagreed very strongly, saying the "News Letter" is a very part of the work, that it reached the people that are not reached in the *Chronicles*. Mr. Milt Phillips thought that the "News Letter" should be continued and stated that he read it carefully and turned it over to friends of his who read it.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore taking up the matter of the Report of the House Committee stated that she was very disappointed in the recommended action not to do anything about the repair of the Murals. After a discussion it was decided that Dr. Jacobson should be called to meet with the Committee at some future date and go over with them the subject of this repair.

Judge Vaught moved that the Board approve the carrying out of the items which the House Committee had recommended as needing immediate attention and that the Committee assist the Acting Secretary in carrying out this. The monies to pay for these items were to be taken out of the Special Fund. Judge Taylor seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

The matter of the rearrangement of the Statuary Hall Section on the 3rd Floor and the placing of cases of flags offered by the American Legion was presented by Col. Shirk and after discussion, it was decided to pass upon this at a later date.

Mr. R. G. Miller was asked to give his views of the tour for next year. He recommended that it be made in April and that the tour be over the old Washington Irving Trail. He stated that New York State had promised to send a Pullman car loaded with tourists from New York to attend the tour. He thought that the big problem would be to interest Oklahomans in this tour. He suggested that outside help, persons along the route, be invited to meet with the Board to make plans. He said that some group had requested that he and Miss Wright be sent to New York to consult with the historians there about the Washington Irving Trail.

Judge Vaught moved that the matter of sending officials to New York be taken up at the January 1955 meeting. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

Dr. Dale arose and said he wanted to make some comments. He felt that he had not been a very good Director these last few years and that he had been invited to Houston, Texas to do some lecturing there which would take him away from Oklahoma from September until June next year and that since he would not be able to attend the meetings of the Board, perhaps, he should resign. The Directors all stated that they would not hear of this. He also stated that he and Dr. James D. Morrison had been commissioned to write the biography of the late Judge R. L. Williams and he called upon everyone who might have Williams' letters or other material, to please send them into him.

Col. Shirk reported that he was very discouraged in his findings regarding the Jones Cemetery. However, he stated that the last time he saw it, it looked better than it has at any time. He had talked to Dr. James D. Morrison of Durant. Dr. Morrison has a history club and he has agreed that he and his club would assume the care of the Cemetery.

Col. Shirk recommended that the sum of $125.00 be appropriated for the purpose of restoring the slabs, the cutting down of all trees inside the

walls that are not a part of the landscape, to clean and beautify it and burn and destroy all the junk and that the responsibility be turned over to Dr. Morrison and his club. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

Col. Shirk read the following statement regarding a flag which had been given to the Society:

"On March 17, 1909 Representative Dick T. Morgan, Second Congressional District, Oklahoma, my native state, appointed the undersigned as his secretary and in which capacity he served during the ensuing Congresses until his enlistment in 1917.

"On April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson appeared before Congress assembled in the chamber of the House of Representatives and delivered his famous war message. Due to the tremendous demand for tickets and the limited space in the House gallaries, only one ticket was alloted to each member of Congress. Mrs. Morgan being unable to attend, the ticket fell to the undersigned's fortunate lot and thus the opportunity to hear the witness the message, debate and vote.

"The flag of the United States always flies over the Capitol, and also over the House wing of the Capitol when the House is in session. The undersigned having a desire to possess the flag that flew over the House on this memorable day requested same of the Sergeant at Arms of the House, and the request was granted, and which flag is now presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society."

/s/ "Barritt Galloway"

After the presentation, Mr. Phillips moved that this flag be accepted and it be so recorded in the minutes. Motion was seconded by Mr. Miller and carried unanimously.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, read the financial report. Col. Shirk moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Bass and carried unanimously.

Justice N. B. Johnson then presented the following Resolution:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the City of Tulsa, Oklahoma, has called a bond election in the amount of Two and One-Quarter Million Dollars for the purpose of paying off outstanding obligations against the Gilcrease Museum which will keep the Museum in the State of Oklahoma, and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society is cognizant of the educational, cultural and historical values of said Museum to the people of this State and believe it would be to the best interest of the citizenship to keep said Museum in Oklahoma,

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at its regular quarterly meeting this 29th day of July, 1954, that said Board go on record as approving said action and commending Hon. L. C. Clark, Mayor of the City of Tulsa, and the City Commission for their efforts to keep said Gilcrease Museum in the State of Oklahoma.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be mailed to the Mayor of the City of Tulsa, the Tulsa City Commission, the *Tulsa Daily World* and the *Tulsa Tribune.*

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
By /s/ MURIEL H. WRIGHT
Acting Secretary

Dated this 29th day of July, 1954.

Mr. Bass made a motion that the list of new members presented by the Secretary and also the list of gifts made this Society be accepted. This motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and carried unanimously.

LIFE MEMBERS:

Altus, Oklahoma: Mr. T. M. Robinson.
Ardmore, Oklahoma: Mr. Ward S. Merrick.
Bartlesville, Oklahoma: Mr. T. R. Cobb.
Cushing, Oklahoma: Mr. Hugh R. Hughes.
Hugo, Oklahoma: Mr. Oscar Gardner.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Mrs. Evelyn E. Borah, Mr. Ralph A. Borah, Mr. J. B. Rivers, Mr. T. Murray Robinson, Dr. Stanley Clark and Mr. Stanton L. Young.
Ponca City, Oklahoma: Mr. Merl Philby Long.
McAlester, Oklahoma: Mr. George A. Whiteacre.
Sapulpa, Oklahoma: Mr. Charley F. Bartlett.
Tonkawa, Oklahoma: Mr. Ralph W. Casey.
Tulsa, Oklahoma: Cascia Hall Prep. School Library, Mrs. Minnie Kennedy Manion, Mrs. Norman M. Smith.
Vinita, Oklahoma: Mrs. Jasper E. Smith.
Deer Lodge, Montana: Mrs. Thelma Quast.
Portsmouth, Ohio: Mr. John B. Fink.
Dallas, Texas: Mr. W. Dow Hamm.

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Blackwell, Oklahoma: Miss S. Temperance Pryor.
Cushing, Oklahoma: Mr. Earnest Dooley.
Drumright, Oklahoma: Mr. A. C. Kelly, Sr.
Enid, Oklahoma: Mr. David S. Russell.
Guymon, Oklahoma: Mr. T. F. Wright.
Hortshorne, Oklahoma: Mrs. B. O. Patterson.
Hinton, Oklahoma: Mrs. Joe McFarland.
Hobart, Oklahoma: Mrs. E. M. Watkins.
Miami, Oklahoma: Mrs. Ermina V. Campbell, Mr. Guy Jennison.
Muskogee, Oklahoma: Marie L. Hayes, Mr. Vaud T. Travis, Jr.
Norman, Oklahoma: Mrs. Christine A. Virgin.
Nowata, Oklahoma: Mrs. T. R. McSpadden.
Okemah, Oklahoma: Mrs. Glenn Estes Dill, Sr.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Miss Zaide E. Carter, Mrs. Opie D. Evans, Mrs. Bertha E. Hines, Mrs. Naomi M. Howard, Mrs. Cordia McLaughlin, Mr. Leon J. Tyson, Miss Jeanette True.
Pauls Valley, Oklahoma: Mr. Calvin L. Barton.
Perry, Oklahoma: Mr. Paul W. Cress.
Ponca City, Oklahoma: Fr. Elmer C. Robnett.
Pryor, Oklahoma: Mr. Homer L. Ramsey, Mr. Byron Smith.
Purcell, Oklahoma: Dr. W. C. McCurdy, Miss Nancy Williams.
Sallisaw, Oklahoma: Mr. Bert Cotton, Mr. Wm. P. Danford.
Shawnee, Oklahoma: Mr. J. Ralph Graves.
Smithville, Oklahoma: Mr. Coleman J. Ward.
Spiro, Oklahoma: Mrs. L. S. Moore.
Stillwater, Oklahoma: Mrs. Talley W. Shockey.
Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Miss Lorena L. Travis

Tonkawa, Oklahoma: Mr. V. R. Easterling, Mrs. J. O. Casey.
Tulsa, Oklahoma: Mrs. Grace M. Brown, Mr. Virgil Fly, Mr. Victor C. Hurt, Mrs. Virginia Mayo Ownby, Mrs. F. M. Pinney, Mr. George W. Reed, Jr., Mr. Paul Spencer Reed, Mrs. Dema E. Smith.
Vinita, Oklahoma: Mr. Vernon Haggerton.
Weatherford, Oklahoma: Prof. H. H. Risinger.
Wewoka, Oklahoma: Mr. Henry Duncan Moore.
Los Angeles, California: Mrs. J. C. Richards.
LaJunta, Colorado: Mr. Guy Turrentine.
Michigan City, Indiana: Mr. Charles North.
Cherokee, Iowa: Mr. W. D. Frankforter.
Gulfport, Mississippi: Col. Taylor W. Foreman.
Trenton, New Jersey: Mr. L. L. Beans.
Washington, D. C.: Miss Lydia Vacin.

GIFTS RECEIVED. Union Memorial Room: 2 Canteens, Swords and cases, Powder Horn, Sash and framed photograph of Captain C. P. Sweet, received from Mrs. Darwin A. Sweet, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Museum. Items and pictures: Valuable addition to the Owen Collection given by Dorothea Owen includes four pieces of glassware and two china cups and saucers that were owned by George Washington and were used at Mount Vernon; a cup and saucer that was owned by Thomas Jefferson and used at Monticello; two large ornamental tortoise shell combs and one silver comb; five feather fans, one antique black lace fan; embroidered silk under sleeves for a Chinese Mandarin coat; silk embroidered Chinese Woman's skirt; a black silk shawl embroidered in colors, a white silk shawl embroidered in white, a white silk shawl embroidered in colors; a lace collar of Irish crochet, a Brussels lace collar, a beautiful Venetian lace collar, a Battenburg collar, a large Irish Crochet collar; fifteen feather hair ornaments, some of which are beautiful Bird of Paradise feathers; two squares of antique applique and three blouses made by the San Blas Indians of Central America; six small wooden figures brought from France at the close of World War I by Capt. Burgoyne Hamilton.

Mr. Coleman J. Ward presented two horse shoes and a hymn book.

Mrs. Edith Ross Simpson presented a certificate of membership in the Payne Colony issued to M. D. Moore, signed by W. L. Couch.

Mrs. Sam Smith presented a scrap book.

A white orandie cap 152 years old, ribbon belt worn in 1836 by Susan Jane Hedden on her wedding dress, book "The Finished Scholar" by Wm. H. Murray. 1876 Diary of B. W. Abbott, Etna, Maine, 1857 diary, 1860 diary, 1864 diary, 1861 diary, presented by Mrs. Myrtle Creason.

A linsey-woolsey drape and a paisley shawl, both very old, presented by Ruth Copley Tracy and Naomi Copley Nelson.

Mrs. Eva Gillhouse presented picture of Frank Eaton braiding his hair. Frank Eaton and Rolla Goodnight, Frank Eaton, B. G. Woodruff, George Maledon, Texas Tom, Frank Eaton and Chief Brown; Frank Eaton and Jasper Exendine, Ed Webster and Frank Eaton at the old Headquarters Ranch House in the Cherokee Nation.

The following were presented by Mrs. Myrtle Creason: baby picture of Carter Kent Pendell, Mary Brown Joslyn, Mary F. Brown Joslyn, Lewis Brown, Mary F. Brown, Susan B. Anthony, Burl Nash, Confederate Veteran, Knox Beall, 7 hunting scenes taken in the west.

Mrs. Frank Buttram presented a water color picture of the Indian Thunderbird and this has been framed.

Items Received in Library:

Mr. John W. Hinkle, Stillwater Oklahoma, through Mr. Thomas J. Harrison of Pryor Oklahoma, presented the following items:

The Oklahoma Club Woman, Vol. 1 July 1910 numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Vol. 1 Jan. 1911 numbers 7-9
Vol. 1 Nov. 1911 number 1

Miscellany—University of Tulsa 1930, Vol. 1 number 2
by the Literary Students of the University of Tulsa.

Poems of a High School Student by Elmer LeRoy Baker, 1925

Home-Spun Poems by P. M. Eyler, 1939

The Cow and Her Brother by Freeman E. Miller (Read before the Oklahoma Livestock Association, Woodward, Okla., February 12-14, 1901) Original poem.

Calling the Roll at Hennessey. Original poem by Freeman E. Miller (Read before the Oklahoma Editorial Association, November 15-16, 1897).

There being no further business, a motion was made by Col. Shirk and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the meeting of the Board of Directors be adjourned. This passed unanimously.

/ s/ W. S. KEY, *President*

/s/ CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT
EDWARD EVERETT DALE
R. G. MILLER
H. MILT PHILLIPS
GEORGE H. SHIRK
THE SECRETARY

Winter, 1954-1955

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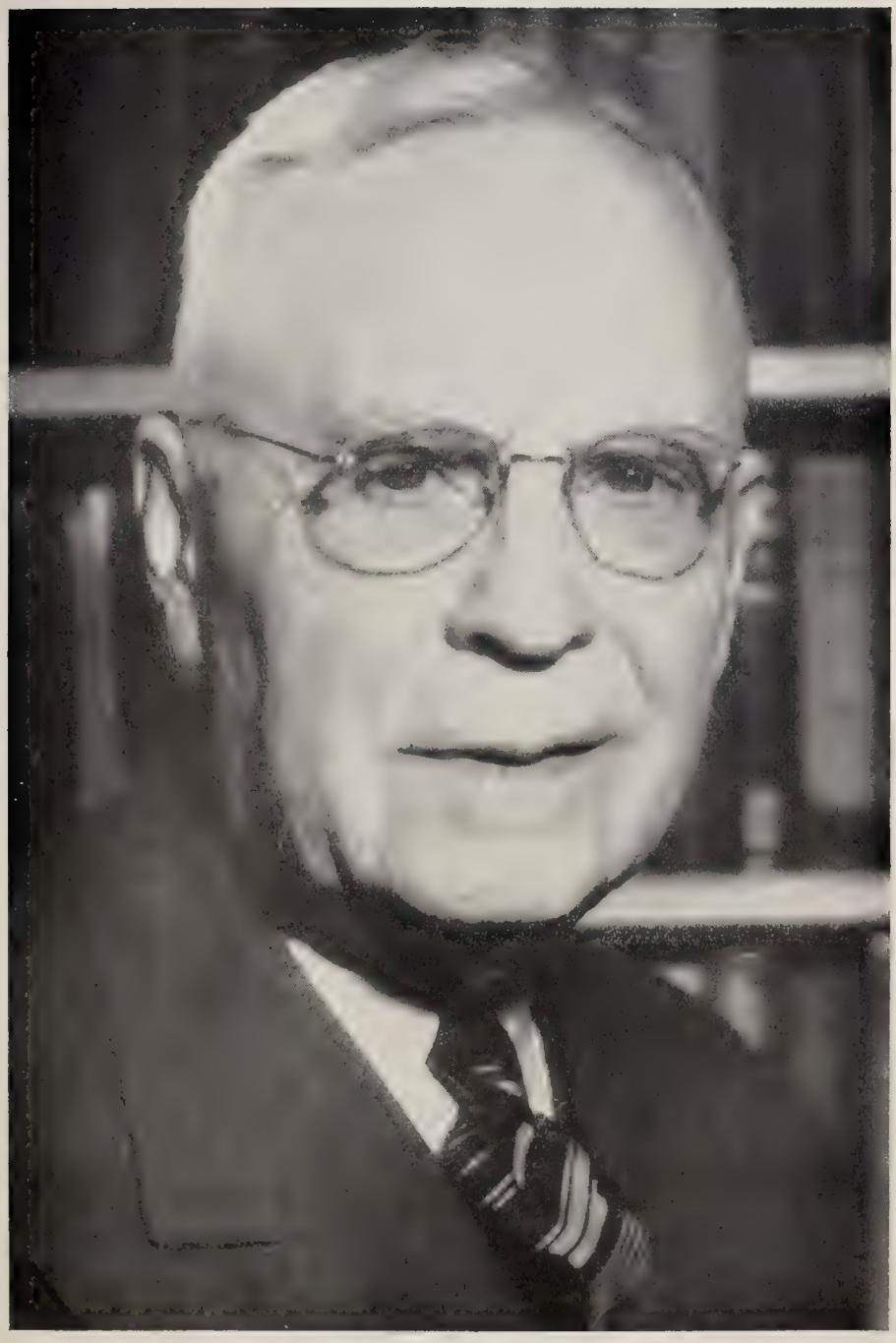
LEWIS JEFFERSON MOORMAN, M. D.

By Gaston Litton

In the person of Lewis Jefferson Moorman, M. D., Oklahoma had not only one of its greatest physicians but also a most active and productive historian—a fact which may not have been known to the distinguished membership of this learned Society.

Dr. Moorman, whose death occurred at St. Anthony's hospital on August 2, 1954, had been living in partial retirement at his home in Oklahoma City. For the past fifteen years Dr. Moorman had been busy, primarily, in the multiple chores of editing the *Journal* of the Oklahoma State Medical Association. This assignment had an ideal incumbent in Dr. Moorman who had ample training in the classics, bolstered by a strict discipline acquired in the Medical School of the University of Louisville, a lifetime devoted to the study of human problems, some international travel, and the constant stimulation gained from colleagues during long and intensive work in professional organizations on the city, county, state, regional, national, and international levels. In his post as editor-in-chief of the *Journal,* Dr. Moorman attended the primary functions of presenting a wide range of articles on the many aspects of medicine. Happily for medical historians of Oklahoma, he also gathered data of a biographical nature on many colleagues and worked this information into the magazine year after year. Dr. Moorman's editorials reflect his specialities in medicine, his attitudes on government and medicine, the role of the family doctor today, and other topics written in a pungent style and reflecting in their total output a major contribution to medical literature. Other medical journals were happy to publish articles of the physician from Oklahoma City, whose name steadily gained prominence. A bibliography of these writings of Dr. Moorman, as yet only partially completed, is extensive and impressive.

Dr. Moorman also wrote several books. One of these was a scientific treatise on the cystic disease of the lungs. Another discusses industrial and domestic gas hazards arising through the production, refining, and consumption of petroleum and its products. For the American Sanitorium Association Dr. Moorman contributed the third number in its historical series. His book called *Tuberculosis and Genius,* published originally by the University of Chicago Press in 1940, was reprinted by the National Tuberculosis Association in 1950, and widely circulated in Spanish-speaking countries in a special translation. He was also author of an engrossing autobiographical account published in 1951 by the University of Oklahoma Press, under the title *Pioneer Doctor,* which reflects the life of a professional man in Oklahoma after the turn of the century and includes six chapters on tuberculosis written primarily for the layman.



LEWIS JEFFERSON MOORMAN, M.D.

Dr. Moorman carried his historical interest into his teaching. Soon after the founding of the University of Oklahoma Medical School Dr. Moorman was invited to join the faculty. From that time until his death, he was associated in some capacity or other with the School, filling the deanship for four years during the troublesome thirties. Dr. Moorman early displayed great charm as an anecdotist and raconteur, and many physicians over the state today owe their appreciation of the "historical approach" to medicine to Dr. Moorman's lectures at the Medical School.

At some unknown moment in the unfolding of Dr. Moorman's service to Oklahoma, he conceived the idea of a multiple-volume history of medicine in the state. He contemplated a comprehensive treatment of the subject, which would open with medicine among the American Indians, continuing through the changing territorial period into the present century which has seen so much medical progress within Oklahoma. Dr. Moorman was constantly drawing old friends and new acquaintances into a discussion of this subject, spreading his contagious enthusiasm to them. At one such conference on the campus of the University of Oklahoma there was born an idea which has since come to be called "The Medical History Project." This project has as its major goal the collection of medical archives, which would form the core of original source materials for the proposed medical history. The fundamental appropriateness of the program was immediately apparent. The Oklahoma State Medical Association endorsed and gave material support to the project. The University's Division of Manuscripts undertook its activation. Today, the collection of archival treasures basic to the history of medicine proceeds on schedule.

Dr. Moorman was first, last, and always a physician. Yet he has enriched Oklahoma's chronicles with his own numerous writings and by the writing which he, personally, stimulated through his editorial work. He endowed an entire generation of young doctors with a larger appreciation of the history of the noblest of all professions. He set the course for a pilot project to assemble the basic materials reflecting the work of all of Oklahoma's pioneer doctors. This man's remarkable career in our state was yet more remarkable for the fact that he was not a native son of Oklahoma. Born in Leitchfield, Kentucky, on February 9, 1875, Dr. Moorman took up residence in Oklahoma Territory in 1901. Influenced by a country doctor to study medicine, Dr. Moorman spent six years of his professional life as a country doctor—first at Chickasha, briefly, and then at Jet. Following post-graduate work at the University of Virginia medical school and a brief period of study at the New York Polyclinic Hospital, Dr. Moorman returned to settle at Oklahoma City. He was named almost immediately to the staff of St. Anthony's Hospital, remaining in active status until 1950 when he accepted a change to an honorary capacity. Dr. Moorman's early attraction to the study of tuberculosis led him to found in Oklahoma City in 1914 the first private

sanitorium in the state for the treatment of this disease. For more than thirty years Dr. Moorman maintained this sanitorium.

Dr. Moorman, as an organizer and leader, made a signal contribution to the medical professional. For twenty-nine years he served as president of the Oklahoma County Public Health Association and, at the time of his death, he was honorary president of the association. At one time or another he filled the presidency of numerous other professional organizations, including the Oklahoma County Medical Society; Oklahoma State Medical Association; Southern Medical Association; National Tuberculosis Association; American Trudeau Society; Oklahoma City Academy of Medicine; Southern Tuberculosis Conference; Southern Sanitorium Association; American Medical Writer's Association; American Clinical and Climatological Society.

Many honors came to Dr. Moorman during his lifetime. He was elected to the Oklahoma Memorial Association in 1935; he was made honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa, 1950; he became a member of Alpha Omega Alpha, national honorary medical society, 1953. He belonged to the Filson Club of Louisville, Ky., and to the Men's Dinner Club of Oklahoma City.

Dr. Moorman was married to Mary Christian in 1909, and their honeymoon was combined with a trip to Vienna where Dr. Moorman did post-graduate work. The Moormans became the parents of three children: Mrs. Charles D. Tuller of Atlanta; Mrs. George Grant of San Antonio; and Lewis J. Moorman, Jr., also of San Antonio. Dr. Moorman is survived by Mrs. Moorman, their children and several grandchildren.

Dr. Moorman will long be remembered in Oklahoma as a pioneer doctor who practiced for several years at Jet, as the founder of a clinic for the treatment of tuberculosis, and always as a most accessible and understanding physician. It is both fitting and proper that this great Association—the Oklahoma Historical Society—should pause to mark the disappearance of a medical historian whose contributions to the history of our State and his profession give every indication of reaching far into the times of future generations of Oklahomans.

OSCAR CLARENCE NEWMAN, M. D.

By O. H. Richards

Oscar Clarence Newman, nationally known physician and surgeon and founder of the Shattuck Memorial Hospital, was born December 29, 1876, near Peebles, Ohio, the son of Mesheck Herdman Newman and Sarah Johnson Newman.

After finishing grade school, Oscar C. Newman entered the Adams County Teachers Normal. The winter after he received his teacher's certificate, he taught his home district school. In 1894, he enrolled in the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio. At the end of the semester, he returned to Adams County and taught a winter term of school at Mineral Springs. In 1896, he entered Fayette College, Fulton County, Ohio remaining until September 1897, at which time he entered the Medical Department of the National University, Lebanon, Ohio, taking the first step in gratifying a boyhood ambition to become a country doctor. In 1898, he entered the Medical Department of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, graduating in 1900.[1]

Dr. A. M. Newman, an uncle, located at Canadian, Texas, informed him of the opportunities for a young doctor at Grand, Day County, Oklahoma.[2] Grand was without a doctor, the nearest one located at Higgins, Texas; and the next, at Canadian, Texas from which point Dr. A. M. Newman was often called.

When the young doctor landed in Grand, in old Day County, people gave him a hearty welcome. Impressed by their friendliness and hospitality he decided to locate. With only $2.50, he gambled on the future. He was given board and room by two kindly old people, Mr. and Ms. Adam Walck who ran the local hotel and were willing to wait until he was able to pay. A friend loaned him an untamed cow pony and a saddle to make his professional calls. The doctor had many painful experiences before he qualified as a "bronc-buster." His medical practice increased. His calls extended from the state line on the west to the Washita on the south and to Turkey Creek on the East.

While his practice increased, his collections were at a standstill. His patients were poor and unable to pay. He became discouraged and at times he felt like quitting the whole thing. An old doctor in a little town in Arkansas was retiring and offered the young doctor his practice on a partnership basis. He was about to accept but the

[1] O. C. Newman, M.D., "Reminiscences of a Country Doctor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 312-419.

[2] O. H. Richards, "Early Days in Day County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 313-24.

people of Grand would not let him, saying, "You are needed here. Times will get better." Soon afterward, he was appointed deputy County Treasurer. During the winter of 1901 and 1902, there was an epidemic of smallpox in different parts of the county, and the County commissioners gave him the contract of attending all cases and vaccinating all persons who were willing, at $1.00 each. During the day, he would ride horseback and attend patients and at night, he would post the County Treasurer's books. On March 1902, the County commissioners paid him $555.00 for services rendered. His first obligation was the payment of his board bill of $152.00, and a month in advance. "No incident in my life gave me greater satisfaction than paying this obligation," the Doctor often recalled. By this time the country was becoming more prosperous and more people paid their bills. The doctor discarded his saddle horse and purchased a span of driving horses and buggy as a means of transportation.

On September 18, 1902, he was united in marriage to Miss Della Smith, which was the most important social event that ever occurred in Grand. It was given under the auspices of the Woodmen of the World at their lodge hall. People from all over the country attended. To this union, were born three sons: Roy E. born September 18, 1903; Floyd S. born Jan. 20, 1906; and M. Haskell born September 20, 1907. One of the most remarkable things in the life of Dr. Newman is that his three sons adopted the medical profession. Each one is a specialist in some line of the profession. However, the Doctor always gave credit to Mrs. Newman as the power behind the throne in supervising their sons' education.

On October 30, 1907, he moved to Shattuck and with other Shattuck businessmen established the Northwestern Sanitorium which closed in one year, as a failure. He resumed his private practice but each year he managed to take post-graduate work from four to six weeks in some of the leading medical and surgical colleges of the country. He attended the Mayo Clinic thirty-two times from ten days to two weeks, since 1913. During World War I, he was inducted in the military service and served one year and was discharged with the rank of Captain.

In 1920 he established the Shattuck Hospital to which was added thirty-nine modern fireproof rooms in 1927, and twenty-four more rooms were added in 1929. In 1937, a twenty-room, fully equipped modern clinic was built adjoining the hospital. In 1947, another story was added to the Newman Clinic and Hospital, and the capacity in rooms and equipment doubled. This was the third time the Shattuck Hospital had been enlarged since 1927.

When each addition to the hospital was completed it was dedicated with impressive ceremonies, the most memorable when the first clinic was dedicated in 1937. There was an estimated crowd of 2,000 people present at the High School auditorium where the program was held. The high-light of the occasion was the presentation of the

OSCAR CLARENCE NEWMAN, M.D.

life-sized portrait of Dr. Newman, painted by Dord Fitz, a rising young artist and made possible through contributions of over 3,000 babies at whose birth Dr. Newman attended. These babies, some of them now fathers and mothers, paid tribute in an engrossed memorial, to their friend and physician with this portrait. Few physicians have had more high honors conferred on them than Dr. Newman.

On January, 1939, he was selected by Governor Leon C. Phillips as a member of the State Board of Medical Examiners, much to the Doctor's surprise, as he had not asked for the appointment. On October 16, 1939, he was inducted as a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons at Philadelphia, the highest honor that can be conferred on any physician. He was honored by Governor Robert S. Kerr as a member on the State Board of Medical Examiners, April 7, 1943, for a period of four years.

On November 16, 1943 he was honored by the Oklahoma Memorial Association, inducted into its "Hall of Fame," at the annual Statehood Day banquet. At the December, 1947, meeting of the State Medical Council held in Oklahoma City he was voted the most outstanding country doctor in the state. In connection with these honors he was director of Oklahoma Medical Research and Oklahoma State Medical Insurance.

Dr. Newman was a great humanitarian as well as a physician. The rich, the poor, the halt and lame and blind received the same consideration at the Newman Hospital, a practice he began back in Grand, Oklahoma. He was absolutely fearless with a nerve of steel. It took nerve to conquer a bucking bronco, his first means of transportation. It took nerve to cross the swollen Canadian to visit a sick patient when he almost drowned because his horse stumbled.

Another occasion he showed his fearlessness that few people know about: He was called to attend a ranchman's sick wife. While there he encountered two outlaw brothers of the sick lady who were hiding out. After breakfast the next morning the Doctor stepped out for a smoke. On returning to the sick room, he found there the lady's outlaw brothers and husband. The lady was crying and the brothers were cursing the husband claiming he had been abusing their sister and one said "I am a notion to shoot him," dropping his hand to his gun. The doctor grabbed the outlaw's hand and said, "Get out of here! I know your sister has a kind and loving husband. you fellows are causing these tears and if you know what is good for you, you had better hit the grit." They got!

In 1902, he was made a Mason at Texmo Lodge, No. 56, Texmo, Oklahoma Territory, riding horseback thirty miles to receive the degrees. On March 26, 1952, the Masonic Grand Lodge presented him a fifty year Masonic pin. He was a 32nd Scottish Rite Mason

of Guthrie and India Shrine Temple at Oklahoma City. He was also a member of the Odd Fellows Lodge. He was a member of the First Baptist Church of Shattuck, and a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Oscar Clarence Newman passed away at the family home, March 14, 1953, aged seventy-six years after an illness of almost three years. Funeral services were held at the First Baptist Church March 16, 1953. His body lay in state between the hours of 1:00 and 3:00 p.m. in the Church Sanctuary. Old and young alike passed by the bier to pay tribute to a beloved man. Services were under the direction of the Reverends Lewis M. Hancock, Wilmer E. Grindstaff and Leon Smith, the latter Christian minister of Dalhart, Texas, and nephew of Mrs. Newman. Burial was made in the Shattuck Cemetery with grave-side services by the Masonic Lodge.

If any physician ever lived up to his Hippocratic oath it was Dr. Newman. To aid the sick and ailing was his first consideration with no thought of financial consideration. Paraphrasing, one can truly state when Dr. Newman's final summons came the Great Physician said, "Well done thou good and faithful servant, enter in my name."

TRIBUTE TO MRS. MABEL BASSETT

*By Jessie Randolph Moore**

"In as much as you have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, you have done it unto me."

This tribute is written to honor the memory of Mrs. Mabel Bassett, one of the great humanitarians of Oklahoma. For twenty years she served Oklahoma as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections in an heroic fight for the safe-guarding of human welfare. She was a woman of great initiative and vision. She was assured that God was actively present in the world and had full knowledge of the collective needs of all of His Children who came under her jurisdiction as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections and would hold her responsible for any neglect of the sacred obligations of her office.

The inequalities of life were grave problems and a matter of deep concern to Mrs. Bassett. She had a "charge to keep." The aged, who have built the bridges of the past over which we have traveled to the benefits of today. The neglected and dependent children had her compassionate interest. She believed the destiny of our nation lies in the hands of our children and that it is our duty today to conserve these resources that made the generation of tomorrow. The physically handicapped should be given the opportunity to live an independent life. The mentally incompetent wherever found should have sympathetic competent supervision and medical care. The delinquent should have competent, understanding assistance if they were to reform their lives.

In so many of her investigations on the negative side of life she found the prisons of Oklahoma were filled with delinquents who had never had a chance to become good citizens because of environment. Mrs. Bassett had a sympathetic understanding for the needs of all of "the charges", who came under the jurisdiction of her office.

One of her other numerous official duties included the inspection of City, County, and State Institutions. She was especially interested in the supervision and welfare of the inmates of these institutions, also the sanitation of the buildings and seldom had any trouble in having carried out any corrections she recommended.

The Commissioner considered all of the under-privileged citizens to be a sacred obligation to State and Nation. She endorsed Governor Marland's great Social Security Petition. She regarded it as a won-

* This tribute was delivered by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore at the funeral of her friend, Mabel Bourne Bassett.—Ed.

derful safeguard for most of the important Social Welfare problems and used her influence over the state to promote its adoption by the people.

Mrs. Mabel Bassett served Oklahoma as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections for a quarter of a century, and during that period it was always her sincere desire to serve the under-privileged. This benevolent purpose constitutes an essential part of the whole life of this great humanitarian.

She was an Apostle of Hope to the "Little children of the poor," and day by day faithfulness to her "charge" through many years merged into the fragrance of Alabaster Ministration.

—Our Lady of Mercy—

Our Lady of Mercy has gone away
Beyond the Sunset Gates.
In her home she left behind
The fragrance of her presence lingers
Like that immortal perfume
From the Alabaster Box
That Mary broke.
We who knew her like to ponder
On her kindly deeds,
Long to hear again
The tramp of many weary feet and
See her cheerful binding up
The wounds of all humanity
Who passed her door.

J. R. M.

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*MABEL BOURNE BASSETT**
1876—1953

Mabel Bourne Bassett was State Commissioner of Charities and Corrections from 1923 to 1947. Perhaps few people realize the unique place she will fill in the final writing of Oklahoma History. Certainly, few know how fortunate the young state was to have in her so capable a "friend to the friendless", for it is ironical that Mrs. Bassett's work was better known outside the borders of her own state.

Mabel Bourne was born in Chicago, Illinois, August 16, 1876. Her father was Stephen Bourne, a merchant, and a veteran of Company B, Eighth Regiment, Missouri Infantry. Her mother was Martha Ellen Tomlin, daughter of Judge Levi Preston Tomlin of Charleston, Illinois; and it would seem that her crusading spirit was a fitting heritage for a crusading daughter.

Martha Ellen Tomlin, with her sisters, Mary and Margaret Tomlin, were the first women in the United States to edit a newspaper. This was *The Balance* established in 1870, in Chicago,

* This brief biographical sketch on Mrs. Bassett has been contributed by her friend, Mrs. Elsie D. Hand, Librarian, Oklahoma Historical Society.

MABEL BOURNE BASSETT

burned in the great fire, re-established and used to champion women's interests and further woman's suffrage. Martha Ellen Bourne, mother of Mabel Bassett, used the *nome de plume* of "Capitola", and her strong pen moved tirelessly in an effort to free women of that day from servitude to citizenship. Martha Tomlin trained her young daughter, Mabel, as a public speaker. So successful was she that Mabel, at ten years of age, spent the summer in Chautauqua with the humorist, Bill Nye. Mabel Bourne's education was a practical one in social service. She completed her formal education in St. Louis, Missouri, at the Missouri School of Social Economy.

At an early age, Mabel Bourne married Joseph Bassett in Billings, Montana. She and her young husband moved to Sapulpa, Indian Territory, in 1902. Three children were born to Mabel and Joseph Bassett: William Clyde, Mabel Claire (wife of Fleming Warren Abshire), and Herbert Norval. Only William Clyde survived his mother. Also surviving are four granddaughters, Mary E. Abshire, Jean Bassett Harr, Phylis Bassett and Karen Bassett; one great granddaughter, Sharon Harr.

In 1910, Creek County organized the first humane society, out of which grew the first home for children established in the new state of Oklahoma, the Creek County Children's Home. Mabel Bassett headed the organization from the beginning, first as a part time voluntary worker, and as the work grew, organization became a model relief and child welfare agency.

During those twelve years, Mrs. Bassett gained experience. She became aware of needed legislation, comprehended the urgent requirements of social reforms, and was singularly prepared to take over the office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, to which she was elected in 1922. Mrs. Bassett was unprecedented in the state as a vote getter. In the 1926 elections she carried 73 of the 77 counties in the primary and lead the entire state ticket in the general election. A vigorous and forceful campaigner, her loyal supporters were dedicated to her service.

Among her great accomplishments for Oklahoma, Mrs. Bassett fought for the statute, making wife and child desertion a felony enacted by the Eighth Legislature. She was the first to promote the establishment of a State Pardon and Parole Board. She was responsible for the Industrial School for Negro boys at Boley, Oklahoma. She recommended and pushed through to completion a building for women prisoners at the State Penitentiary at McAlester.

Mrs. Bassett was untiring in her work to raise the standards of every institution in the state, whether orphanage, mental institution, or penal and corrcetional institution, often with woefully inadequate appropriations. She often fought against a wall of prejudice to educate the public in more enlightened treatment of its wards. She held offices in or was a member of the following organizations: Vice

President of the American Prison Association; member of the Police Officer's Association; Big Sisters Organization; Women's Auxiliary of the International Railroad Conductors Union, Farmer's Union, and many Labor organizations. In addition, she was affiliated with Eastern Star—White Shrine, the Ruth Bryan Owen Club, Jeffersonian Club, Women's Democratic Council, and Daughters of Democracy.

For her Red Cross work during World War I, Mrs. Bassett was awarded the highest honor in the state by the National Red Cross, a service medal for 3200 hours of dedicated Red Cross work. The club women of Oklahoma recognized her usefulness by appointing her to the Fourth District Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and were staunch in their support of her for many years. For her outstanding services for the betterment of mankind, she was inducted into Oklahoma's "Hall of Fame" by the Oklahoma Memorial Association, on Statehood Day, November 16, 1937.

Mabel Bassett was replaced in office January of 1943. She re-entered the race for her old office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections but was defeated, and retired once and for all, relieved to be free of the strenuous duties of office.

Until her death August 2, 1953, Mrs. Bassett enjoyed a full and pleasant life. She spent much time at her farm about seven miles west of Guthrie on State Highway # 33, where she established a model dairy farm with registered Guernseys.

Posessing rare ability of mind and heart, Mrs. Bassett also had a fine sense of humor. She lived to the fullness of years for her life abounded in the greatness of things accomplished.

On August 3, 1953, by direction of Acting Governor James E. Berry, Mabel Bourne Bassett returned to the Capitol where she served so faithfully, there to lie in state in the Blue Room. It was the last honor the State could pay her. Christian Science services were held for her the following day with burial in Memorial Park Cemetery.

—Elsie D. Hand.

IN
COMMEMORATION
OF
MRS. MABEL BASSETT
FORMER
COMMISSIONER OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS OF OKLAHOMA

September 14, 1953

Dear Mrs. Bassett:

In compliance with requests from so many of your most ardent friends, I will try, in my humble way, to pay you a worthy tribute, in the form of a letter addressed to you in commemoration of your most faithful and devoted life.

I earnestly feel that in your passing, the underprivileged of our State and Nation lost one of their most devoted friends, and that the Nation lost one of its truly great American women.

Your untiring, courageous, and truly affectionate devotion to the poor, and deserving-underprivileged men, women, and children of our State, will stand out as an undying inspiration to all of our fine people in those more humble walks of life. Your courageous, humble, and sincere devotion to the daily tasks of worthy humane endeavor will live inspiringly in the memory of your friends forever; and the smiling, complacent, and heroic courage which you so beautifully displayed through the closing years of your life will, no doubt, supply all of your loved ones with their most comforting bit of consolation when they, too, come face to face with the grim realities of the inevitable.

One of the finest tributes to your long life of fruitful service is your untiring and affectionate devotion to the so-called forgotten man. The poor and downtrodden could always look to you for a helping hand. Through your many years as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections you reflected the charm, ability, and devotion to duty that will command the respect of the people of the great State of Oklahoma forever. And all through your many fruitful years, both in public office and private life, you have always reflected those more beautiful and intellectual elements of esthetic compassion of heart. And for this I wish to quote these lines from my favorite poem, as a tribute, which, to me, is so beautifully characteristic of you.

"He prayeth best, who lovest best
All things - both great and small,
For the Dear God who maketh them
Made and loveth all."

And now, that the Great God of Heaven has spoken - softly and tenderly - with assurance of Eternal Forgiveness "Well done thou good and faithful servant" your lips are sealed with a beckoning farewell smile for all the fine people throughout the world - that you loved and knew - and like an enchanting echo there comes back the words of eternal admiration from all the fine people, that knew you.

And now, in the Name of Him who giveth and taketh away, let me say on behalf of all your fine friends everywhere - Goodby, Mrs. Bassett - and may you mourn not the grave; for it is just a simple passing from this beloved old earth -- with its sunshine and its rain -- TO YOUR ETERNAL DESTINATION, IN GOD'S IMMORTAL HALL OF FAME.

Most respectfully,

Your Friend - E Pluribus Unum

W. A. Villines

THE TERRITORIAL PRESIDENTS OF OKLAHOMA A. and M. COLLEGE

*By Dr. Harry E. Thompson**

On account of the lack of elementary training for students at A. & M. college, the preparatory department was created and I was placed at its head as principal and served as such for the eight years I was there. J. M. Halbrook, Miss Ella Hunter, and Miss May Overstreet were my assistants. I, too, had charge of summer classes in training them for teaching in the public schools. I taught free-hand and mechanical drawing, the forerunner of the art department.

The first college president was Robert J. Barker who was born in West Virginia and came from his home in Missouri to Oklahoma in the Run of April 22, 1889. He got a claim at Crescent in the edge of the blackjacks. He was a congenial, companionable, intelligent citizen, so his neighbors elected him a member of the first territorial legislature. There he was recognized as a leader and in the distribution of favors he was appointed president of the A. & M. board of regents.

A provision of law made the president of the board ex-officio president of the college. Barker resigned as president of the board but became college president. He was a warm personal friend of those he liked and I was one of his close friends. We boarded at the same place and shared the same room.

At a meeting of the board of regents in Stillwater on November 25, 1891, Barker was "elected president of the faculty and professor of moral and mental science." In the summer of 1893 he and I prepared the first A. & M. college catalog. It has forty-eight pages and "is a thing of beauty and a joy forever." Barker helped teach the basic college courses. He was not a college man but a graduate of a normal school. He was a good executive and got along well with the board, faculty, and the employees of the experiment station. His influence over students and faculty was good and all liked him.

A. C. Magruder, first A. & M. professor of agriculture and horticulture, joined the faculty at the time Barker became president.

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* This article has been sent to *The Chronicles* by Dr. B. B. Chapman, Oklahoma A. and M., who kindly contributed the following statement on the writer: "Dr. Harry E. Thompson is the only living member of the first faculty of Oklahoma A. and M. college. He served from 1893-1901. Subsequently he was Assistant State Bank Commissioner, and Assistant State Auditor. For several years he has been a physician in McPherson, Kansas. He is a member of the Half-Century club of the college, and last spring (1954) he was awarded the 50-year gold pin of the college."—Ed.

ROBERT J. BARKER, FIRST PRESIDENT
OF OKLAHOMA A. AND M. COLLEGE, 1891-1894.

Because of his position, Magruder was allowed to keep at the Red Barn a gray stallion called "Damit," a fine saddle-horse. Magruder was a good horseman and looked the part on "Damit." He let me ride the horse and also drive him double with another horse. Once some boys put burs under the saddle, and "Damit" nearly bucked me off.

It was during Barker's administration that the Cherokee Outlet was opened, September 16, 1893. About half of the resident population of Stillwater moved away when the opening occurred. Joseph W. McNeal was president of the Guthrie national bank and was a prominent Republican. He had purchased the Stillwater bonds which enabled Stillwater to secure the college. About the time of the opening of the Cherokee Outlet McNeal had a mortgage of $450 on a 20-acre tract south of where Old Central was to be built. The tract had been platted for a townsite addition and in those panic days of '93 McNeal offered it to me for $450. Prior to that time I had no experience in townsites and I did not make the purchase. Judge Sterling P. King then bought the tract and in due time made a hat-full of money out of it.

Barker was a Republican and when the democratic administration under Cleveland came, he went out as president. His term ended June 15, 1894, the day Old Central was dedicated. The good that men do live after them and the evil is interred with their bones. So let it be with my friend, President Barker. I agree with Professor Frank Waugh who said: "Barker's bitterest political rivals never dared accuse him of the slightest trickery. He never got credit for his really good qualities."

Barker was succeeded by Major Henry Alvord, a Virginia gentleman and a military character of the Civil War. After the war the government sent him to Indian Territory to supervise wild Indians who had been making raids into Texas to steal cattle and horses. Later he held a government job in Washington.

Through the influence of the agriculture department Alvord was named president of A. & M. to promote the government's plans in carrying out the provisions of the Hatch and Morrill acts. Alvord and I roomed and boarded at the same place so I knew him quite well and liked him. He got along pretty well with his work till he and John Clark, president of the board, disagreed. Then he terminated his presidency of seven months and returned to Washington to a position under Secretary James Wilson. I met him a few years later at a meeting of the national education association in Washington.

Edward Danridge Murdaugh was recommended to the board of regents by Alvord, and became the third president. He came from a good family. His father had been bishop of the Episcopal organization in Virginia. "E.D.M." was a handsome fellow and

had been a gay Lothario in his callow days. He had been president of a college on the Eastern Shore in Maryland.

At A. & M. Murdaugh never really got into the lives of the students for he served only six months. He was a misfit at Stillwater for he didn't know what was required under the law establishing A. & M. colleges. He lacked executive ability but he was a good teacher. He and I boarded at the same place and occupied adjoining rooms, and we were warm companions.

Murdaugh went on a camping trip with a group including John Clark. Murdaugh got in bad on the trip and his term as president ended on January 17, 1895. In March, 1895, Clark ended his two years of membership on the A. & M. board of regents.

My old friend, John L. Mitch, was president of the board having jurisdiction of the Central normal school at Edmond. He asked me if I would recommend Murdaugh for the presidency of that school. I recommended him and he was employed and served a half dozen years. He was a good teacher there and an efficient president.[1]

Murdaugh was succeeded at A. & M. College by George Espy Morrow who was president from 1895 to 1899. I do not recall how many or what degrees he had but he had been called to Iowa State College, at Ames, to put it on the map as a model in the line of agriculture. He had been a prominent agricultural editor and he was a leader in all lines of progress in agriculture. He was at the head of that department at the University of Illinois for some years and had associates whom he had prepared to take his place when he was elected president of Oklahoma A. & M. college.

I loved and admired Morrow for his fine character, personality and splendid attainments which so fitly prepared him for service to A. & M. college. Only one thing, his advanced age, limited his services. At public gatherings where he spoke he showed his superiority over the heads of other institutions. I went with him on most of his trips as he depended on me to make arrangements and to care for him, and he was always grateful. For a time he and I were roommates in Stillwater.

Morrow was the first president to bring his family to Stillwater, build a house and identify himself with the people he served. His wife and two daughters were a real asset to college life, both to students and faculty members. His daughter Grace, a graduate of the University of Illinois, came to Stillwater about a year before there were any A. & M. graduates. While her fiance finished his

[1] See *Appendix A* for notes on the work of E. D. Murdaugh in the educational field of Oklahoma.

university work she did the first post graduate work in A. & M. history.[2]

Morrow was a fine executive for he always knew what to do for all factions. His lectures were "epics" of science and progress. His visits to foreign countries like Holland and Denmark were sources of information in all his teaching. Especially in England he profited by demonstrations he had seen in farming. He recommended to the board men for carrying on the work of the college as it should be done and was done by experts. After four years of fine service he realized that he was failing physically so he resigned and returned to his farm at Paxton, Illinois. He died soon after retirement.

An outstanding monument to his memory are the Morrow Plots established on the campus of the University of Illinois in 1877, demonstrating through the years the value of rotation of crops. The plots are said to be next to the oldest in the world. Morrow was also through his editorial writings given credit for the establishment of the Chicago Fat Stock Show, an annual event.

In 1898, during the Morrow administration, Angelo C. Scott was elected to the chair of English at A. & M. college. I had known Scott since the Run of '89 when we went to Oklahoma City. There I knew him personally in church and civic work. I was in his Sunday school class in the first presbyterian church. Later my wife was in the class and we greatly admired him. He was U. S. commissioner, a lawyer, and he owned the "Angelo," one of the first hotels in Oklahoma City. With his brother, W. W. Scott, he founded Oklahoma City's first newspaper, the *Oklahoma Times.*

Scott's great oratorical ability made him much in demand by the public. I think one of his best lectures was, "The Mistakes of Jeremiah." This lecture in Scott's handwriting is now in the Scott

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[2] Grace Morrow Seely, La Jolla, California, furnished the following data concerning her father: George Espy Morrow was born Otcober 19, 1840, entered Maineville Academy in 1856, and taught two terms of school before the Civil War. He volunteered in 1861 as a private, was wounded at Perryville, Kentucky, on October 8, 1862, and was discharged in 1863. In 1866 he graduated from the Law School of Michigan University.

He began editorial work on the *Western Rural* at Detroit in 1865, married Sara Maria Gifford on April 11, 1867, and removed to Chicago with the *Western Rural* in 1868. In 1869 he was editor and publisher of the *Western Farmer* at Madison, Wisconsin, but returned to the *Western Rural* in Chicago in 1875. The next year he was professor of agriculture in Iowa State College. In 1877 he became a professor in the University of Illinois, and in 1881 took charge of the two university farms.

In 1888 he became first agriculturist of the reorganized experiment station of Illinois, and in 1891 president of its board of directors. In 1894 he resigned the professorship after a service of eighteen years. In the meantime he had visited Europe in 1879, 1889, and in 1892 he had visited the Pacific coast. He died at Paxton. Illinois, March 26, 1900.

collection in the A. & M. library, and is listed in the inventory of the 294 items of the collection.

In 1898 when the chair of English at A. & M. was vacant, President Morrow was told by the board of regents to get someone from Oklahoma, and he asked me as one of the original Oklahomans who I would recommend. Without hesitation I suggested Scott. The board was in session so they phoned him and he came over the next day and was interviewed and elected to the chair of English. He filled the position with distinction and then served as college president from 1899-1908. It has been my fortune to know personally all the presidents of A. & M. college.

APPENDIX A

At Central State Normal School Murdaugh (1895) suggested the bronze and blue as school colors. This was one of the first state schools to adopt colors, and they have been retained. Murdaugh brought the first educational "doctor" to Central, and he inaugurated the first summer school there. He posted eleven rules for the faculty, and sixteen rules for students. He was an instructor at Central from 1917 until his death in 1925.

In the preparation of this article, Dr. B. B. Chapman was directed by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour to an excellent unpublished study made in 1941 by Professor Francis Coram Oakes who knew Murdaugh as president of the Normal School.

Oakes said in part: "Murdaugh was directing head in organizing the Northwestern Normal School at Alva in 1897. Following his incumbency at Edmond he became superintendent of the Woodward schools for a year, then president of the State Normal School in Frostburg, Maryland; and later, president of the Oklahoma Military Academy at Claremore. Subsequently, he was president of Southeastern, and finally a member of the faculty of Central College at Edmond, where he closed his rich career as a school man. He maintained his great ability as a public speaker until long after his seventieth year. He was a princely character, always ranking much above his environment. A disciplinarian of the old school, he never faltered from his position. That the education process worked best under strict tutelage was his birthright and treasured inheritance. A southerner to the manor born, he never betrayed his Virginia antecedents! Oklahoma has known but one Edmund Danridge Murdaugh, and his name will linger long in the advancing years of thousands of Oklahomans!

"It was Murdaugh who first traveled over the Territory extensively to advertise the Normal School. During the summer of 1899 he visited 17 counties to make 60 speeches for the school, with the result of a 25 per cent increase in the autumn enrollment. He knew normal schools; and it was his good fortune, as well as Central's, largely to fashion Central as a standard teacher-training institution. It was he who first projected a six-year course of study for the Normal; it was he that established, tentatively, the training department; the oratorical association, the Athenian debating club; the 'Philomath', the school's first literary publication; the campus beautiful—the large evergreen in front of Old North Tower being a part of his handiwork; the music and speech departments; together with the custom of holding the meetings of educational groups on the Normal premises. It can be said with truth, that Central has few major characteristics now that were not initiated by Murdaugh. He was the first great builder of the institution, which is today called Central State College."

EPWORTH UNIVERSITY

*By Ray Asplin**

The first session of the Oklahoma Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Oklahoma City on December 14-19, 1892, with Bishop Goodsell, presiding. At this session a committee on education was appointed consisting of J. F. Palmer, L. W. B. Long, J. P. Smith, William Dawson and J. F. Smith. After four days of due consideration, this committee made its report, in which it stated. "We recommend that the Conference give early and energetic attention to the matter of establishing two or more good conference seminaries to furnish our young people a good course of study of advanced grades."[1]

The Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma Territory enacted a law giving a charter to Oklahoma Methodist University, in 1893, under the patronage and control of the Oklahoma Conference of the Methodist Church, naming a board of trustees for it. The trustees met and reported favorably on the charter and the carrying out of such a school. The Conference met in 1894 and an attempt was made to establish a Methodist Hall at Edmond in connection with the Central State Normal College, but this did not meet the approval of the Conference. Also, an attempt was made to establish an Oxford Hall at Norman in connection with the University of Oklahoma which was not approved.[2]

The matter of establishing a college was talked about from time to time, but no definite action was ever taken. However, the Conference at Oklahoma City in October 1899 appointed a committee to consider the establishing of a school and to report their progress at the next session of the Conference.

Suggestions were made in the spring of 1900, that a university should be founded under the joint patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In the spring following, the matter was discussed seriously and a meeting of a few of the representative churchmen of both branches of the Methodist Church was planned. A meeting was held in the United States Land Office in Oklahoma City, On June 22, 1901. Here the idea of a joint ownership of a university was discussed.

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* Ray Asplin, a native of Arkansas, received his B.S. degree in Education from Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Missouri. He has served as a history teacher and principal of high schools in Missouri and Oklahoma. At present he is a graduate student at the University of Oklahoma.—Ed.

[1] H. E. Brill, *The Story of Oklahoma City University and Its Predecessors* (Oklahoma City, 1938), p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Mr. Anton Classen,[3] of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Mr. C. B. Ames[4] of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, pointed out various phases of the proposition, and how both churches could benefit by this act of union. Anton Classen representing the Commercial Club, in consultation with three from the two conferences, reached the conclusion that the plan was not only practical but feasible, and it was agreed that the matter would be presented to the coming sessions of the two Conferences in October.[5]

The Commercial Club sent a delegation to both Conferences which were in session, October 23rd to 28th, 1901. Hon. C. B. Ames, R. Q. Blakeney and Ministers Broyes and Thompson and others were sent to Chickasha, where the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was in session, while a similar delegation consisting of Mr. J. B. Thoburn[6] and Messrs. Johnson, Blackwelder and others were sent to Shawnee, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was in conference. Each of the delegations was authorized to submit the proposition to each conference that Oklahoma City would donate 240 acres of land, about 40 acres of which would be set aside as a campus and the remainder to be plotted as town lots and sold. The proceeds

[3] Anton H. Classen was born in Illinois in 1861. He graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1887. He came to Oklahoma in 1889, settling at Edmond, where he practiced law, published the *Edmond Sun* and dealt in real estate. He was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office in Oklahoma City, in 1897. Upon his removal to Oklahoma City he developed many additions to the city and was a street railway builder. He was a promoter and served on the Board of Trustees of Epworth University. He died December 31, 1922.—"Passing Pioneers", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923) pp. 254-255.

[4] Charles B. Ames was born August 1, 1870 in Macon, Mississippi. He received his B.S., and LL.D. degrees from Emory and Henry College and his LL.B. degree from the University of Mississippi. He practiced law in Mississippi and Kansas City, before he came to Oklahoma City in 1899. He promoted the single statehood idea and was a delegate to Washington. He was Supreme Court Commissioner at large, 1911-13, Federal Food Administrator for Oklahoma during World War I, Assistant Attorney General for the United States, 1919-20. He was counsel for business and industry, served as Chairman of the Board of the Texas Company. He helped promote Epworth University, served on its Board of Trustees, and Dean of its law school. He died in July, 1935.—Boren, Lyle H. and Boren, Dale, *Who Is Who In Oklahoma,* (Guthrie, Okla., 1935) p. 15.

[5] Brill, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3.

[6] Joseph Bradfield Thoburn was born in Ohio, in 1866. He grew up on the Kansas frontier and received a B. S. degree from Kansas State College in 1893. He learned the printers trade and moved to Oklahoma City in 1899. He was secretary of the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Agriculture, 1902-05, Directorate of the Oklahoma Historical Society 1903-17, research assistant 1917-19, Secretary 1919-26, curator and research director 1926-31, member of the directorate 1932-37, curator 1938: newspaper writer until 1907, instructor in history, University of Oklahoma 1913-17. From 1907 he devoted attention mainly to local and midland history and archeology. He was author of *History of Oklahoma,* (1916) co-author with Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma—A History of the State and Its People,* (1929) and many other writings. He received a Litt.D. degree from Oklahoma City University in 1931. He was a promoter, served on the Board of Trustees, and gave the name to *Epworth University.* He died March 2, 1941. (Muriel H. Wright, "Pioneer Historian and Archaeologist of the State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIV No. 4, (Winter 1946-47) pp. 396-413.).

from the sale of the lots would be about $100,000 which would be set aside for the erection of the first building and as an endowment fund.[7] The proposition also provided that the two churches should give the institution united support and use a certain percent of the donation for endowment solicitation; the two churches to elect an even number of directors and take full control of the institution.[8]

Several other cities were before the conferences with offers to secure the location of the university, principal one of which was Enid where the citizens offered to donate 160 acres of land and $10,000 in cash.[9]

The Reverend E. B. Rankin, made a motion at the Shawnee Conference that a joint commission of ten members be appointed to confer with a like commission from Chickasha.[10] Bishop Hamilton then appointed a commission[11] of five ministers and five laymen to act jointly with the South Church, to locate, build and equip an institution of learning, to be jointly owned and operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[12] It was provided also that no consideration was to be given to any place offering less than $100,000 and forty acres of suitable land. The commission was to meet in Oklahoma City on the first Tuesday in December, 1901, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to consider the proposed matters, and the items on which they could not agree should be sent back to the respective conferences for further action.[13]

The Conference at Chickasha accepted this proposition and appointed a committee of ten members to act jointly in the work consummating all arrangements to carry into execution the project and to commence the work at once.[14] Bishop Hamilton congratulated Mr. Ranklin upon the fact that his resolution was the first successful effort to unite the two great bodies of the Methodist Church since their separation in 1844. This was a history making epoch for all intents and purposes, that no longer a south and a north, but a united Methodist Church should exist. Mr. Rankin was appointed one of the University committee to complete the plans.[15]

Much opposition was encountered by Mr. Rankin and others who wanted to locate the university in Oklahoma City. Enid was

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[7] Brill, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[8] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) October 27, 1901.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *The Mangum Star*, November 14, 1901.
[11] Bishop Hamilton at Shawnee appointed the following for the Commission: Ministers, J. T. Riley, E. B. Rankin, Marion Porter, E. B. Delaplain and J. F. Palmer, Laymen: George S. Green, Frank B. Reed, J. B. Thoburn, J. B. Cullison and A. F. Rankin.—Brill, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[12] Brill, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) October 27, 1901.
[15] *The Mangum Star*, November 14, 1901.

unsuccessful in its bid for the university and the Methodist schools at Fort Worth, Texas, and Winfield, Kansas, each made determined efforts to have their schools officially recognized by the conference at Shawnee.[16] The president of Fort Worth University, who from interested motives had opposed the proposition also extended his hearty congratulations after Oklahoma City had received the endorsement of both conferences. He made the voluntary statement that the Oklahoma and Indian Territories were at present sending four hundred students to his institution.[17]

Mr. J. B. Thoburn selected the name *Epworth University,* which was adopted as that of the new institution. The commission thought that this would perpetuate the name of the great society of young people which had become an integral part of every Methodist Church in both the North and South, and the University would receive the support of the society.[18]

The Commission met the following December and perfected the organization, approving the name of *Epworth University* as the name of the new institution. Members accepted the proposition of the University Development Company of Oklahoma City, and the size of the campus was increased to fifty two acres through a voluntary act of Mr. Classen. The University Development Company also offered the sum of $100,000 for the endowment, buildings and equipment and expenses for financial agencies. The money was to be raised by the sale of lots held by the University Development Company.[19] By the terms upon which the fifty two acre site was conveyed to the Conference, the property was not subject to sale or mortgage, but was to be devoted in perpetuity to the cause of higher education and under no condition could it revert to its donors, the University Development Company.[20]

The Epworth University Joint Commission[21] met at ten o'clock on May 6, 1902 at the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Oklahoma City. The Reverend E. C. Delaplain having moved from the Territory, the commission asked that the Reverend E. S. Stockwell, presiding elder of the Perry District, be permitted to sit as a member of the commission, subject to the appointment of Bishop Hamilton.[22]

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *The Indian Chieftain,* (Vinita) November 7, 1901.

[18] *The Weekly Times Journal,* (Oklahoma City) June 13, 1902.

[19] Brill, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[20] *Catalog of Epworth University,* 1908-09, p. 16.

[21] There were present on the part of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South: S. G. Thompson, T. M. Broyles, C. B. Ames, A. H. Classen, of Oklahoma City; M. L. Butler of Muskogee, T. P. Howell of Davis, and T. J. Lowe of Guthrie. On the part of the Oklahoma Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church: J. B. Riley and J. B. Thoburn of Oklahoma City, E. S. Rankin of Edmond, J. M. Palmer of Granite, Marion Porter of Enid, George S. Green of Guthrie and A. F. Rankin of Perkins.—*The Daily Oklahoman,* (Oklahoma City) May 7, 1902.

[22] *The Daily Oklahoman,* (Oklahoma City) May 7, 1902.

Under the head of "Location," the University Development Company, a syndicate of realty owners and capitalists represented by Mr. John W. Shartel, submitted a new proposition which was thoroughly discussed. After some amendments and concessions by both sides they finally agreed upon and accepted. The plans of the Development Company were studied in detail and carefully explained. The proposition in brief was that the University Development Company would furnish a site of fifty acres for a campus and $100,000 in addition for buildings, endowment and soliciting purposes.[23]

The site accepted was on the Colcord, Zeigler, and Smith tracts, a mile and three-fourths northwest of the business center of the city. The Metropolitan Street Car Company agreed to build a line to the college grounds, making the University readily accessible to the city. The street car time from the University gate to the business center of the city was to be eight minutes. A boulevard, now called Classen Boulevard, was to be constructed one hundred feet in width from the center of Tenth and Walker Streets to the college campus.[24] The Executive Committee was constituted a building committee[25] with the instructions to begin work on the building at the earliest practicable time and a competent architect was to be employed to prepare the plans.[26]

Both conferences agreed that in the year of 1902, the sum of $75,000 each would be expended in buildings and equipment in addition to that contributed by Oklahoma City. The sale of 1,100 lots adjoining and surrounding the site of the campus was conducted on June, 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1902 for the purpose of raising the $100,000 which was the gift of Oklahoma City to the University.[27]

Work on the first building was begun in October, 1902, and on April 1, 1903, Oklahoma City put on its gala attire in honor of laying the cornerstone of the first building of Epworth University. Except for the wind, the day was ideal and brought out a large crowd. In honor of the occasion, the banks and many of the business houses were closed to allow their employees to attend the ceremonies. Long before the hour set for the program, all cars leading to the grounds were packed with Oklahoma City people and others from throughout the Territory. Preceding the ceremonies there was music by the band, after which an invocation by the Reverend W. F. McDowell, followed by an address delivered by Bishop Hamilton in which he laid great stress upon the unity of the Methodist churches in the effort to build one of the greatest institutions in the United States

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] The executive committee was composed of: J. B. Riley, S. G. Thompson, E. S. Rankin, C. F. Roberts, George S. Green, C. B. Ames and J. B. Thoburn.—*The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) May 7, 1902.

[26] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) May 7, 1902.

[27] *The Weekly Times Journal*, (Oklahoma City) June 13, 1902.

in Oklahoma City. He stated that this would meet with great success from the start. There was also an excellent address by Bishop Haas after which the corner stone was laid.[28]

The first building of brick and sandstone was completed in September, 1903, at a cost of $40,000, and contained thirty five rooms, including an auditorium, library and laboratories with all conveniences.[29]

The incorporators of the University[30] were granted a charter on September 5, 1903, which declared the object of the corporation to be the, "maintaining of higher Christian institution of learning for the purpose of giving instruction in all sciences, literature, the arts, theology, law, medicine and the other professional schools." It was to be a group of colleges united under one corporate organization, and twenty representative men from the two territories were named to constitute its first Board of Trustees, no denominational tests were required for membership on this board.[31]

At the meeting of the Board in November, 1903 an agreement was made with C. M. Strong, representing the United States Weather Bureau, whereby the Weather Bureau agreed to erect its meterological observatory (the old Classen Weather Station) on a site on the university campus, ceded by the University to the Federal government for that purpose. Dr. W. McDowell, Educational Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Dr. J. D. Hammon, Educational Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were invited to submit a nomination for the president of the University.[32]

The Trustees of Epworth University met at the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Oklahoma City on April 22, 1904, for the purpose of selecting a president. The deliberations finally resulted in the selection of the Reverend R. B. McSwain,[33] a member of the faculty of Southwestern University of Georgetown, Texas. The Trustees also decided to open Epworth for the reception of students in September. Professor Edgar S. Vaught and F. E. Day

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[28] *The Weekly Times Journal,* (Oklahoma City) April 3, 1903.

[29] Brill, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[30] The charter was granted to the following incorporators: S. G. Thompson, L. M. Broyles, Anton Classen, C. B. Ames, J. T. Riley and J. B. Thoburn of Oklahoma City; T. L. Rippey, G. S. Green and T. J. Lowe of Guthrie; J. F. Palmer of Granite: E. S. Stockwell of Perry; E. B. Rankin of Edmond; F. B. Reed of Shawnee; J. R. Cullison of Enid; Marion Porter of Norman; T. P. Howell of Davis; M. L. Butler of Muskogee; J. M. Cross and J. F. Quillan of Vinita.—*Catalog of Epworth University,* 1908-09, p. 16.

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

[33] The Reverend R. B. McSwain was a native of Arkansas and received his first college training in that state, later graduating from Vanderbilt University. He was a member of the faculty of Polytechnic College, Ft. Worth, Texas and served as acting president for a time. He had also taken courses at the University of Chicago toward a Ph.D. degree.—*The Daily Oklahoman,* (Oklahoma City) April 23, 1904.

EPWORTH UNIVERSITY, ADMI NISTRATION BUILDING, 1903.

were appointed as a special committee to purchase equipment for the University building and to act with the approval of the executive committee.[34] On July 6, 1904 a faculty of twenty seven instructors were elected for the first session of the university which was set for September 7, 1904.[35]

In the summer of 1904 the Department of Agriculture erected a two story building of brick on the northeast corner of the campus as a meteorological observatory, on a lot donated by the university and it would be available to the students for instruction. A power plant was also erected at a cost of $6,000 and was located just west of the main building. This furnished heat and hot and cold water to the Girl's Hall and the Administration Building. The Girl's Hall was located a few yards north of the main building and was a frame structure two stories high, having thirty two rooms with steam heat, electric lights, baths, and a large dining hall.[36]

The Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce pledged the raising of $20,000 which was deemed necessary to enable the school to open its doors in September.[37] The first session of Epworth University opened at 10:00 a.m., September 7, 1904. The occasion was not a formal one as the only exercises contemplated was an introduction of the faculty to the students and any of the friends of the University who might be present. A large number from the city gathered to witness the interesting occasion and among these visitors were a number of prominent business and professional men. The students and visitors filled the large lower floor of the college chapel. On the platform were assembled the faculty, trustees and several ministers from the city.[38]

Dr. Day, pastor of the First Methodist Church and a Trustee of the University opened the exercises with the reading of the Ninteenth Psalm, followed by a prayer for the blessing upon the school. At the conclusion of the religious exercise, Dr. Thompson, President of the Board of Trustees addressed the audience, briefly outlining the history of the movement by which the two branches of the Methodist Church had undertaken the establishment and conduct of a university up to the hopes of many present. He concluded by introducing the President of the University, The Reverend R. B. McSwain. After a few words of greeting, President McSwain introduced to the audience the faculty and friends of the college.[39]

One of the most appropriate speakers of the occasion was Mr. Graham of the Presbyterian Church, in which he expressed his faith in the future of the enterprise and his good will toward

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[34] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) April 23, 1904.
[35] *Catalog of Epworth University*, p. 17.
[36] Brill, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[38] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) September 8, 1904.
[39] *Ibid.*

it. Vigorous and enthusiastic speeches were made by Mr. McSwain, Mr. Broyles and Dr. Riely. Mr. Classen spoke with great earnestness of the infinite possibilities of the University and its great importance to the community, and paid tribute to the ability and modesty of the President. After these speeches, President McSwain proceeded immediately to give directions to the students as to a few fundamental regulations of the school and the method of enrollment. The exercises were closed with the singing of a hymn and the benediction by Dr. Thompson.[40]

President McSwain tendered his resignation as President and Professor of Biblical Literature in the spring of 1905 due to a nervous breakdown brought on by many unforseen difficulties in conducting the new institution. Professor Jones of the Chair of Chemistry, became president until a successor to Mr. McSwain could be selected.[41]

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees in Oklahoma City, on July 13, 1905, George H. Bradford, D.D.[42] of Kansas City, Missouri was elected Chancellor of the University and Professor Jones was chosen as Vice Chancellor. By this adjustment of the executive function in the institution, the Methodist Episcopal Church was represented in the person of the Chancellor and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in that of Vice Chancellor. President McSwain was of the South Methodist Church. The report of the executive committee was conservative, but showed the institution to be in excellent condition at the close of the first year with splendid prospects for the future. The work of the medical department was given considerable attention and the report showed that this department would have a larger attendance in the coming term. The executive board was authorized to proceed with the necessary steps for the organization of a law school.[43]

At the opening of the University in September 1904, the equipment was meager in all departments but, in 1905, it was very favorable in comparison with that of older and larger institutions. The chemical, physical and biological laboratories were furnished with the necessary equipment to carry work in these departments to a successful conclusion. The more advanced work could be carried on successfully. The work in physics was done largely by the laboratory plan where each student was required to perform all the experiments illustrating the theories discussed in class. In chemistry the student was also required to perform all the experiments under the direction of the professor. The equipment in the department

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) April 7, 1905.

[42] George H. Bradford, D.D., was born in Illinois and received his A.B. degree from Missouri Wesleyan University at Warrenton, Missouri. He then entered the University of Denver where he received advanced degrees. He served a leading church in St. Joseph, Missouri and later the Oakley Avenue Methodist Mission at Kansas City, Missouri where he increased the membership from 200 to 750.—*The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) July 14, 1905.

[43] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) July 14, 1905.

of mathematics and astronomy would enable the student to get a practical knowledge of the use of surveying instruments and a study of the heavens. The museum contained many valuable collections of minerals besides the collection of Mr. Carrico of Oklahoma City, by whose generosity the museum of the university was largely increased. The University boasted of a well selected library of about 2,000 volumes.[44]

The Board met in June, 1906, and Dr. Jones tendered his resignation as Vice Chancellor and Ernest T. Bynum, Ph.D. of the University of Oklahoma was elected to the position.[45]

The first yearbook of the university was issued in June, 1907 and was called, *The Campus,* and was dedicated to Dr. Bradford. There were several student organizations on the campus at this time such as the "Athenian Society," the "Classen Debating Club," the "Clio Society," the "Zeta Gamma Society," the "Kappa Theta Sorority," the "Girl's Glee Club," the Y. M. C. A. the Y. W. C. A., the "Dormitory Girls" and the football, basketball and baseball teams.[46]

Epworth's football, baseball and basketball teams made a good record for themselves, when they played many of the smaller colleges in Oklahoma and Kansas. They also played Oklahoma A. & M. College, Kansas State College and the University of Oklahoma where they also made a good record. In the season of 1906-07, Epworth ranked second, being outclassed in this section only by the University of Oklahoma.[47]

Dr. Bynum resigned his position as Vice Chancellor on May 1, 1908 and by the action of the Board of Trustees the position of Vice Chancellor was abolished and George H. Crowell, Ph.D. of High Point, North Carolina was elected Dean of the faculty.[48] Epworth University was reaching its peak of importance in 1908, and it looked as if it was securely established. Its grounds had been beautified by trees, shrubbry, walks and drives. Grounds were set aside for football, baseball, tennis, etc., and in addition there was a quarter mile of graded athletic track. The new interurban line from Guthrie would soon pass the campus.[49]

The attendance had greatly increased and ample dormitory facilities were available for the young ladies. An additional story with a new roof to the main building had been constructed and definite steps were being taken toward erecting a science hall. Schools of medicine, law, dentistry, engineering and pharmacy had

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[44] Brill, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-38.
[45] *Catalog of Epworth University,* p. 17.
[46] Brill, *op. cit.,* pp. 45-46.
[47] *The Campus,* 1907, p. 60.
[48] *Catalog of Epworth University,* p. 17.
[49] *Ibid.*

been added. The Weather Bureau, under the direction of J. P. Slaughter offered courses of instruction to students of the University. A four year course was being arranged in civil engineering upon the completion of which the degree of B. S. would be conferred. A kindergarten training school had been established as a part of the College of Arts and Science.[50]

Under Dr. Bradford's able leadership the school grew rapidly and its influence was exerted in many ways for the advancement of Christian education in Oklahoma and other states. The efforts to secure a substantial endowment had met with little success. Many obstacles were met but few were overcome. Bishop Quale, President of the Annual Conference called the Annual Conference in Special session in 1911. After organization he stated the business of the Conference, was to hear recommendation of the Joint Board of Trustees of Epworth University. Mr. Burt presented the recommendation from the Joint Board of Trustees. It was in substance that the Annual Conference grant them power to return the property of Epworth University to the University Development Company, to which the Annual Conference voted unanimously to concur in this recommendation.[51]

Then a dissolution of the joint relationship of the two denominations occurred and whatever interest was held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, was merged with Fort Worth University to create the Methodist University of Oklahoma at Guthrie.[52]

The Epworth College of Medicine

The Board of Epworth University without consulting the medical profession, decided to make their beginning in the teaching of medicine at once, and with the election of their general faculty on July 6, 1904, elected to that faculty as members of the College of Medicine, the following physicians and surgeons: A. K. West, H. Coulter Todd, Lea A. Riely, U. L. Russell, F. C. Hoops, J. A. Ryan and W. J. Jolly.[53]

The faculty of the medical school met on September 7, 1904 in the faculty room of the university as the faculty of the College of Medicine of Epworth University. Dr. A. K. West was elected

[50] Miss Lucy Gage was Professor of Kindergarten Training in the College of Arts and Sciences, Epworth University. She had appeared before the Territorial Legislative Council at Guthrie, in 1903, and through her own well-directed efforts had secured the enactment of the law providing for the establishment of kindergartens in Oklahoma Territory. This law is still a part of the laws of the State of Oklahoma. See "Lucy Gage: Founder of Oklahoma's Kindergartens" by Ethel McMillan (Appendix A), in "A Romance of Pioneering" by Lucy Gage, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1951), pp. 284-313.—Ed.

[51] Brill, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[52] *Catalog of the Methodist University of Oklahoma*, 1915 pp. 13-14.

[53] H. Coulter Todd, *History of Medical Education in Oklahoma From* 1904-1910, (Norman), p. 14.

KINDERGARTEN TRAINING CLASS, EPWORTH UNIVERSITY

Dean, and Dr. H. Coulter Todd was chosen secretary of the faculty. The Medical School opened with three students, but none of them were ever fortunate enough later to obtain a degree in medicine.[54]

At a meeting held in the law offices of C. B. Ames on the afternoon of April 6, 1905, the Executive Committee of Epworth University concluded the negotiations which would establish a regular four year medical department. Based upon this action of the executive board which gave the physicians interested in the enterprize, nominating power, a faculty of the medical department was named.[55] The experimental medical first year work had met with such gratifying success that the organization for the four year course was rendered absolutely necessary. Several members of the faculty were experienced medical instructors, among whom were: Doctors A. K. West, W. J. Jolly, L. A. Riely. H. C. Todd and L. H. Buxton. They also planned the construction of a building on the campus for laboratory purposes, and to establish a dissecting room.[56]

The Epworth College of Medicine became a separate corporation in 1907 from Epworth University, however the connection between them remained very close. Each member of the corporation[57] paid $1,000 with which the Virginia Hotel on the northwest corner of North Broadway and Sixth Street was purchased for $19,000 and was rebuilt and equipped for the medical school. The Medical School grew with great rapidity after its removal to its new location. None of the students' tuition was paid as salary to any of the teachers. Their services were given free. All money from the tuition was put into equipment so that the school became well equipped in its laboratories and other facilities.[58]

The Medical School was the only one in Oklahoma, giving a four year course, and the efficiency of its work is shown by its membership in the Southern Association of Medical Colleges. All the classroom and laboratory work was given on the campus of Epworth University, but beginning with October 1908 a large portion of the work was transferred to the new building on the corner of Sixth

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[54] *Ibid.*

[55] The new medical faculty consisted of the following physicians and surgeons: W. J. Jolly, A. K. West, J. B. Rolator, U. L. Russell, J. A. Ryan, Carl H. Lund, L. A. Riely, A. D. Young, R. T. Richards, R. F. Schaefer, L. H. Buxton, F. C. Hoopes, W. T. Boyd, J. M. Postelle, H. Coulter Todd, E. S. Ferguson, W. T. Salmon and J. A. Reck.—*The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) April 7, 1905.

[56] *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City) April 7, 1905.

[57] The following physicians and surgeons entered the corporation of the Epworth College of Medicine: A. D. Young, R. F. Schaefer, A. K. West, E. F. Davis, A. L. Blesh, L. H. Buxton, H. Coulter Todd, L. A. Rieley, C. W. Williams, U. L. Russell, J. W. Riley, E. S. Ferguson, W. J. Jolly, R. M. Howard, J. M. Postelle, F. C. Hoopes and W. J. Boyd. A. H. Classen and C. B. Ames were also members of the corporation. The Directors were: L. H. Buxton, President, W. J. Jolly, Vice President, A. K. West, Dean, and U. L. Russell, Treasurer. The publication committee was Drs. White, Young, and Todd. —Todd., *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

and Broadway.[59] Although the Epworth College of Medicine had become a separate corporation, the University did not draw any line of distinction between it and any other department of the university. Its courses were listed in the University Catalog and the medical school had a section in Epworth's Annual.

Free clinics for the benefit of the medical school were established by the leading physicians and surgeons of the city and these afforded abundant clinical material for the complete demonstration of all classes of medical and surgical work. St. Anthony Hospital had on its staff several members of the faculty, and it was splendidly equipped for student instruction.[60]

The College of Dentistry was organized under a full quota of instructors and preparation was made for its formal opening in October, 1908. It was closely correlated with the colleges of medicine and pharmacy in their new building on North Broadway.[61]

The task of operating the Medical School became a great burden to the men who had given it so much of their time and effort. A partial two year course was still being maintained at the University of Oklahoma at Norman, while the Epworth College of Medicine was graduating students with their M. D. degrees. To the credit of Epworth College of Medicine, not one of its graduates ever failed to pass any state board examination. A committee of Doctors L. H. Buxton, A. K. West, and H. Coulter Todd was named to confer with the authorities of the University of Oklahoma in 1910 to ascertain if the Epworth College of Medicine could be affiliated with or taken over by the University of Oklahoma. Such an arrangement was consummated by the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, and the Epworth College of Medicine became the School of Medicine of the University of Oklahoma in 1910. The property of Epworth College of Medicine thus reverted to the original incorporators and was sold for $30,000 and the corporation was dissolved. The Medical School turned over to the University of Oklahoma more than twenty trained medical teachers, and a student body numbering forty-seven.[62]

The Medical School of Epworth University has had a continuous existence from the day of its opening on September 7, 1904 until its present existence as an important part of the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.[63]

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[59] *Catalog of Epworth University*, pp. 98-99.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[62] Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

TRIP WITH THE "INDIAN WARRIOR TROUPE"

*By Frank F. Finney**

In the fall of 1879, T. M. Finney and his brother Ed, with the permission of the Agent, took a party of Osage Indians for a trip through southeastern Kansas and across the state of Missouri, ending at the fairs being held at Paris and Hannibal.

At that time, T. M. Finney was employed in the commissary and his brother was employed as a special officer for the Government at the Osage Indian Agency in the Indian Territory.

The group of Indians was billed as the "Indian Warrior Troupe" and put on performances at the towns visited.

One member of the party, Se-gro-tsa, the "Trailer", had gained fame in his tribe as an undefeated foot racer, which distinction he maintained throughout the trip and no white man appeared to challenge it. Running against a member of the group, he broke the one half mile record for the Paris track. The Indians ran bared to the skin wearing only their breech cloths. The strange treatment they received from other members of the party is revealed by T. M. Finney who kept a diary during the entire trip.

The Finney brothers left the Osage Agency, August 30, 1879 with their Indians. After passing through and giving dances in the small towns in Kansas, of Sedan, Elk City, Neodesha, Thayer and Chanute, they arrived at Nevada, Missouri, September 11.

After showing at Nevada, Appleton City, Butler and Windsor, the troupe arrived at Booneville, September 17.

Excerpts from the diary follow:

Wed. Sept. 17

Arrived at Booneville, 55 miles from Windsor. Beautiful city. Stopped at City Hotel. Had street parade in the afternoon. We took the Indians down on the banks of the Missouri river and went aboard the "Birdie Brent".

* Frank F. Finney was with the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company at Bartlesville in 1904. Retired in 1954 from the Cities Service Gas Company and makes his home in Oklahoma City. The Cities Service Company took over the Indian Territory Oil Company. A feature story by Mr. Finney on the founding of Ralston in 1894 by his father T. M. Finney, early Indian trader among the Osages, Kaws and Pawnees (1873-1880-1896) appeared in the *Tulsa World* for October 17, 1954, Sunday magazine Section, pp. 20-21.—Ed.

This was the first steamboat they had ever seen and brought forth from them many exclamations of "O-ho-hos".[1]

Thurs. Sept. 18

Arrived at Moberly, 38 miles from Booneville. Billed the town well. Drove all over the city in carriages, everybody turning out to see us.
Expense $56.25. Includes cough medicine for Wah-nah-she and eye-water for Coon, advertising in the "Headlight", casting bills, livery, hall, city license, hotel and carriages.[2]

Sun. Sept. 21

Arrived at Paris from Moberly by freight train. Took the Indians out to the fair grounds and put up tent.[3]

Mon. Sept. 22

Completed arrangements with the fair managers to show on the grounds and go halves on the receipts.

Tues. Sept. 23

The band came to our tent and played two pieces. Commenced showing and had good attendance.

Wed. Sept. 24

Took the Indians to the photo gallery and had a group picture taken.

Fri. Sept. 26

The "Trailer" easily beat Mink-che-kah in a foot race making the half-mile in the best time ever made on the Paris track.

Sun. Sept. 28

Arrived at Hannibal 4:10 P.M. and went directly to the fair grounds. This is a lovely place. The scenery is beautiful. Gathered some leaves to take home. The frost has fallen and you see all the colors of the rainbow in looking at the trees on the hills.

Mon. Sept. 29

President Hayes and party stopped here on their western tour. A reception was held which was largely attended.
We received a letter from one of the Burgess boys with whom we are acquainted. The two brothers are with Buffalo Bill's show now at Cincinnati and want us to join the show with our party.

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[1] *The Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, September 19, 1879: "The Indians: The troupe of Indians gave an interesting performance at the hall, on Wednesday night, going through their war whoop, war dance gambling games, &c., &c. After the performance they requested permission and went up to the armory of the Waddill Guards and saw them drill and go through the manual of arms, after which they gave the Guards a benefit, which was much enjoyed by the boys. After the drill the Indians shook hands with the officers and then shook hands with every man in the company and left."

[2] *Moberly Daily Monitor*, September 18, 1879: "Seven full blooded Indians will be on exhibition at the Williams Academy of Music, Friday night, 19th, and those who attend will be highly entertained."

[3] *The Paris Mercury*, September 23, 1879: "Whoop! Me Big Ingin. A troupe of wild Indians, fresh from their mountain fastnesses, will be on the fair grounds during the week. Go and see them. They are real Indians, not painted "white trash."

"Warrior Troupe", 1879. Standing left to right: Little Coon, J. E. Finney (Sha-pah-nah-she), Felix Red Eagle, T. M. Finney (Wahpshp-wah-ga-ley), Mink-che-kah. Sitting left to right: Wah-ha-she, O-ka-e-ha, Eagle Feather (Caster scout), Se-grot-sa (The Trailer).

Wed. Oct. 1

There are some interesting things to be seen at the fair. Saw the Elias Howe sewing machine which is inlaid in gold. It took a first medal at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Also saw a live chicken without a head.
Cash receipts today, $145.00. Very good.

Sat. Oct. 4

A keen desire of all of the Indians to see the "Great Father of Waters" was gratified when we took them down to see the Mississippi river. Eagle Feather, (one of Custer's scouts at the battle of the Washita) said, "Our fathers told us many stories about this big river. Our hearts are made glad to see it with our own eyes." The "Minneopolis" the largest steamboat they had ever seen was tied up at the dock.
Had a foot race at the fair grounds this afternoon. The fame of Se-gro-sta had preceeded him and there was no professional who cared to enter against him. He ran against Red Eagle, another fleet footed member of the band but as usual the "Trailer" won the race. A curious thing occurred after the race was over. As the dusty and sweating Indian runners appeared at the end of the track, clothed only with breech cloths, they were met by fellow members of the party with knives in their hands which they used on the racers, hacking up and down the limbs of each until the blood ran freely. This was followed by dashing a bucket of water over each one, after which they were covered with blankets and conducted to their lodge.

Sun. Oct. 5

Left Hannibal at 10 A.M. Arrived at Sedalia for supper.

Mon. Oct. 6

Arrived at Coffeeville by train via Parsons and Chanute. Paid the Indians in full. Jessie Morgan, stage driver met us at the depot.

Tues. Oct. 7

Arrived at the Osage Agency and glad to get home.

Thurs. Oct. 9

Went back to work in the commissary.

CHIEF JAMES BIGHEART OF THE OSAGES

By Orpha B. Russell

Much has been written and published about the Osage people, commonly recognized as the wealthiest tribe of American Indians, yet the one man largely responsible for that wealth has had very little notice. Had James Bigheart chosen the "easy going ways" of his full blood Indian kinsmen his life would have been much less strenuous, but the Osages would not be enjoying their present position as one of the wealthiest Indian tribes in America.

The story of "Big Jim" and his work, heretofore, has been kept in the minds and hearts of the few remaining old-timers who knew him personally. Only a few intimate friends and his family knew that practically every beneficial move made for the Osage Tribe from the end of the Civil War until the death of "Big Jim" in 1908, was sponsored by "Big Jim" and carried out, with his helpful guidance, by men of his choice. He cared nothing for personal glory and was happy to appoint and coach others to secure whatever he might desire for the security of his own children and those of his fellow tribesmen.[1] Today, four and one-half decades after his death, James Bigheart is recognized as the most brilliant politician and leader of the tribe that the Osages have known.[2]

Because he was the outstanding leader in his tribe during the four decades immediately preceding his death 2,229 enrolled Osages and their descendants have shared more than $300,000,000 from royalties, bonuses, leases, and rentals during the 44 years since his death. Ironically, "Big Jim" died and was buried October 5, 1908, just three months before his tribesmen received their first payment under the "headright" method he had worked out for them, but he had lived long enough to realize that his life-long dream, security for his tribesmen and their children, had been assured.

The mere mention of his name brings near-apoplexy to some of the old timers who knew Bigheart personally and hate him with a passion. Others refer to him reverently as their greatest leader. "Big Jim" died, as he had lived, a Catholic. Consequently he was feared and hated by those who clung to their old medicine men and those who adopted the Peyote faith introduced to their tribe in 1899 by a Southern Indian. Bigheart had the power to outlaw such wor-

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[1] The writer wishes to make her grateful acknowledgments to outstanding writers of Osage history and Indian leaders who gave her much of their knowledge in the compilation of this article on James Bigheart of the Osage Nation. See *Appendix A.*

[2] The writer secured valuable data in interviews with Mr. Revard, Mr. Hall and Fred Lookout of the Osage Nation. Also, see Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), Vol. III, p. 3.

JAMES BIGHEART, CHIEF OF THE OSAGE NATION

ship had he so chosen. Instead, he sorrowfully watched his neighbors worship, in what he considered ignorance, because he felt all men were entitled to freedom.[3] Some tribesmen, educated in Catholic mission schools, ridiculed Bigheart for not outlawing other religious groups, yet he ignored personal ridicule and hatred as long as it did not affect the tribe as a whole.

The exact date and place of Bigheart's birth is not known, because of the government's method of enrolling the Osages, who had never kept records of births and deaths among their tribesmen. The late Julia Lookout said that James Bigheart was born in an Osage village near what is now St. Paul, Kansas (known as Osage Mission until July 1, 1895), and that he was named Pun-Kah-Wi-Tah-An-Kah by his parents in 1838.[4] His father, Nun-tsa-tum-kah and mother, Wah-hiu-shah, were both full blood Osages, according to Julia Lookout. Osage Indian records confirm this statement, but reveal a slightly different spelling of the mother's name.[5] Government registers of the Osage tribe list members born as of January 1 of the years of the "Big Flood," "Smallpox Epidemic," "Measle Epidemic," "Drouth," "Grasshopper Plague," etc.

Regardless of the methods of recording births among Osages, all agree that James Bigheart lived during a colorful and turbulent period of his people's history. Official government documents carrying his signature show that he was energetic, and that when Osage interests were at stake he worked persistently for years to win his point. He is credited for holding up passage of the allotment bill for at least ten years.[6]

P. M. Hamer, Chief of the Division of Reference in the National Archives in Washington, D. C. found James Bigheart's name on several census rolls between 1880 and 1907 as chief or head of the Black Beaver Osage Band. Many of the letters received in the Indian office from the Osage Agency National Council in 1881 and 1883, Principal Chief of the Nation in 1894, Council Secretary in 1899, and Treasurer in 1900, carry his signature.[7]

Mustering out papers for James Bigheart, at the close of the Civil War, show that he was twenty-five years old when he enlisted as a private in Company I of the 9th Regiment, Kansas Volunteer

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[3] See *Appendix B* for sources consulted.

[4] Bigheart signed his name "Eu-Tsa-tah-wah-tah-in-tsa," according to the Osage Council Record of 1889.

[5] Osage Agency records give his mother's name, "Pah-heu-shah."

[6] The great problem of the Osage Nation was the pressure from outside parties to have their names listed on the Osage rolls where the moneyed interests and income per capita increased from oil and other property. Keeping these rolls clear of fraudulent claimants and securing an accurate record of those who were bona fide members of the nation meant a long determined fight on the part of the Osage Council, and delayed the final allotment act in Congress.—Ed.

[7] Letter signed by P. M. Hamer, May 19, 1911, originally owned by William W. Graves, and now in the Osage Indian files of the writer, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Cavalry at Iola, Kansas January 19, 1862. He was honorably discharged, as a first lieutenant, March 22, 1865. Laying down his firearms at the end of the Civil War by no means ended fighting for the young Indian destined to become a controlling factor of his tribe for the next four decades. Standing six feet tall, and speaking seven languages fluently, Big Jim was a figure to be handled tactfully. A Catholic convert, educated at the old Osage Mission established among the Osages in 1847 by Father Schoenmakers, Bigheart never returned to the blanket.

May 27, 1868, Bigheart signed his first treaty. Recognizing the fact that the Indian Office at Washington. D. C., was "selling out" his tribe by persuading them to sell 8,000,000 acres of their diminished reserve for twenty cents an acre to the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad, he sought the advice of his faithful old teacher, Father Schoenmakers at Osage Mission. Bigheart followed the advice of Father Schoenmakers and thus broadened and solidified the road to wealth for the Osages.

Father Schoenmakers in turn, warned all Osage chiefs and protests were sent to Sidney Clark, Representative of the Southeast Kansas District in Congress. As a result Congress passed a law prohibiting any Indian tribe from selling its land to any other than the United States.[8]

July 15, 1870 Congress passed an act providing for the sale of the Osage Diminished Reserve to the United States for $1.25 an acre. From this fund the Osages bought a reservation in Indian Territory.[9]

See Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 138. This act defines the boundaries of the Osage Reservation (present Osage County, Oklahoma, and that part of Kay County east of the Arkansas, later assigned the Kaw tribe), as follows:

"BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That in order to provide said Osage tribe of Indians with a reservation, and secure to them a sufficient quantity of land suitable for cultivation, the following described tract of country, west of the established ninety-sixth meridian, in the Indian Territory, be, and the same is hereby, set apart for and confirmed as their reservation, namely: Bounded on the east by the ninety-sixth meridian, on the south and west by the north line of the Creek country and the main channel of the Arkansas River, and on the north by the south line of the State of Kansas: Provided, That the location as aforesaid shall be made under the provisions of article sixteen of the treaty [Cherokee] of eighteen hundred and sixty-six, so far as the same may be applicable thereto . . . . ."—Ed.

The balance of the fund was placed in the treasury of the United States to the credit of the Osages to be paid to them, with interest, as annuities.

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[8] An interview with Fred Lookout, Sr., late Osage Chief.

[9] William Graves, *Life of Father Schoenmakers, S. J. Apostle to the Osage* (Parsons, Kansas, 1928), pp. 118-20.

In 1871 the Osages moved to Silver Lake near what is now Bartlesville, but learned a year later that they were east of the 96th meridian and in Cherokee Territory, so moved as near the center of their reserve as possible and established their capital at Pawhuska in 1872.[10]

Bigheart built a log cabin on the hill overlooking Bird Creek, just east of Mother Chouteau's little village of tepees, and about fifteen miles southeast of the Osage capital.[11]

He became principal chief of the Osages in 1875, through an appointment by the Pawhuska Band. When old "White Hair" died Beaver took his place. At the time of Beaver's death his sons were all too young to assume the responsibilities involved, so the band appointed Bigheart chief.[12]

In December of 1881 James Bigheart's political dreams became reality. For years, as an outstanding linguist speaking Ponca, Sioux, Cherokee, Osage, French, English, and Latin, he worked as an interpreter and clerk at the agency offices.[13]

There he had watched his people cede thousands of acres of valuable land for a small amount of money that never reached the Indian owners; white traders swarmed the agency on payment days to collect huge sums they claimed the Indians owed them and usually managed to take all the Indian's payment and carry over a balance for collection on the next payment day.

A number of early citizens in Cushing, Oklahoma (Sac and Fox country) recall what was standard procedure for partners in the hardware and casket business. The same casket was used as long as the box held together for burial purposes at $50 per service. Some boxes were used as many as 50 times at $50 per trip to the burial grounds of the Sac and Fox Indians, who buried their dead on hides stretched high on poles.

The casket was used to carry the dead to the burial ground then returned to stock and when payment day rolled around this man and his partner were on hand with their claims for caskets and collected for same before the Indian survivors received their payments.[14]

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[10] Interviews with Chief Fred Lookout, Sr., Mary Field, James Bigheart's daughter; Franklin Revard and the late George E. Tinker. A review of the history of the Osage land purchase in the Indian Territory and confirmation of the tribal reservation is found in the "Letter of the Secretary of the Interior to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs" in "Appendix," *Misc. Doc. No.* 317, 2nd Sess., Cong., 1872.

[11] Confirmed by St. Francis Church records and by Mary Field, daughter.

[12] From interviews with the late Chief Fred Lookout, Sr., late Mary Field, late George E. Tinker and Franklin Revard.

[13] Letter from James Bigheart's granddaughter, Margaret Spurrier, written to the writer during the time she was employed in the Osage Agency at Pawhuska.

[14] Story well known among old-timers at Cushing, Oklahoma.

Grieved and provoked with the manner in which his people were being swindled, Bigheart persuaded William Connor, a former schoolmate, to help organize their tribe so that by staying together they might get the results desired from the government at Washington. Bigheart felt that if the President knew of the truth about the agents that the political wrinkles could be ironed out to advantage and satisfaction of the Osages. The two set about propagandizing and by 1881 had brought about the organization of two political parties. They encountered much opposition because their theory was to elect a new chief every two years by popular vote, whereas chieftainships had always been handed down from father to son.

Two political parties were organized; the Mixed Bloods or Progressives and the Full Bloods or Non-Progressives (so-called because of their opposition to the allotment bill). Bigheart belonged to the "Full Blood Party," and he is credited with holding up the allotment bill for more than a decade.[15] The Osage Nation was divided into five districts and each district sent three members to the National Council.

The National Convention met at Pawhuska, drew up a constitution, and organized a tribal government patterned after our Federal government. Bigheart signed their Constitution as President of the National Council.

Other signers were Ne-kah-Ke-Pon-Ah; Wah-Ti-An-Kah; Saucy Chief; Tah-wah-An-Kah; Saucy Chief; Tah-Wah-Che-He; William Penn; Claremore; Two-Giver; Tall Chief; Sa-Pah-Ke-Ah; Black Dog; Thomas Big Chief; Ne-Kah-Wah-She-Ton-Kah; Joseph Pawnee No-Pah-She; White Hair; Cyrpian Tayrien; Paul Akin; interpreter and E. M. Matthews, Secretary.

The constitution provided for elections the first Monday in November, beginning the following year, 1882, and every two years thereafter. Two-thirds of the council could overrule the principal chief, and they must return a bill within five days, Sundays excepted, otherwise it was considered passed. Fiscal years were to run from October 1 to September 30. The qualification of religious belief was a prerequisite to office-holding. Supreme executive power rested in the principal chief, who was to be elected by popular vote of qualified electors on general election day. He must be a natural born citizen and 35 years old. He was to hold office for two years with a salary of $450 per annum, and was subject to impeachment by the council. The treasurer was to receive ten percent of all moneys passed through his hands.

The first Osage election was held in November of 1882, and each district sent representatives to vote for its chosen candidate. A large ballot box, beneath a giant tree, was surrounded by the electors.

[15] Interviews with the late Mary Field, the late Kathleen Conner Woodward (daughter of Wm. Conner) and the late George E. Tinker.

One man stood on one side holding colored strips of paper; one color in one hand and another color in the other hand. Those colors represented the candidates. That is, if Bigheart's color was red and the elector wished to vote for Bigheart, he took a red strip from the ballot keeper and dropped it into the ballot box. Those wishing to vote for Bigheart's opponent took the other color and dropped it into the box. When all had voted, if the electors had not already counted the votes as they were dropped, they waited until the box was opened and the colored strips counted in the presence of all.[16]

As a politician, with the faithful assistance of his aunt, mother of Julia Lookout, Bigheart entertained every Secretary of the Interior during the period 1881 to 1908. He was an extravagant entertainer and promoter and gave many large and elaborate dances and feasts. Even during his last two years, although confined to his bed, he counselled and feasted with his friends in his home. Indian chiefs from other tribes and bands in his own tribe, including Silas Smith, the educated and brilliant Seneca chief from Canada, enjoyed the well known hospitality of James Bigheart. Railroad magnates came to his ranch seeking right-of-way through the Osage Nation.

T. N. Barnsdall, the world's first refiner, was a close friend of Bigheart's and the little town of Barnsdall, Oklahoma carried the name of Bigheart until 1916, after Bigheart and Barnsdall had both died. Barnsdall had named the little settlement on the lease he secured from the Osage tribe for his good friend, Bigheart. The Foster brothers owe their great wealth to the blanket mineral lease they secured from the Osages while Bigheart was chief in 1896. Bigheart promoted an investigation of the Osage citizenship rolls in 1896 that weeded out all ineligibles. He secured the removal of a Quaker Indian Agent, who insisted in removing Osage children from Catholic schools to government schools. He was democratic and broad-minded, but allowed nobody to interfere with the progress of his tribe. With unlimited energy, a determination that never recognized defeat, he fought long and hard for what the Osages are enjoying today.

1882 was a "red letter" year for Bigheart in other ways. That was the year the government began rationing cattle to the Osages. Those cattle were not gifts, but part payment for their ceded lands in Kansas. The government had promised to teach them to farm and this was a feeble step in that direction.

Cattle were driven north from Texas to Guthrie and Pawhuska where they were delivered to family heads in lots of three to five. At that time, all the land belonged to the tribe and an Osage could have all that he fenced and used. Knowing that his people did not want to be troubled with the care of live stock and would sell for a

[16] Interview with the late George E. Tinker.

trinket, Bigheart determined to buy up those cattle before the white swindlers from the borderlands could strike. Riding among his people a few days before the allotment, Bigheart offered cash for their allotted cattle. When the big day arrived he took several cowboys to Pawhuska and sent others to Guthrie to buy and drive home the cattle other Osages did not care to keep.

From this small beginning with allotted cattle, Bigheart built his empire that spread out into the mercantile business in a building on his ranch, a half-interest in Pawhuska's leading drug store, a director of the Bank of Bartlesville and the First National Bank of Cleveland, a stockholder in the Citizens Trading Company of Pawhuska, and continued to manage his ranch. Because he was one of the first to recognize the possibilities for grazing and fattening stock on the lush blue stem grass that covered the reservation, Bigheart became the wealthiest man of his tribe prior to the discovery of oil on the reservation.[17] His ranch home was the center of all his activities. He knew that people are more receptive to ideas when their stomachs are full. Consequently, he entertained often and lavishly at the ranch. Feasts, barbecues, and dances were arranged on a few hours notice, when guests arrived.

1896 was one of the busiest years of Bigheart's career. While biding for time on the allotment bill, hoping that minerals beneath the reservation would be proved so that his tribesmen could better comprehend the advisability of holding their lands in common, Bigheart granted a 10-year blanket lease, with renewal privileges to the Foster brothers of Independence, Kansas, and Westerly, Rhode Island. The Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company was organized and blocks of leases given stockholders. Some tried to monopolize the land and bickerings led to bankruptcy. A Westerly bank went broke trying to stem the tide of manipulation. Finally, by selling 50,000 acres of lease for enough cash to pay outstanding bills, the corporation settled down to business and began actual development.

Bigheart finally accomplished a Federal investigation of the Osage Indian rolls in 1896 to eliminate those not entitled to Osage property rights. In the early 1890's, the mixed bloods, known as the "Progressive Party," began a movement to secure the division of million and half acres of Osage land among tribal members. Refugees from other tribes had joined the Osages in Kansas during and immediately following the Civil War and, enjoying Osage hospitality, stayed on. Bigheart wanted all but Osages stricken from the rolls. He finally succeeded and the names of those not entitled to Osage property rights were eliminated in 1896.

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[17] Interviews with Mary Field, Julia Lookout (James Bigheart's cousin), the late George E. Tinker, who worked as a cowboy for Bigheart at the time.

The Allotment Bill

The full bloods, led by James Bigheart, fought the allotment bill with all their powers. By December of 1894, they had reached a partial agreement among tribal members, and in February of 1898 Bigheart and Black Dog were sent as delegates for the "Full Blood Party," to fight the bill introduced in Congress, at Washington, D. C. A feast was given, and subscriptions were taken from members of the tribe to finance the delegates' trip to Washington.

In the early part of 1904, a bill providing for the allotment of the Osage Reservation and the pro rata distribution of the funds held in trust by the United States was introduced in the House of Representatives by Delegate Bird McGuire. This bill provided that each Osage receive 160 acres of land, inalienable for twenty-five years. The surplus land was divided among the members of the tribe, and after satisfying the Secretary of Interior that they were capable of managing their own affairs, they were permitted to sell the same. The trust funds were apportioned among the Osages and drew interest while retained in the United States Treasury. This money was not paid out until full disposition had been made of their surplus lands. The school fund of $1,500,000 was preserved as a separate fund in the Treasury. The Osage rolls were kept open for three months after the passage of the Act for Osages not then included, and an opportunity given to present proof wherever fraud was charged in connection with the enrollment. A commission of four had charge of the allotment work: one commissioner named by the president served as the chairman; one was named by the tribe, one by the Osage Council, and one by the Interior Department.

Bigheart, aware that white men waited impatiently to seize any Osage property interests by fair means or foul, the moment they were left without Federal government protection, was still bitterly opposed to the Allotment bill, and shrewdly and persistently fought its passage. The Osage delegates were kept too drunk to conduct business until Indian Commissioner Jones took a hand in the matter and his lecture is recorded in the March 3, 1904 issue of the *Kingfisher Free Press*:

"Jones Lectures Indians"

"The Indian Commissioner *Gives Red Men Talk on Temperance in Washington.* Indian Commissioner Jones had what looked like a Sunday School of Red Indians in his office one day last week. They were Jim Bigheart and the dozen Osage Chiefs who have been here for a month to agree on legislation for apportioning and selling their lands and getting their tribal funds in the treasury divided up among the tribe. Ten days ago Rep. Curtis of Kansas drew up a bill for them, and they said they would come to an understanding about it, but they have not. Mr. Jones ranged the Indians around his room and gave them a temperance lecture for 15 minutes. He told them they were acting like fools, and that they would have to get down to business or he would ship them back home."

The same newspaper carried an article concerning Bigheart's purchase of $480 worth of valentines in Washington for mailing to officials and personal friends in the Territory.

Bigheart did not drink to excess and old-timers believe he was merely playing politics, stalling for time by keeping his opponents drunk. He hired a brilliant young lawyer, John F. Palmer, and stationed him in Washington "to keep his finger on the governmental pulse." Credit has been given Palmer for much of Bigheart's work. The Osage chiefs returned to the reservation before reaching any definite decision on the bill, and the following election Bigheart was defeated by Progressive Candidate O-lo-ho-wal-la.

In 1906, when the bill came up before Congress again and Bigheart learned that O-lo-ho-wal-la's delegates planned to pass the bill as introduced in 1904, he took Fred Lookout (later Principal Chief of the Osages) with him to Washington and succeeded in having the rider clause introduced that saved all minerals below the surface lands ("top fifteen inches of the soil") for the tribe.

In February Chief O-lo-ho-wal-la and Assistant Chief Bacon Rind, James Bigheart, Ne-Kah-Wah-She-Tan-Kah, Black Dog, W. T. Mosier, Frank Corndropper, C. N. Prudom, W. T. Leahy, Peter Bigheart, J. F. Palmer, and Two-ah-hee selected by the chief, promoted the final of the bill that was passed as Act of Congress, on June 28, 1906. This is known in history as the "Osage allotment Act." It provided for a division of the lands and moneys held in common by the tribe. It provided for a final roll to be closed July, 1907, with membership that totaled 2,229. Each enrolled member received about 655 acres of the surface land and $3,819 in cash out of the tribal funds in the Treasury.

In March 1906, while in Washington, Bigheart suffered a stroke of paralysis from which he never fully recovered. He continued to entertain and counsel with his tribesmen from his bed, but died just three months prior to the tribe's first payment under the Allotment Bill. Consensus in the Osage Country is that probably no Indian ever enjoyed the confidence of government officials as did Chief Bigheart. He was consulted by Secretary Hitchcock on all important matters pertaining to Osage Indian affairs, and it is said that both Secretary Hitchcock and his wife were regular visitors at Bigheart's bedside while he lay sick in Washington.[18]

While operating a drug store in Pawhuska he was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury for bringing intoxicating liquor into the reservation. The April 25, 1899 issue of *The Vinita Chieftain* carried the following story of his arrest:

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[18] It has been said that Bigheart was the only Indian ever granted a license to bring whiskey into the reservation, and that this privilege was granted to him by the Secretary of the Interior.—"The Bigheart Chronicle" for October 9, 1908.

"The U. S. Grand Jury, Pawhuska, indicted ex-chief James Bigheart, a full blood Osage Indian, on a charge of unlawfully bringing intoxicating liquors into Osage County. Reported to be the wealthiest member of the Osage tribe, prominent politically, and owning among a number of enterprises half interest in a large drug store in Pawhuska, his indictment caused much surprise."

This incident caused Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock to issue a license to James Bigheart.

On a shady knoll beside Bird Creek, that flows through the old homestead, James Bigheart rests among his family and people whom he buried in the family plot when nobody else seemed to care for them. Although Oklahoma State Highway # 11 now borders his family plot, few travelers give it more than a passing glance because it looks no different from any other family cemetery in that section of the country. Although Mary Field, Bigheart's oldest surviving daughter, pleaded with the Osage Council for years to place a historical marker at her father's grave it is still unmarked, except for the large stone his children erected.

"Big Jim" expected nothing in return for his work during his lifetime; he knew what he wanted for his people as a whole and did not stop until he had accomplished this. Slowly, step by step, first he promoted a written constitution for the Osage nation, then organized two political parties among the Osages, encouraged schooling for their children and finally when all odds were against him—succeeded in securing his rider clause to the Allotment Bill that preserved all mineral rights for the Osage people as a tribe.

He lived a full life of seventy years and saw many of his dreams fulfilled, and although no historical marker may ever point out his grave, the man who led a mistreated, starving tribe of Indians plagued by diseases, Jim Bigheart is appreciated today, four and one-half decades after his death, far more than during his own lifetime. He led them out of the darkness of illiteracy, and among his people he may well be referred to as the "Joshua of the Osages."

APPENDIX A

During thirteen years of research after meeting the late Mary Field, oldest daughter of Bigheart, the writer of this article met and was graciously assisted by members of the Osage, the Cherokee and the Choctaw nations. Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Oklahoma, whose research and books are well known to every reader of historical works, kindly pointed out source material and his own well known books that presented material on Osages. Mr. Lee Harkins, a descendent of Choctaw and Chickasaw chieftians, and a collector of rare Indian artifacts, loaned maps and books. He also introduced the writer to the late William W. Graves, publisher and writer of St. Paul, Kansas, who graciously helped search the Old Osage Mission files for school records of James Bigheart's attendance there. When Mr. Graves was eighty years old on May 31, 1952, two hundred friends, neighbors, and co-workers gathered in the St. Francis gymnasium in St. Paul, Kansas

(formerly Osage Mission) to honor him. Father Brendan McConnel of St. Paul spoke. Paul Pitts, Hominy, Oklahoma, present Chief of the Osage tribe, presented Mr. Graves with a feathered headdress, token of honorary member in the tribe and named him: "The Man of the Journal." Most Reverend Mark K. Carroll, Bishop of the Wichita Diocese of the Catholic Church presented Graves with a scroll denoting his appointment, by Pope Pius XII, as a Knight of St. Gregory. In July 1952 Graves died, after the completion and publication of the second volume of his *Neosho County History*, his fifteenth published book.

The late Fred Lookout, chief of the Osages for twenty-eight years, read and checked the manuscript from which this article is adapted and graciously gave the entire day of Memorial Day of 1948, to discussion of Osage history reviewed in the manuscript. He discarded portions of the original typed copy and added valuable information about the Bigheart family. Chief Lookout's wife, Julia, who died soon after her husband's death, was a second cousin of James Bigheart.

Wesley Disney furnished information gathered from the Indian archives in Washington, D. C. The late George E. Tinker, father of the late Major-General Clarence Tinker, famous soldier lost in the Battle of Midway, was always ready to reminisce over a cup of hot coffee or a glass of cold beer, recalling the days when he, as a youth, enjoyed James Bigheart's hospitality. Mr. Tinker had attended the old Osage Mission school, and at one time "punched Cattle" for James Bigheart. T. B. Hall, superintendent of the Osage Agency at Pawhuska, contributed information concerning oil production on the reservation.

APPENDIX B

Mary Field stated that her father was the first Osage Indian to bury a member of his immediate family in the ground and as a Catholic.

Records of the St. Francis Church, St. Paul, Kansas reveal entries in Book No. 2, page 116: "June 12, 1876, the undersigned buried the corpse of Camilla Kiasumpa, daughter of Big Heart from Big Hill, some 15 years old. Signed: Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J."

Ibid., under date of June 21, 1876: "The undersigned buried James Bigheart, aged 8 years,—signed A. Hayden, S. J."

Julia Lookout confirmed these entries and said they were daughter and son of Jim Bigheart, who died during an epidemic that swept the tribe.

Records of the St. Francis Church, Book 3, p. 13, Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J. Signed the following entry: "May 23, 1880, the undersigned baptised Josephine, about three months old, on Bird Creek, Osage Reservation, daughter of James Big Heart and Amelia Big Heart, both Osages. Sponsor Marie Louisa Chouteau."

Ibid., p. 18, Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J., stated, "October 22, 1883, the undersigned baptised solemnly Mary Magdalene, about one year and a half old, daughter of James Big Heart and of Humpeshance (both Osages). This child was born on Bird Creek, Chouteau settlement. Sponsors—The Brave and Maria Loisa Chouteau, all residing in the Osage Nation. The child was baptised in Muskogee, Creek Nation, where they happened to be traveling and were found."

MISS SOPHIA SAWYER AND HER SCHOOL

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The people of Indian Territory and Western Arkansas had reason to be grateful to Sophia Sawyer who brought instruction and cultivation to their young daughters. Miss Sawyer was only one of the many New England women who spent most of their lives among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. She was a native of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, born on May 4, 1792. From 1823 to 1835 she worked at Brainerd, New Echota, and Running Water missions in the Eastern Cherokee Nation. She visited "the United States from July, 1836 to December, 1837," according to the old records.

While visiting his daughter and son-in-law, Benjamin Gold of Connecticut wrote from the Cherokee Nation and the home of Boudinot at New Echota on October 29, 1829. Boudinot and his wife Harriet Gold Boudinot by that time had three children, William Penn, Mary and Eleanor who would be three years old on May 4, 1830. The grandfather wrote of this child: "She appears to know as much as any girl of her age—attends Miss Sawyers school which is kept in the Court House about 30 rods from her Father's House."[1]

Miss Sawyer wrote from New Echota December 26, 1832:[2]

"Whiskey has been brought to the playground and children invited to drink by men of our own color and country. The scholars have all as one refused. . . . . As it respects the parents, there have been many intemperate, all our efforts have hitherto been fruitless. My very soul sickens with the promise of the drunkard, and as to the retailer, it seems a still more hopeless case. We stand helpless by, and see as it were, the bread taken . . . . from the children of the drunkard and their father receiving the poison. . . . ."

When J. C. Ellsworth, superintendent of Brainerd Mission, told Miss Sawyer that Samuel A. Worcester was just married to Ann Orr, a former school companion of hers, she exclaimed: "A Worcester and an Orr united in marriage! They are strong characters and we shall have to mind our P's and Q's when they get here!" In March 1833 Dr. Worcester and his family were forced to remove from New Echota and they returned to Brainerd. Miss Sawyer continued at her school at Haweis until July when she joined the John Ridge family near Running Water, the present site of Hale's Bar on the Tennessee River.[3]

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[1] Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot Cherokee and His America* (Norman, 1941), pp. 115, 119.

[2] Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, New York, 1931, 305.

[3] *Ibid.*, 47, 309; Nevada Couch, *Pages from Cherokee Indian History, as Identified with Samuel Austin Worcester* (St. Louis, n.d.), p. 8.

Conduct of the school at Brainerd was most austere but Miss Sawyer recognized the right of children to play and on sunny afternoons she would take the little girls to the "crik" and watch them while they splashed in the water or hunted for berries or wildflowers in the woods. A few of the missionaries became fluent in the Cherokee language, but Miss Sawyer had the children repeat the texts of English hymns after her although they had no conception of the meaning of the words.

She realized how wonderful everything belonging to white people seemed to the little Cherokees and she allowed them to finger her few pieces of jewelry, "her laces and her velvets; for Miss Sophia, though full of faith and good works, was also wholly feminine, and used to entrust Boston with shopping lists whose details must have raised the eyebrows of the august Board."[4]

Miss Sawyer was transferred to Haweis because some of the Indians thought that the missionaries meddled too much. It was not far distant from the Ridge home but the teacher was aggrieved at the change. She was accompanied by a pupil for interpreter and she had some wild experiences with the full blood parents; one mother told her that "she would as soon see her child in hell as in Miss Sophia's classroom."

After Worcester and his associate Elizur Butler were sent to the penitentiary for defying the Georgia Supreme Court in 1831, Mrs. Worcester was left alone with her little children, but with the assistance of Miss Sophia she undertook the management of the mission at New Echota and when the Georgia Guard attempted to harass the mission women "they ran right up against Miss Sophia. . . . . Even then past her youth. . . . . She was afflicted with an angularity of both body and mind that made her difficult to get along with. . . . . The Cherokees, on the contrary, were much attached to her. . . . . They endured her fantasies of temperament kindly . . . . respected her talent. . . . ." She was with the Cherokees through the harrowing days after they were ordered from their homes and she accompanied the Reverend Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary, to the Valley Towns when he went to help the two native preachers conduct a day of fasting and prayer as appointed by Chief John Ross for July 19.

The red men told Miss Sawyer that they would die rather than leave their beloved home and although their possessions seemed meager she realized that to them it was a paradise on earth.[5] The Cherokees were harassed in every way possible and Miss Sophia suffered with them. The Council House where she held her school had become a grogshop; the courthouse was in the possession of a

[4] Permission for quoting from *The Cherokee Nation* by Marion L. Starkey has been graciously given the writer by the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, New York. The book was issued in 1946.

[5] Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 57-8, 67, 144, 192, 194.

greedy white man and the last school had been held in a room in the home of a Cherokee named Candy. As conditions became worse, the school was moved into the country, and John Ridge allowed Miss Sawyer to teach in the large front room in his home at Running Water. Other pupils were brought from a distance to share the home and school with the Ridge children. This was a happy solution for the teacher and students.[6]

The time finally arrived when the Board of Foreign Missions had to decide whether the services of Miss Sawyer were to be continued with the Cherokees, and if she was to remove to the West with them. Worcester did not approve of her and wrote the Board that no other people would put up with her inconsistences and he was sure that the Cherokees would not endure what the missionaries had bourne on her account.

Fortunately Ridge and Elias Boudinot did not agree with Worcester as they realized that his own disposition was not exactly perfect, and they wrote their impression of Sophia and the good she had accomplished with influential Cherokees concerning missions. John Ridge described her "a lady of fine feelings and susceptibility of mind." Harriet Gold Boudinot wrote that the Cherokees would always be happy to provide a schoolhouse and would count it a privilege to have her in their homes and she advised the Board to retain her under its patronage.

The Cherokee Phoenix & Indian Advocate issued at New Echota, Georgia, March 17, 1832 (Vol. 4, No. 35), reported that on the previous Tuesday a company of the Georgia Guard visited Miss Sawyer's school in the Council House at that place, having heard that she had been teaching a little black boy to read the Bible. She was warned by a sergeant in command to desist as the last session of the legislature had passed a law making it unlawful with a fine of not less than $1000, nor exceeding $5000 together with imprisonment until the fine was paid.

Although Miss Sawyer had probably never heard of the law she was warned that she would be arraigned at the next Superior Court in the newly formed city, called "Cherokee," on the fourth Monday of the month, if she persisted in teaching the boy.

Among the twenty pupils were two small black boys. Peter and Sam, children of Cherokee slaves, and the owners saw nothing wrong in allowing the little Negroes to attend the school. Earlier in the year Miss Sawyer had received an anonymous note giving her warning that she was violating the Georgia law. She traced the communication to Dr. David A. Reese of Monticello, Georgia, a distant cousin of Elias Boudinot, but ignored it. Sophia was disturbed when the guard appeared but she asked them to be seated and later

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 550-51.

requested them to leave the room while she prayed. The men were on their good behavior and they waited while the teacher made her plea to the Almighty. When the sergeant returned he questioned Miss Sawyer about her knowledge of the Georgia law concerning the teaching of Negroes and she replied that that state had nothing to do with her school as she was teaching in the Cherokee Nation and that these Indians were too civilized to pass such laws. She asserted that she would not yield to any Georgia laws until the Supreme Court of the United States decided in favor of the state.[7]

The Board of Missions decided to follow the advice of the prominent Cherokees and by August, 1834 Miss Sawyer felt settled in her work and she took occasion to write the Board concerning Worcester: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him."

There is no question that this forlorn woman was subject to temperamental attacks but her Cherokee friends bore with her and the children liked her. It was a difficult time for all of the persons concerned because of the troubled condition in the Cherokee Nation, and there was great antagonism regarding the question of a treaty to surrender their lands and remove to the West.

The 1837 term was the last Miss Sawyer taught in the East. She was ill and by midsummer she was on her way to her old home in Rindge, New Hampshire but with the understanding that when the Ridge family was ready to start for the West they would send for her so that she might accompany them. John Ridge wrote Miss Sophia during the summer of 1837 and sent her $150 to pay her traveling expenses. He advised her to meet him and his family of six children at Creek Path or Nashville, but she dallied too long and even missed the last rendezvous in St. Louis by stopping in New York, Washington, Philadelphia and Newark where she taught an African school for females.

In the autumn of 1837 Sophia boarded a ship for New Orleans where she took the steamboat *Little Rock* for Fort Smith.[8] Aboard the boat the teacher was shocked at the rough characters who were her fellow passengers and she was distressed to learn that such people were neighbors of her beloved Cherokees in their new home. She found conditions in the West almost intolerable and she wrote, "The atmosphere of the old nation in its most disturbed state compared to this was like the peaceful lake to the boisterous ocean."[9]

In his autobiography John Rollin Ridge stated that his father, John Ridge wrote that their home was "a few miles east of the

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[7] Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation*, New York, pp. 175-77.

[8] Miss Sawyer reached New Orleans on Saturday, December 2, 1837, "in the ship *Arkansas* 16 days from New York." (*Flashback* published occasionally by the Washington County Historical Society, Fayetteville, Arkansas, May 1951, Number 3, page 11).

[9] Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 276, 302-05.

'Oos-te-nar-ly' . . . . . On another hill some two hundred yards distant, stood the school-house, built at my father's expense, for the use of a Missionary, Miss Sophia Sawyer, who made her home with our family and taught my father's children and all who chose to come for her instruction. I went to this school until I was ten years of age—which was in 1837. . . . ." Then followed a bitter account of conditions in the Cherokee Nation:[10]

"Oppression became intolerable, and forced by extreme necessity, they at last gave up their homes, yielded their beloved country to the rapacity of the Georgians, and wended their way in silence and in sorrow to the forests of the far west. In 1837, my father moved his family to his new home. He built his houses and opened his farm; gave encouragement to the rising neighborhood, and fed many a hungry and naked Indian whom oppression had prostrated into the dust. A second time he built a school-house, and Miss Sawyer again instructed his own children and the children of his neighbors."

The parents of Sophia "were extremely poor and their prospects promised nothing to their children but the heritage of poverty. But Sophia showed at an early age that her determined will, would overcome the difficulties that surrounded her humble condition. By her industry and energy in battling against the obstacles of life she attracted the attention of Dr. Payson, father of the celebrated Dr. Edward Payson, and was taken into his family where she purchased her right to his hospitality by doing with unremiting attention all the duties that usually devolve upon "help." She united with Dr. Payson's church and remained with him until qualified to enter the celebrated Female School of the Reverend Joseph Emerson at Byfield, Massachusetts.

An early day newspaper report states:[11] "She had been so assiduous in the studies and had taught school occasionally whilst remaining in her foster home with Dr. Payson, that she had funds to assist in carrying her through the academical course. . . . ."

After the slaying of John Ridge in June, 1839 Miss Sawyer accompanied his widow and children to Fayetteville. They arrived there on July 1, 1839, and Miss Sawyer immediately commenced arrangements for starting a Female School, that in the end was crowned with complete success:[12]

"She began teaching in a small log but in this town, and there were those of our citizens who will remember as they passed the school that it presented a marked difference from other schools over the country at that early date, but the energy and perseverance of Miss Sawyer soon raised it from its obscurity and it rose steadily and successfully until it took its rank at the head of all female institutions in Arkansas. Viewing the whole course of Miss Sawyer's life we cannot withhold admiration for

[10] John R. Ridge, *Poems*, San Francisco, 1869, preface, 6.

[11] The above was copied by the late Miss Clara Eno of Fayetteville, Arkansas from an account of Mrs. John Ridge and Miss Sawyer in an old scrap book belonging to Mrs. Clementine Boles of that city.

[12] *Ibid.*

her marked characteristics of zeal, energy . . . . in the cause of education. . . . ."

A report from the American Board in 1840 states:[13]

"Miss Sawyer has resided during the year in the family of Mrs. [John] Ridge, at Fayetteville, within the State of Arkansas, where she has a flourishing school of forty-five or fifty pupils, embracing a number of pupils of Indian descent, besides the children of Mrs. Ridge. She appears to have been very kindly received by the people of the place, and to be exerting a beneficial influence by means of a Sabbath-school and in other ways. She has not found it necessary to draw on the board for any portion of her support."

In her first report to the Reverend David Green, secretary of the American Board of Missions she wrote from Fayetteville, October 11, 1839 as follows:[14]

"Rev. David Green

"Very Dear Friend,

"I cannot address you, in these times of trial, in the cold business language of Sir: when no other human being will feel with us as you & I will in the relation you sustain toward me. I thank you for the letter of August which I received a few days since. In that you express uncertainty respecting our situation & offer your sympathy in several possible cases. For this we thank you & truly rejoice with you in one fact, that with Eternal Rectitude, all is safety & comfort.

"You have possibly learned from other pens much that has transpired in this family. I left the Nation with Mrs. Ridge, the children & a part of the servants a few days after the murder of her husband. (Note: June 22, 1839). Mrs. Ridge was sustained under the overwhelming affliction, & had not an influence been exerted, by interested persons, to have her leave the Nation, urging as reasons that herself & children were in danger, I should have succeeded in keeping the family & school together. This I did for several days after the Ridges' death: but when I saw her sinking under the weight of sorrow—fearful apprehensions & undecided anxieties—I consented to leave for this town as the nearest place of safety & accomodation. Here I have been since, doing, as it respects vigorous effort, what I could for her children & those associated with them.

"The last favor I sought of Mr. Ridge was his influence to prevent any among 36 of my pupils attending a *show*, which I knew would exert a bad moral influence, this he granted solely to gratify me two days before his death, & not a pupil was absent except from sickness during the scene which was passing at the store. My wants and wishes were consulted before he left for New York, & that evening before he was killed I saw & received the globe and books, & the last words he spoke to me amidst the crowd of business & people were to enquire if the books &c were such as I wished.

"We returned to the dwelling house. The girls & myself took an early supper, & went to our house beyond the shrieks of the murdered, which, before the dawn, were to fill with unutterable woe the peaceful dwelling that we left at evening."

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[13] *Report* of American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions, 1840, 170.

[14] *Flashback* published occasionally by the Washington County Historical Society, Fayetteville, Arkansas, May, 1951, Number 3, 11.

Among the students who attended Miss Sawyer's Seminary were Floretta Ridge, daughter of the murdered John Ridge and his wife. Miss Ridge later married Dr. W. D. Polson.

In 1840, Mrs. John Ridge had purchased all of block 18, lots 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Fayetteville. The property was just a block from the business center of Fayetteville, and the substantial log house she occupied is now incorporated in a more modern residence.[15]

The first students in Miss Sawyer's school were fourteen Cherokee girls, daughters of the Drews, Ridges, Rosses, Adairs and Starrs. The following description of the party that passed through Fayetteville was by A. W. Arrington who wrote:[16]

"The passage of the Cherokees through the principal streets of the village [Fayetteville at that time had only a population of about 400] was picturesque in the extreme. Then followed the families of wealth—the Cherokee aristocracy—in their splendid carriages, many of which were equal to the most brilliant that rattle along Broadway. In 1840 there were fifty-one pupils in the school. The first families in the town who had come from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia were only too glad to find a woman as capable as Miss Sawyer to whom they could send their little daughters, as well as the older ones."

Arkansas has always been proud of Miss Sawyer's Seminary which was established just two years later than Mount Holyoke:

"The Fayetteville Female Seminary not only gave impetus to further educational activities in the state and helped to determine the location of . . . . the University of Arkansas but was one of the most influential pioneer schools west of the Mississippi.

"During the first term most of the thirty pupils were small boys and the first out-of-town students were Cherokee girls. These girls and their teacher boarded in the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Stirman. Miss Sawyer held the classes on the second floor of a store. The second year Miss Sawyer had an assistant, Mrs. Reddick who taught ornamental needlework, drawing and painting while Miss Sophia taught plain sewing."

In the early time of the school the Reverend Cephas Washburn taught literature and religious subjects in the seminary while he and his family were making their home in Fayetteville. Miss Mary Eloise Rutherford of Fort Smith was among the first boarding students in the school. She later became the wife of William M. Cravens a celebrated attorney in Arkansas and Indian Territory.[17] Miss Emma Pope (Mrs. John W. Sanders) of Fayetteville, a relative of the Walker family, taught in Kentucky, at Caney and Hungry Mountain schools. She had attended school at Miss Sawyer's Female Seminary. One of the Cherokee girls who attended the Fayetteville school was Miss Delia Amelia Vann and young Perry Brewer was

[15] *The Arkansas Gazette*, December 16, 1934, p. 3. This interesting account entitled "Romance From the Records" was written by the late Zillah Cross Peel, who stated that Madam Marie Janssen taught French in the seminary.

[16] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1939, p. 3.

[17] *Ibid.*, Sunday, July 8, 1945, p. 98.

permitted to stroll with the pupils. John Rollin Ridge became the most famous of Miss Sawyer's pupils. He joined the California Gold Rush and "Thanks surely in part to his training with the eloquent Miss Sophia, attained fame as writer and editor."[18]

Miss Sawyer had two devoted friends in the persons of Judge David Walker and his wife, Jane L. Walker who showed their appreciation of her efforts to educate the young people of Fayetteville and the surrounding country by deeding to her a tract of land in the town. The Deed Of Gift is to be found among the archives in the Washington County court house in Fayetteville:

"This indenture made and entered into the 26 day of Oct. 1840, between David Walker and Jane L. Walker, his wife, of the 1st part and Sophia Sawyer of the 2nd part—all of the county of Wash—State of Ark—that the said parties of the 1st part for and in consideration of the respect they feel and the confidence they have in their capacity and industry in conducting her school and instructing her pupils and for the purpose of securing her services to the citizens of Fayetteville and the neighborhood around have this day granted, bargained and sold and by these presence (sic) do grant bargain and sell and convey unto the party of the second part the following described lot or parcel of ground lying in the town of Fay. Co. of Wash State of Ark designated as follows

"To WIT—Beginning at the N. cor of Block 33—thence S with the Street 100 feet thence East 100 feet thence N 100 feet
C. H. Washington

"David Walker[19]
"Jane L. Walker

"John Onstat
"Made Oct. 26, 1840.

Miss Sawyer was described in *Noted Daughters of Arkansas* by Mrs. Anthony George Little as "somewhat unusual in appearance. Her dress was of Puritanical severity; her hair was combed smoothly over her ears as was then the custom. Her lace caps were dainty, yet dignified and reserved. No one ever thought of approaching her with the slightest familiarity, so great was her reserve."

A printed announcement[20] from Miss Sawyer stated that her Female Seminary would close the twelfth of the month for two weeks and would open again in "a new and convenient edifice" which had been constructed for the use of the school in a "retired part of the town; and offers every facility to the young ladies to take exercise

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[18] Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Edward W. Bushyhead and John Rollin Ridge," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1936), pp. 295-311.

[19] On September 30, 1879, David Walker died at Fayetteville. He was thrown from his buggy at the fair grounds. He was seventy-four years of age and had lived in Arkansas fifty years (*Wheeler's Independent*, Fort Smith, October 8, 1879, p. 4, col. 1).

[20] *The Witness*, Fayetteville, Arkansas, February 6, 1841.

without the least exposure." The prices for tuition, for a session of five months were: [21]

"For Reading, Spelling, Defining, Geography, History, Mental Arithmetic, and Geometry, $8.00.

"For the more difficult branches, viz: Writing, (including pen making,) Grammar, Rhetoric, Composition, Ancient Geography, Ancient History, Logic, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy, also children under seven years of age, who receive proper instruction in the elementary branches, $10.00.

"Plain and ornamental needle work will be taught next session.

"Boarding can be had in the most respectable families for $2.00 per week.

"Rev. Mr. Scull [who] has charge of the Male Academy, delivers lectures upon the Bible on Sunday evenings, to the young ladies."

Miss Sawyer was very modern in her belief in advertising her school and she inserted notices in the *Cherokee Advocate* frequently to call its advantages to the attention of her Indian friends. The institution was near enough that Cherokee girls could be sent there with little trouble or expense for travel and it proved one of the great civilizing forces carried on in the area.[22]

The *Advocate* for March 20, 1845 carried the following advertisement, the notice signed by S. Sawyer and Martha C. Trimble:

"Miss Sawyer informs her *Cherokee* patrons and the pupils generally that the Session for the reception of young ladies, will open April 16th, and continue with short intervals until December, during which term, pupils will be received and discharged by paying $1.50 per month in advance, or $1.75 when payment is deferred. Those who enter at the opening of the session and remain during the term will enjoy special advantages, while those who promiscuously enter and leave will pay according to the discretion of the teacher, who will justly graduate the tuition to meet the circumstances of reception and dismissal.

"Board can be obtained in good families for $1.50 per week. It is desirable that young ladies come prepared with necessary clothing, that their minds be not drawn from intellectual pursuits by needless attention to their wardrobes; they will also bear in mind that their intercourse in society will be controlled by the discretion of the teacher, who will always gratify her pupils when she can do so in accordance with their highest interest."

It is interesting to note that Miss Sawyer spoke of the young people who attended her school as *pupils* and not as *scholars* as was the custom by many writers in those days.

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[21] *The Foreign Mission Chronicle*, Vol. VIII No. I, January, 1840 reported that Sophia Sawyer was not permanently located, but this proved untrue as she remained in Fayetteville the rest of her life.

[22] Mabel Washbourne Anderson in her *Life of General Stand Watie and Contemporary Cherokee History*, Pryor, Oklahoma, 1931 (p. 14, note) wrote that at the time of Stand Watie's young manhood an unusual state of civilization prevailed among the Cherokees. In a footnote on this page she wrote of Miss Sawyer and her school and stated that "many prominent women from Arkansas and Indian Territory attended her school."

Miss Sawyer advertised regularly in the *Arkansas Intelligencer* and the *Cherokee Advocate.* In the edition of the former paper of March 22, 1845 it was stated that "In addition to the English branches taught here, young ladies who are prepared, can receive at this Seminary, lessons in French, from a teacher of the Male Academy."

According to the Van Buren *Arkansas Intelligencer,* Saturday, July 12, 1845, Miss Sawyer's "examination" came off at her school room in Fayetteville on the second day of the month:

"Everything displayed the great advancement of the scholars and the high capacity of the teachers . . . . . The performances of the young Masters and Misses were creditable to themselves and teachers, and gave great pleasure to the spectators. We are well acquainted with Miss Sawyer and *know* that her system of teaching is better adapted to perfect the education of youth than any other in this State, and her school is as good as that of any other. If a few more such teachers were sustained in Arkansas, we should see her occupying a high stand among her sisters."

At the time of the Examinations in 1848 Miss Sawyer received recognition for her work in a manner that gratified her exceedingly. She wrote: "During the first and second days and nights, until 10 or 11 o'clock, the houses and piazzas were crowded with spectators from different parts of the county and state, the governor and other distinguished gentlemen, being here for political purposes. . . . . The last evening, Mr. Walker, our long-tried friend and benefactor, asked to address the governor in behalf of the Seminary."

Governor [Thomas S.] Drew must have been favorably impressed; at any rate Miss Sawyer was very happy over the compliments paid her on her achievements . . . . and the girls "got to stay up late", enjoying the company, while "parents and guardians stood exulting over the success of the music."[23]

Another report on the Seminary appeared in February, 1849:[24]

"The attention of the public is again called to the FEMALE SEMINARY, at Fayetteville. The regular session of five months will close with the present month; but there will be no vacation. The month of February is thrown in, and no charge made for tuition, to compensate for bad weather and occasioned absences. A new session of five months will commence with March. It is earnestly requested, of parents and guardians of pupils now in school, and who design to continue these pupils another session, to let them remain through the month of February; also, all who may wish to send their daughters or wards, the next session, are requested to place them here during February, that they may be present to commence the session at the first of March. This course will be for the interest of all, as no tuition is charged for February.

"The Principal returns sincere thanks to those who have sustained her in the present and former years, for their long continued patronage. She has a pleasing consciousness, that the confidence they have reposed in her, has not been misplaced, and she hopes for its continuance. As the design of the Seminary is to prepare its pupils for extensive usefulness,

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[23] *Arkansas Gazette,* July 8, 1945, p. 9B.
[24] *The Arkansas Democrat,* February 16, 1849, p. 3, col. 7.

merely transient pupils are not desired. No scholar, therefore, will be received for a shorter term than a full session, and no deduction, hereafter, will be made for tuition, except in cases of protracted illness. No pupils from a distance will be received, who cannot read with tolerable accuracy and facility, unless assurances are given, that such pupil will be continued in school till they shall have acquired sufficient education to prepare them for practical usefulness. In consideration of the many favors and the tried friendship manifested towards the principal, by the citizens of Fayetteville, she will receive their children into the primary department, so long as she shall have health and strength to teach.

"There is an entire unanimity of views and feeling in the teachers, in respect to the course of study and the method of instruction, and assurance is given to the public, that *thoroughness* will characterize the teaching in every department. Especial pains will be taken to make the pupils *good* readers. The pupils will be advanced to higher branches as fast as, and *no faster* than, they shall be prepared by a thorough understanding of the subordinate branches. The ambition of the teachers is not to send forth pupils, who have run over a great deal of ground, but those who have thoroughly cultivated what they have gone over. In a word, the object of the teachers is not to make a *show*, but, by giving their pupils a solid education, to prepare them for usefulness in whatever relation or station in life they may be called to act. Careful and minute attention will be paid to the elements of every branch pursued in the Seminary.

"The instructors are the same as published in the last notice of the school, to wit:

Miss S. Sawyer, *Principal, and teacher of the primary department.*
Rev. C. Washburn, *Teacher of higher branches and in religion.*
Miss Harmenia Freyschlag, *Teacher of instrumental and vocal music.*
Mr. Harmaun Freyschlag, *Dancing Master.*

The terms of tuition are as follows:

For the primary department, per session,	$10.00
" the higher branches, " "	15.00
" music and use of instrument, " "	20.00
" Drawing, " "	3.00

"Though Mr. Washburn is rearded as teacher of the higher branches, his labors are, by no means, confined to that department. All his capabilities are employed, and are bestowed, upon all the classes as the exigencies of the school demand.

"Since the publication of the last notice, the addition of a very good and well furnished Air Pump has been made to the Philosophical Apparatus, making, in all, a very respectable collection. This will afford greater facility and clearness, than heretofore, in giving instruction and illustrations in that science. All this will be accompanied by oral lectures. It is also proper to notice, that particular attention will be given to plain and ornamental needle-work, under the instructions of a well qualified assistant.

"Boarding, including washing, fires and lights, in good families, can be obtained for one dollar and fifty cents a week. It is understood, that the pupils are to board only in such families as shall be approved by the Principal. It is also to be understood, that all correspondence with the pupils, must be under the inspection of the Principal; and that she will entirely regulate their social intercourse in the community, and their attendance upon public assemblies. The young ladies will be required to take care of their own wardrobe.

"Great attention will be given to their moral and religious instruction. They will have opportunity to attend public worship nearly every Sabbath, and Sabbath School and Bible Class instruction will be given weekly.

"S. Sawyer, *Principal.*

"Fayetteville, Jan. 23, 1849."

While Mrs. Ellenor Martin, relict of the late Judge John Martin of the Cherokee Nation, was visiting her youngest daughter and several grand daughters who were students at the Fayetteville Female Seminary she was taken ill with pneumonia and died after a week's illness at the age of fifty-six years on March 14, 1849.[25]

Arkansas Intelligencer (Van Buren), June 26, 1847, described Miss Sawyer's school:[26]

" . . . . a highly respectable female seminary . . . . located on the western brow of the hill on which Fayetteville stands. This institution has proved highly beneficial to the people of this place, for there are few young ladies, either in town or the surrounding country who have not received the greater part, if not all of their literary knowledge here. At the head of this institution is Miss S. Sawyer, a lady whose merit but few properly appreciate. In 1839, in a small cabin she commenced her career here, as a teacher. Unaided by friends, wealth, or popularity, but stimulated by industrious habits, and guided by good sense and firmness and independence, not common to her sex, she has triumphed over every difficulty. The economical savings of her industry have been expended in the erection of a commodious school room. Around this is a yard enclosed with posts and rails and finely set with grass, shrubbery, and shade trees. She at this time has a school of near fifty scholars. Since here, I have attended several of this lady's examinations, and can say with pleasure, that at all, the students acquitted themselves very well.

"In order to carry on a high school, Miss S. has from the Ladies' Society at Boston, for the promotion of education in the west, employed a young lady, Miss James, whose literary qualifications are said to be inferior to none in the Union, to teach a school of that character. This young lady arrived here but a short time since. I have seen some of her specimens of painting and needle work, which I think very good. Miss S. by the aid of some two or three gentlemen whose names I am not at liberty to use, is preparing a suitable room a few yards to the east of her other room. She has also sent for a piano, philosophical aparatus, &c., to enable the above lady to teach with success this department of the school.

"Parents at a distance need have no apprehension in sending their daughters here, as to their morals, for as you know, are suffered to keep the company of none but the best; nor as to their health, for should they be taken sick, we have living in town two eminent physicians as any in the State."

"The Fayetteville Female Seminary was located on what is now West Mountain Street overlooking the broad White River Valley and the blue ridges of the Boston Mountains on the South. . . The building, a two-story frame structure, was destroyed during the Civil War . . . .

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[25] *Fort Smith Herald*, March 28, 1849, p. 3, col. 2.

[26] Emily Penton, "Typical Women's Schools in Arkansas Before the War of 1861-65," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter, 1945), p. 325, note 4. The information concerning the Fayetteville school was secured from Mrs. Sue Woody, whose mother Sallie Howell was a member of Miss Sawyer's seminary.

"On Sunday mornings the girls of the school walked in dignified lines two-and-two to church, with Miss Sawyer at the head, and her assistant, Miss Foster, at the rear.

At six each morning, Miss Sawyer opened the stair door and called 'Spring, young ladies.' They were required to walk a mile before breakfast in order to make their cheeks rosy, and give them an appetite for the morning meal which consisted of hot cakes, butter, and weak syrup, and weaker tea. Young ladies were expected to be dainty in their eating. At night, after study hours, the tinkle of a tiny silver bell called the girls into the study hall for prayer. After vespers, the girls went to their respective rooms and to bed."

On April 14, 1849 Miss Sawyer wrote the editor of the *Fort Smith Herald* regarding a communication over the signature of "Pericles" which had appeared in the *Van Buren Intelligencer*: ". . . . makes a statement of a clandestine marriage. . . . . The young lady whose marriage was mentioned. . . . by 'Pericles' . . . . was a member of this school and had just been entered. . . . for 2 years longer." The young lady had always resided at the home of her parents, they alone regulated her social intercourse. She was not married in the music room of the Seminary.

An interesting description of the Sawyer school is found in *The Memoirs of Narcissa Owen,* [1907] the mother of Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, and daughter of Thomas Chisholm:

"After my summer holidays, through the influence of Miss Sawyer, of Fayetteville, Arkansas, who was the principal and owner of the Female Seminary of that place, I concluded to accept a very good offer made to me. I had a new piano, which I had bought in Louisville, Kentucky, and Mrs. Sawyer's school was in need of a new one, so I let her have mine in consideration of a finished school course, which I completed in 1850.

"On my arrival at Miss Sawyer's Female Seminary I didn't understand the situation of things. I observed that whenever Miss Sawyer made her appearance every girl present began to dodge out of her sight, and find a place of retreat. One of the senior's Annie Bell Shelton (sister of Hooley Bell), who was my classmate, remained with me. As soon as Miss Sawyer disappeared I said, 'Annie, what does this mean, the girls disappearing in this way?' She laughed and gave me a knowing wink, saying, 'Just wait; you'll know soon enough.'

"Miss Sawyer was a first-class regulator, and my position with the old lady was either up in the zenith or down in the depths. As a rule I could please her, but occasionally, like all the others, I woefully missed it, and in a short time I learned to take my part in getting out of sight when the commanding officer hove in view. As a teacher of music I passed a very pleasant year in the school, boarding with Rev. and Mrs. Duncan, who lived near . . . . . Mrs. Duncan was a sister of Judge David Walker, of Fayetteville, Arkansas. The Judge was a very kind friend to me and to Miss Sawyer's school, and was a man much esteemed for his learning and noble character."

"Mr. Watson, a town merchant and a lover of music and Colonel Pulliam decided to serenade the pupils of the school and they got together a company of musicians and 'paired to the school. They were in the porch tuning their violins and speaking in low tones when Miss Sawyer went out on the upper porch and ordered them to depart in no uncertain terms. The next day she concluded that she had been a bit hasty and she wrote to Mr.

Watson saying that last night they had awakened her from a horrible dream and that she had thought they were burglars. She invited them to return and give the young ladies a serenade but requested that they be awakened by the soft strains of music and not by their *'boisterous conversation'*. Mr. Watson knew the old lady's pecularities and he accepted her strange apology and returned a few evenings later with his friends and gave the girls a charming serenade."

At a school entertainment she played a selection on the piano accompanied by Joshua Ross[27] on his violin. The piece was called "Love Not." Ross was a student at Mount Comfort, a boy's school near by and took violin lessons from Mr. Candless. A sister of Joshua's attended Miss Sawyer's school. Miss Chisholm taught in the school for a year as music teacher to replace Miss Hermina Freyschlag who accompanied Herman[28] to California. He had taught art in the school.

The following notice appeared in *The Cherokee Advocate,* Tahlequah, July 30, 1849, on the editorial page:

"The Female Seminary, which has been so ably conducted, for some time past by Miss S. Sawyer, will close its present session on the third day of August next, after an examination of two days. And will open again on the first Wednesday in September next, with the same, or an adequate number of competent teachers, to carry on the designs of the institution. As Miss Sawyer's qualifications for superintending the above Institution, and giving adequate instruction to the youth of this western frontier are so well known to the people generally, it is not necessary that we should make a comment; only that she is expecting a continuance of the patronage heretofore received, with increase."

The Autobiography of Mrs. A. J. Marshall (neé James), issued at Pine Bluff in 1897, contains a description of the Sawyer school. Miss James, who had been educated at Mount Holyoke was requested by Miss Sawyer to take charge of the high school department of her Female Seminary. She wrote that Miss Sawyer had "won the confidence of John Ross and his friends, who urged her to establish a school at some point outside the Indian Nation, so that their daughters could be educated and trained among the white citizens of the states.

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[27] Joshua Ross, born in Will's Valley, Alabama, February 7, 1833, was a son of Andrew Ross and a nephew of Chief John Ross; his mother was Susan Lowrey, a daughter of Assistant Chief George Lowrey. When his parents removed from the East they settled in a valley watered by Sallisaw Creek and young Ross attended Fairfield Mission. He was graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary in February, 1855 and later studied at the Ozark Institute in Arkansas before going to Virginia to attend Emory and Henry College. He was graduated from that institution with high honors in 1860 and became the head of the Cherokee Female Seminary the following year (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill,* Muskogee, 1948, pp. 130, 131, 154.)

[28] During the Gold Rush in 1849 Herman, Barbara and Hermina Freyschlag were members of Captain Lewis Evans party on the journey to California. Hermina had lately arrived from Berlin and she taught music in Miss Sawyer's seminary while her brother Herman was the dancing master. Aged citizens of Fayetteville related that it was understood that the Freyschlags walked all the way to California (Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers,* Norman, 1939, pp. 71, 72; *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock), February 16, 1849, p. 3, col. 7).

The chief was . . . . a fine old English gentleman. . . . [of] noble bearing and manner. . . . ."

Mrs. Marshall wrote that Miss Sawyer had never gone beyond primary studies, that she had a spasmodic temperament. The American Board of Foreign Missions knew of her excentricities and they moved her from one mission to another to keep the other missionaries from resigning. "One day she would be full of hope and the next day disconsolate about the school. She did a great deal for Fayetteville and Judge [David] Walker, Dr. Pollard and Colonel Leeper admired and sustained her."

Another communication from Miss Sawyer appeared in 1849:[29]

"Female Seminary, Fayetteville, August 1st, 1849.

"OUR PATRONS:—God has graciously carried us through another year of trial and difficulty, and so far crowned our labors with success, as to call forth grateful recollections of the past, and inspire confident trust in the future.

"It is due to our patrons, our friends, and myself to be allowed on this occasion, to say, that the same principles have guided me in my labors, and in all my intercourse with society the passed year, which have been my directions and support during ten years of my labors in this town.

"In all my transactions in business, in all my employment of labors, and in all my invitations, or reception of visitors, from the most untaught and limited capacity, to the man of capacious intellect and science, my first inquiry has been, without respect to *sect* or *party;* do they sustain a moral character according to their standing and profession; and as this question has been settled, they have found employment on these grounds; or have had access to this school. The same rules have also governed me in the reception, and retention of pupils. How far I may have been deceived on this subject will be seen on the day of accounts.

"You will remember the circumstances which brought me here years ago with the afflicted family. We were kindly received—found protection and safety among a kind and hospitable people—a door of usefulness was opened, into which I entered not knowing what would be on the morrow, laboring from day to day as the indications of Providence seemed to direct.

"The school, which was then opened in a log-cabin on the public square, and continued, sometimes without fuel during the most inclement weather of this latitude, has of necessity assumed its present position before the public. These houses, and these grounds, and all the facilities for giving instruction here, did not spring up by magic, in this new and uncultivated country. They have appeared one after another, under God, by the most energetic, untiring, and I would add of true patient effort. But persevere I have until my nature is yielding under the pressure of complicated labor.

"I will not forget to mention now, what I trust will be among my dying recollections, the generous and judicious aid I have received from individuals in this place, to encourage me in my early labors; and whose watchful influence and needed aid has not been withheld from time to time when this Institution has been contending with obstacles. Let such remember, however unworthy I may prove of public trust, they may have the gratification of knowing that the work is a good one, and that it can be carried forward in other hands more deserving and more capable, when the present incumbent shall have relinquished her labors.

[29] *Cherokee Advocate,* Monday, August 20, 1849, p. 2, col. 2.

"Let my personal friends, if such I have, *bear* with me a little longer, and they will be done with anxieties respecting the course Miss S. takes—A few more anniversaries of this Institution, *at the longest* and the one, who now occupies the position she holds before you, will have passed away, and other persons will occupy this place of public trust.

"Let my enemies take courage also, and wait with a little patience, and Death will displace the teacher from this Seminary, a work which they have so long, and so unsuccessfully labored to accomplish.

"And in conclusion, will my associates in labor allow me in this interesting moment, to express my unqualified gratitude to them for their faithful judicious, skillful and efficient labors, in all the struggles of this institution the past year. In sickness, in want of conveniences, in failure from contractors, in a word amidst all the contingencies and fluctations of this Seminary, you have been at your posts, carrying forward the unhesitating labor the designs of this school. Never reminding me, by any lack of courtesy, or conformity to my wishes of my want of ability to arrange and control the departments of this Seminary. Elevated in your characters and acquirements, you have justly and generously supplied the deficiencies of the Principal by your own capabilities.—For this receive my lasting gratitude. And in future, though through the imbecility of age, my labor in the drudgery of the school, may be deviating and uncertain, yet the undying part of my nature, guided by Infinite Wisdom, is going forward with unhesitating step to raise this Institution above competition—to an eminence, whose influence shall overlook the whole length and breadth of our State and surrounding country; looking into eternity, shall shed mortal light and knowledge upon all classes, from the lowest hut of the untaught Indian, and the humblest cot of the poor peasant to the spacious hall of the man of wealth and science.

"Let our pupils too catch the onward course and never rest satisfied with past attainments—conquoring difficulties as they go, stop not until they have ascended the hill of science—measured earth—weighed air—overlooked and traversed the vast plain of the elevation they have reached—for know, my young friends, that youthful vigor and persevering activity can lay the foundation of progressive and eternal acquisition!

Your friend and dying Teacher,

S. Sawyer"

Miss Sawyer announced in the *Fort Smith Herald* of October 31, 1849 that she had engaged as a teacher in her school Miss Lucretia Foster, recently graduated from Mount Holyoke. Miss Foster and another well remembered instructor Miss Mary True Daniels also from Holyoke, were Presbyterians. Miss Sawyer, reared as a Congregationalist, became affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church after coming to Arkansas.

When Miss Annie James and the Reverend Lewis S. Marshall were married the service was read by the Reverend William Stout, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. The wedding was a festive occasion for the girls at Miss Sawyer's school. At that time Miss James was conducting her own school northwest of Fayetteville near the Ozark Institute. The three schools were dismissed for the day in order to allow the students to be present at the nuptials. The boys from the Ozark Institute were busy all morning with every available carriage and saddle horse bringing Miss Sawyer's girls out

to the institute. The Seminary girls were permitted to remain for refreshments after which they returned to their school. "The girls enjoyed seeing their austere principal in the role of bridesmaid."

Miss Sallie E. Butler was a local student at the Sawyer Seminary who belonged to the celebrated Butler family of South Carolina. When she married Robert B. Rutherford, later of Fort Smith, the event was long remembered in social annals.[30]

The Fort Smith Herald, reported Saturday, August 3, 1850 (p. 2, col. 2):

"Public Examination of the Students of Miss Sawyer's Female Seminary, at Fayetteville.

"On the 30th and 31st of this month, we had the pleasure of being present at the examination of the young ladies of Miss Sawyer's Female Seminary, and was very much pleased to see the good order, and surprised to find the profiviency made by the students in the different departments of Education. We had no idea that we had an institution, in our state, that possessed such advantages. Without entering into any of the details of the examination, we must be permitted to say, that Miss Foster, the teacher of the Seminary, is a young lady, possessing every qualification for teaching, and we feel certain that she is not surpassed by anyone in the state.

"We heard classes examined in all of the primary branches, besides Algebra, Geometry, Physiology, Latin, &c. Every person present expressed their entire satisfaction, with the progress of the young ladies. Compositions were read by Miss Kidd and Misses J. and A. Bell, that reflect much credit upon them, in fact we should be proud to have been the author of either of them.

"On Tuesday evening the exercises in Calisthenics, conducted by Miss Foster, were beautiful, graceful and entertaining to the spectators. The Musical department of the Institution is conducted by Miss H. Freshlag, and an entertainment in this science was given on Wednesday evening, to the citizens of Fayetteville. The young ladies acquitted themselves very well.

"On Wednesday, in the afternoon, addresses were delivered, in the Methodist Church, by the Rev. John Buchanan, Rev. Cephas Washburn, Mr. Clem Vann, a Cherokee youth, and a student of *Ozark Seminary*,[31] and Rev. Robert Graham, one of the proprietors and teachers of the Ozark Institute. We were much surprised to hear so much eloquence, and fluency, from so young a man as Mr. Vann. He certainly will, if properly trained, become an able orator.

"Before closing these brief remarks, we cannot refrain from paying to the Principal of the Female Seminary, Miss Sawyer, that meed of praise, which we think is due to her. 'Solitary and alone,' without relations or friends, far from her native state, without a fortune, but with limited means, has she, by a woman's energy, built up an institution, that has done much for female education in Arkansas, and which is destined in a few

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[30] *Arkansas Gazette*, July 8, 1945, p. 9B.

[31] Clement Neeley Vann served as senator from Saline District in 1855; he was clerk of the Cherokee Council in 1869 and he succeeded Spring Frog as treasurer in November, 1870. In 1870 and 1871 he was one of the Southern Cherokee Delegates (Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, Oklahoma City, 1921, pp. 284, 267, 292, 296).

years, to rank high, as an institution of learning for the young ladies of this state. Who will withhold the credit due to this lady, for thus applying her means and her labor, for the benefit of the young?

"She has built up expressly for the Western part of Arkansas, and certainly, she has no end to accomplish, save that of doing good. She has no relatives, no friends, as we have remarked before, in the country—suffering with a disease that will shortly cut her off—but yet she labors with energy, cherishing and supporting this institution like a mother would her young offspring, hoping for its growth and prosperity, when it shall be able to bless the young and rising generation of her sex. Give her the praise due her, and let her declining days be that of *peace*."

In 1851 Miss Sawyer added to her real estate holdings by purchasing from David Walker 140 by 210 feet of ground on the northeast corner of Block 33 for $400.00.

The Seminary had become so popular that she sent east for two additional teachers—Miss Daniels and Miss Lucretia Foster. The date of their arrival is not known, but Miss James, "late of London, England," was visiting friends in Rhode Island when she read in the *Recorder,* published in Boston, an advertisement inserted by Miss Sawyer for a teacher to assist her. In her autobiography, written when she was eighty-four, she stated that she left New York by boat, December 12, 1846, and reached Fayetteville about the middle of January, 1847. Other instructors were Professor F. F. Zellner who taught music, the Reverend Cephas Washburn, and Robert Mecklin who founded the Ozark Institute near Fayetteville, in 1845.

Mrs. Margaret Blakemore Taylor who lived to be ninety-four was a pupil of Miss Sawyer and she related that there were two large frame buildings on the campus of the seminary. In one, located almost in the center of the block was the school. The first floor was the school room and the upper floor was used for sleeping quarters. The dormitory was located west of the school.[32]

The will of Miss Sawyer dated April 2, 1852 was filed in March, 1854. In this testament Sophia wrote:[33]

"I, Sophia Sawyer, of the Co. of Washington and State of Ark—being of sound and disposing, mind and memory, but of advancing age and in feeble health and knowing the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death and also having to bequeath the property that God has been pleased to trust me with, according to my own wish and feelings, so make and publish this my last will and testament hereby revoking all former wills at any time by me made.

"I will and bequeath all my real estate known as B[l]ock No. 33 as laid down in the *plate* of the town of Fayetteville and situate in the County of Wash—State of Ark—together with all the improvements thereon or in any wise appertaining thereunto—to the Rev. David Green of Westborough in the State of Mass. to have and to hold, and to dispose of as he may think proper, and I hereby appoint my friends James Sutton and Pressly R. Smith my executors to carry out this my will."

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[32] *The Arkansas Gazette Magazine,* January 27, 1935, p. 3.

[33] "The above will was duly proved by two witnesses, and probated as required by the laws of the State of Ark, and duly recorded in A-Book of Wills at page 130."

Miss Sawyer passed to her reward in the winter of 1853. On Wednesday morning the twenty-second, in her home near the Seminary, her long sufferings from tuberculosis came to an end. "On Thursday at noon, amid a large concourse of our citizens her remains were buried in the graveyard of the Academy. President Graham performing the final services."[34]

Mrs. John Ridge, Miss Sawyer's loyal patron and faithful friend, wrote to a relative on March 5, 1854: "Miss Sawyer ceased all her toils and suffering on the 22nd of February last. Her body now rests near the school where she spent the last years of her life establishing a female seminary of first standing in Arkansas.[35] Her property valued at $2,500, she left by will to the Rev. David Green, formerly secretary of the American Board of Missions."

A few months after Miss Sawyer's demise, Green sold the seminary property to Miss Daniels for "the sum of one dollar and divers other good and valuable consideration." In 1858 her colleague, Mrs. L. Foster Smith, purchased a half interest in the school (for $1,000) and became the principal. Comely, auburn-haired Miss Foster had married in the year 1856. Her husband was W. A. J. (Jack) Smith, but she was soon widowed and she continued to teach at the seminary for several years. She died in 1863.[36]

The influence Miss Sawyer wielded over the educational interests in Arkansas and Indian Territory was immeasurable. Like that of Miss Florence Wilson of the Cherokee Female Seminary at Tahlequah, her efforts were indelibly stamped on hundreds of young women who were her pupils.

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[34] The above from a Fayetteville newspaper was found in the scrapbook of Mrs. Clementine Boles of Fayetteville, Arkansas.

[35] Miss Sawyer's body was removed to Evergreen Cemetery at Fayetteville.

[36] *Arkansas Gazette*, July 8, 1945, p. 10B.

CHEROKEE SOCIETY UNDER THE STRESS OF REMOVAL, 1820-1846

By Oliver Knight

When the Cherokees first were brought under pressure to move from the southeastern United States to the wilderness west of Arkansas, they were considered the most civilized of all the tribes of North America. Years before, they had lost the hunter class which migrated to the west. The more sedentary Cherokees remained in the ancient homeland of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina. There they had constructed a civilization which blended some of their timeless customs with innovations taken from the white man.

By 1830 there were two pronounced groups within the Eastern Cherokees. One was composed of the mixed blood, mostly of Anglo-Saxon stock, although some had French blood, who had been emerging ever since the early eighteen hundreds as the leaders of the tribe. They included men like Sequoyah, the unlettered silversmith who devised an alphabet for his people, and Chief John Ross, the adroit politician who was more Scott than Cherokee. The mixed-blood men were tall and well-formed, while the women were dignified, vivacious, and marked for their beauty and brilliant dark eyes. By nature they were generous, moody, brave, suspicious, true to friends, implacable foes, and they had a tragic element in their outlook.[1]

The second group, the fullblood, were described by an early traveller thus:[2]

> The women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect and of delicate frame, their features formed of a perfect symmetry, their countenance cheerful and friendly, and they move with a becoming grace and dignity. . . . The Cherokees in their dispositions and manners are grave and steady; dignified and circumspect in their deportment; rather slow and reserved in conversation; yet frank, cheerful and humane; tenacious of their liberties and the natural rights of men; secret, deliberative and determined in their councils; honest, just and liberal and are ready always to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood, and life itself, to defend their territory and maintain their rights.

The Cherokees, whose young men had once loved the war trail but who had ceased to be war-like, had a moral code which assumed the strict honor of every man, similar to the codes of other southeastern tribes. Moreover, they were a people who liked to give and

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[1] Emmett Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees* (n. p., 1916), p. 96. Hereafter cited as Starr, *Cherokees.*

[2] William Bartram, *William Bartram Travels* (London, 1792), 481-83, quoted in Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot.*

receive hospitality. They were fond of story-telling, and any hour was good for a recitation which usually began with, "This is what the old men told me when I was a boy."[3]

By 1830 most of the Cherokees wore the dress of the white man. After Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester, the New England missionary who devoted his life to the Cherokees, had been with them a few years, he wrote:[4]

> The present principal chief is about forty years of age. When he was a boy, his father procured him a good suit of clothes, in the fashion of the sons of civilized people; but he was so ridiculed by his mates as a *white* boy that he took off his new suit, and refused to wear it. The editor of the *Phoenix* is twenty-seven years old. He well remembers that he felt awkward and ashamed of his singularity when he began to wear the dress of a white boy. Now every boy is proud of a civilized suit, and those feel awkward and ashamed of their singularity who are destitute of it. At the last session of the General Council, I scarcely recollect having seen any members who were not clothed in the same manner as the white inhabitants of the neighboring states; and those very few (I am informed that the precise number was four) who were partially clothed in Indian style were, nevertheless, very decently attired. I have seen, I believe, only one Cherokee woman, and she an aged woman, away from her home, who was not clothed in, at least, a decent long gown. At home only one, a very aged woman, who appeared willing to be seen in the original native dress; three or four, only, who had at their own houses dressed themselves in Indian style, but hid themselves with shame at the approach of a stranger. I am thus particular, because particularity gives more accurate ideas than general statements. Among the elderly men there is yet a considerable portion, I dare not say whether a majority or a minority, who retain the Indian dress in part. The younger men almost dress like the whites around them, except that the greater number wear a turban instead of a hat, and in cold weather a blanket frequently serves for a cloak. Cloaks, however, are becoming common. There yet remains room for improvement in dress, but that improvement is making with surprising rapidity.

Worcester also found that most of the Cherokees wore cotton clothing, spun and woven from the produce of their cotton fields by their wives. However, he remarked upon the amount of northern domestic, calico, broadcloth, imported cloths, and silk in evidence in Cherokee clothing.[5]

As in their clothing, the Cherokees were influenced by the whites in the development of their government. Since 1810 the Cherokees had had written laws, and since 1828 they had had a written constitution which was patterned along the lines of that of the United States. They had the three branches of government, including an executive who was a principal chief, plus several subordinate chiefs. Worcester reported that oaths were regularly administered in courts of justice and he had never heard of a case of perjury. Few severe punishments were inflicted by the Cherokees who substituted ridicule,

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[3] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1897-98 (Washington, 1900), p. 232. Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), pp. 69, 115.

[4] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 99.

[5] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 100.

using public irony and sarcasm devastatingly, praising a coward for his valor, a liar for his truthfulness, and a thief for his honesty.[6]

Having given his clothing and his form of government to the Cherokees, the white man also gave him his religion. However, when Drowning Bear first heard the Scriptures as translated into Cherokee, he said: "It seems a good book; it is strange that the white man, who has had it so long, is no better than he is."[7] Essentially, the Cherokee was a polytheist—believing that each object had a spirit of its own, and that the world was governed by supernatural beings, and believing further that a good life in the next world would depend upon his conduct in this—before Christianity forced itself into the wilderness.[8] By 1830, Worcester believed, most Cherokees had accepted Christianity as the true religion, although by his own figures the greatest number of them were not active church members. He estimated the Presbyterian membership in 1827 at 180, the United Brethren at fifty, the Methodists at more than eight hundred.[9] Devout Cherokees held many of their meetings in the evening, calling them for "candle-light" or "early candle-light."

The Cherokees' spiritual needs were administered to by various white missionaries, who had first come into the country in 1800 when a small group of Moravians established a mission at Spring Place, in Georgia. When the Worcesters arrived in 1825 to serve Brainerd Mission, they found it similar to a pioneer New England settlement—houses for the mission families, a church, a school, a farm, a garden, and an orchard. They had come from Boston, and were a good six weeks journey from home. Freight, coming by water to Augusta and then overland, sometimes never reached the mission. Coffee was a luxury, drunk sparingly, and imported soap was jealously guarded for washing hands and dishes. Homemade soap, used for laundry, was of poor quality because the wood of the region did not produce good ashes.[10]

Education was important to the Cherokees. Several families sent their sons to schools and colleges in the states, including Principal Chief John Ross who had gone to an academy in Tennessee, Elias Boudinot and John Ridge who had gone to a seminary in Connecticut and married white girls, and W. P. Ross who was an honor graduate of Princeton. Through Sequoyah's syllabary, more than half of the adult men could read in 1830. Men and boys could learn to read

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[6] W. R. L. Smith, *The Story of the Cherokees* (Cleveland, Tenn., 1928), 27. Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 99. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 355.

[7] John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West, 1838* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), p. 495. Hereafter cited as Brown, *Old Frontiers.*

[8] Smith, *Story of the Cherokees*, p. 28.

[9] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 101-102.

[10] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 29, 51-53. Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot*, pp. 23-24.

and write with the simple alphabet in three days.[11] Younger children were educated in the American manner at eight mission schools maintained by missionaries. Adult education was furthered by the *Cherokee Phoenix,* which, beginning in 1828 with Elias Boudinot as editor, was published in both English and Cherokee. In its first three years, the paper published several Bible translations, hymn books, religious culture books, school books, and laws of the nation. White printers were imported to run the press. John F. Wheeler and Isaac N. Harris worked in a log house thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, making their own stands, their own bank, and a special case for the Cherokee type whose eighty-six characters would not fit a conventional case. They used deerskins stuffed with wool to ink the plates. The *Cherokee Phoenix* continued for six years, until it was suppressed by Georgia during the removal conflict. In 1825, Elias Boudinot found in a survey that in one district alone there were over a thousand books, and eleven different periodicals.[12]

The Cherokees were great story-tellers, and they had a vast story of engaging fireside tales to be drawn from their rich and varied mythology. Broken down into sacred myths, animal stories, local legends, and historical tradition, the myths told the stories of the creation, of the origin of the Cherokees, of the many birds and beasts and fishes the Cherokees knew in their forests and streams, and of the ethereal little people who lived high on the mountain.[13]

Long since, the Cherokees had moved from their lodges into comfortable log houses and some even into luxurious mansions such as those which graced the plantations of the South. Generally, their homes were of one story, although some were of two floors. They were clustered in villages along stream banks or dispersed on farms. While all of the land was owned in common, each Indian owned his home, barn, fences, and other improvements, along with his livestock. While many of their homes were bare of furnishings, others were comfortable. A minister travelling through the country in the eighteen-thirties had occasion to stop at the home of one Jesse, a full blood who lived twenty-four miles from Rome, Georgia, and a good distance from the main roads. There he found the table covered with a clean white cloth, and set with earthen plates, knives and forks, and food served from clean platters.[14] Another commentary upon the homes of the Cherokees came from Benjamin Gold, of Connecticut, who visited his daughter, Mrs. Boudinot, in 1829. He wrote home:[15]

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[11] M. L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation,* 1838-1907 (Norman, 1938), p. 4. Hereafter cited as Wardell, *Political History.*

[12] Brown, *Old Frontiers,* 482-83. Smith, *Story of the Cherokees,* p. 133. Bass, *Cherokee Messenger,* pp. 77-78.

[13] Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," pp. 5-7, 229.

[14] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger,* p. 101. Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees, the Brainerd Mission* (New York, 1931), p. 304. Hereafter cited as Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees.*

[15] Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot,* pp. 115-18.

Mr. Ross's House is a large & elegant white House as handsomely furnished & handsomely situated as almost any house in Litchfield County—he appears to be rich & no doubt he is so. he has around his House about 20 Negro salves who paid good attention to us two nights—& when we offered to pay a bill they told us Mr. Ross would not take any thing for entertainment of any people who had connection in the Nation—from thence we went to the next public house about 22 miles Mr. McNairs—a very grand Brick house and every accomodation around it; he is a white man & his wife a cherokee & a superior woman about half breed . . . . . they also made us welcome & would take nothing of us—Harriett also stayed at those two last mentioned places when she came into the country—we passed on from thence to springplace about 22 miles the old Moravian Missionary Station & put up & staid over night where they treated us kindly & would take nothing of us—next morning passed on & reached New Echota a little before sunset—about 20 miles—where we met our Dear children & friends in health & with feelings of Joy that may be better conceived than expressed —but all the way in the Nation we had no need of spending any money except at the ferries—to be short the people all appear to be perfectly friendly & many places we have seen look indeed like civilization & they tell us that many other parts which we have not yet seen are much better —we hope to be able to visit all the Missionary stations schools &c in the nation before we return. . . . . the land is excellent—smooth land clear from Stone in most parts about but enough—well watered & timber is of most sorts that we have in Connecticut.

Corn was the most important item in the Cherokee diet which also included meat, beans, and dried fruit. Beans which split open during cooking were rubbed on the lips of children to make them smiling and good natured. Harriet Gold Boudinot reported upon arriving in the Cherokee country that at the elder Watie's house they had coffee, sugar, tea, milk, corn and wheat bread, beef, pork, venison, and various fowls, plus pies, cakes and puddings. She found butter, cheese, apple sauce and pickles not as plentiful as she would have liked.[16]

Family life was important to the Cherokees who from earliest time had been divided into seven families or clans, within which intra-clan marriage was forbidden. They were Wolf Town, Deer Town, Bird Town, Long Hair Town (because the men wore long hair), Paint Town, Blind Swamp Town, and Holly People. In the monogamous marriage of the Cherokees, considerate love was the prevailing virtue, and while polygamy was countenanced in the earlier years, adultery was punished by cutting off the offender's ears. As a rule, families were small, often not exceeding two children. When the child was born, well-wishers asked whether it was a bow or a meal-sifter. In the family circle of warm affection and cooperation, children were taught by precept, not by punishment. In their family and group relationships, the Cherokees were a good-natured, jolly people who laughed a lot, visited one another frequently, liked to tease one another, and enjoyed jokes.[17]

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[16] Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," pp. 423-24. Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 116. Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot*, p. 97.

[17] Starr, *Cherokees*, 8-9. Brown, *Old Frontiers*, pp. 17-20. Smith, *Story of the Cherokees*, 27. Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 27.

Nature lore was retained by the Cherokees in their medical treatment, which employed herbs, sweat baths, bleeding, rubbing, and cold baths in a running stream, aided and abetted by beads and other conjuring paraphernalia. An ill Cherokee would be doctored on an apparently logical basis. That is, if his disease were believed caused by a rabbit, he would use a plant with a rabbit's name, such as Rabbit's Ear. Or if he dreamed of snakes, he would take Snake Tooth. Or for worms, a plant that resembled a worm, and yellow root for the vomiting of yellow bile.[18]

In summary, the Cherokees at the time they came under the displeasure of the Jackson administration and the State of Georgia were a settled, prosperous people whose way of life was quite similar to that of their white neighbors in the agricultural South. They were a happy, easy-going people whose homes were open to strangers, whose hearths kept them close to the beloved land of their fathers, whose children kept them from the wild life of the hunter and nomad. They were a people who believed that the numerous treaties with the United States gave their tribe the ownership of their lands and gave them the right to live in peace, and under the protection of the United States, with a government of their own choosing. They were a gentle, peaceful people who were superior as a group and as individuals to the frontier rabble of Georgia who claimed their lands and treated them as savages.

No wonder, then, that the demands for their removal west brought into their midst seriously disturbing elements which upset the old pattern, the old comfort, and the old security. They did not understand how their people, with an established and dignified legislative and judicial procedure, could be arbitrarily brought under the control of Georgia whose courts nearest the Cherokee country functioned like this:[19]

> At one of those log-hut courts, where the business was begun before the hut was finished, the trunks of the felled trees were left standing inside for seats, and on the amplest sat the judge, paring the nails of his nether fingers. "Why don't that tarnation jury come, Sheriff?"
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> "Please your honor," said the Sheriff, "they can't be long now; I've got nine of 'em tied with hickory wyths & five men and two dogs out a'ter the other three."

The great sense of wrong that rose within the hearts of the Cherokees when Georgia declared them mere tenants at will in 1827 was expressed by the *Cherokee Phoenix* when it said:[20]

> What a pernicious effect must such a document as the report of the joint committee in the legislature of Georgia, have on the interests and improvement of the Indians? Who will expect from the Cherokees a rapid

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[18] James Mooney, "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1885-1886 (Washington, 1891), pp. 329-33.

[19] John Howard Payne papers quoted in Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 108-109.

[20] *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828, quoted in Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot*, p. 123.

progress in education, religion, argriculture, and the various arts of civilized life when resolutions are passed in a civilized and Christian legislature (whose daily sessions, we are told, commenced with a prayer to Almighty God) to wrest their country from them, and strange to tell, with the point of a bayonet, if nothing else will do? Is it in the nature of things, that the Cherokees will build good and comfortable houses and make them great farms, when they know not but their possessions will fall into the hands of strangers & invaders? How is it possible that they will establish for themselves good laws, when an attempt is made to crush their first feeble effort toward it?

In the beginning, the Cherokees were dead set against removal, virtually to a man, and Worcester reported in 1827:[21]

It is not possible for a person to dwell among them without hearing much on the subject. I have heard much. *It is said, abroad, that the people would gladly remove, but are deterred by the chiefs, and a few other influential men. It is not so.* I say, with the utmost assurance, it is not so. Nothing is plainer, than that it is the earnest wish of the whole body of the people to remain where they are. They are not overawed by the chiefs. Individuals may be overawed by *popular opinion*, but *not by the* chiefs. On the other hand, if there were a chief in favor of removal, *he* would be overawed *by the people.* He would know that he could not open his mouth in favor of such a proposition, but on pain, not only of the failure of his reelection, but of popular odium and scorn. The whole tide of national feeling sets, in one strong and unbroken current, against removal to the west.

The Cherokee position was further stated in 1829 in a group declaration, as follows:[22]

Our peaceful homes, our cultivated fields, and our friendly neighbors are daily acquiring stronger hold on our affections. Our laws encourage virtue and industry, and punish vice. Our chiefs use their influence to diffuse light among the people and their efforts are crowned with success. Veneration for the laws is felt to the remotest corner of the land, and a peaceable and orderly disposition pervades the whole population. Being placed in these favorable circumstances by the goodness of our Creator, we have no inclination to relinquish our inheritance for the uncultivated wilds in the vicinity of lawless and hostile savages. In fact it would be ruinous for us to do so.

It was a people of such sentiment, of such education, who were embraced under the laws of Georgia in 1829, whose land was annexed to Georgia, and who were disqualified from testifying in any state court in a case involving a white man.[23] It was a people whose pulpits were served by regular preachers, who had an outdoor baptism mocked by three members of the Georgia Guard who ordered the people aside and rode their horses into the stream, saying they wanted to baptize their mounts in the same place.[24]

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[21] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 102-103.

[22] Citizens of Aquohee District, in *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 14, 1829, quoted in Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 107-108.

[23] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 229.

[24] *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 30, 1831, quoted in Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot*, pp. 130-31.

As the white men of Georgia used every means in their power to discourage the Cherokees in their solid refusal to leave, individuals were sorely abused. One was Old Field, formerly a captain of the Cherokee police force, the lighthorse, and a member of the National Council. As an industrious man he had built up a respectable competence for his period. Under the instructions of an officer of the United States Army, he and others brought in Georgians who were in the Cherokee country in violation of the Indian Intercourse Act. The white men were released, and sued Old Field for false imprisonment, taking everything from him, except his clothing and some bedding that was hidden in the woods. When his family remained in their home, white men dragged his wife about with a rope around her neck. After that, Old Field and his wife decided to leave the country.[25]

Other Cherokees inevitably began to consider the advisability of moving westward, but they were too experienced in the ways of the white man not to question his sincerity, not to question the effect removal would have upon them, upon their nation, and upon their future. Their questionings and confusion were recorded by a missionary, Miss Sophia Sawyer, who travelled through their country in 1832. She wrote:[26]

> When told of the proposals of the government, they said, "How can we trust them when they are breaking the most solemn treaties? Here are our homes, our firesides, our cultivated fields, our gardens of fruit." To them this is a land that flows with milk and honey. They look at their wives, their little ones, the tottering old men and women; they cling to the graves of their fathers and say, "Let us die with them. If we leave this country, these hills and valleys and this mountain air, we shall sicken and die. What can we have in exchange? Perhaps war on our arrival, or if we remain, a few years of peace, and cultivate the land, again the white man will trade our rights. Where can we find rest or protection?"

Although the Cherokees as a group opposed removal during the first years, small groups had continued to migrate to join the Western Cherokees. But the continued oppression of Georgia, including the confiscation of land and homes, unrelieved by the protective authority of the United States Government, was used successfully to break the Cherokee spirit. By 1834 larger groups were voluntarily emigrating, escorted by government officials. One conductor, an Army officer, described the departure in 1834:[27]

> The banks of the river were thronged with people brought thither by almost as many motives; who in the language of the Country "saw us off" & cheered us on our journey. The parting scene was more moving than I was prepared for; when this hour of leave-taking arrived I saw many a manly cheek suffused with tears. Parents were turning with sick hearts from children who were about to seek other homes in a far off and stranger land, and brothers and sisters with heaving bosoms & brimful eyes were wringing each other hands for the last time. And often I observed some

[25] Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, p. 301.
[26] Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, p. 299.
[27] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 254-55.

young man whom the spirit of roving or adventure had tempted to forsake all that was dear to him here, to seek alone an uncertain future in other climes; or some young wife who was tearing herself from father and mother, 'kith & kin' to follow the fortunes of her husband whithersoever they should lead, turn again & again to the embrace of those they loved and were leaving, in seeming forgetfulness that they had already received their adieus . . . . We slipped gently down the river with the current, occasionally impeded in our course by a brisk head wind, now working an oar to give us head way, & now calling our strength and skill into requisition to "dodge a snag or clear a sawyer."

As the steamboat descended the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers with three keelboats in tow, the emigrants, eating government rations, were allowed only salt pork, flour, or corn. They were denied their accustomed coffee and sugar. The trip was interrupted by frequent stops to repair machinery or paddle wheels, to wash out the boats as a precaution against disease, to bury a child, or to take on wood. The trip was made, at the government's insistence that the Indians move, even though there was much cholera along the western rivers. And the disease hit the emigrating Cherokees. By the time the emigrants reached the area of what is now Oklahoma the disease was epidemic, and the group was forced to encamp, to suffer, to fear, and to bury their many and daily dead. It was a heart-breaking experience for the Cherokees. Yet the Army officer conducting the party found the fullbloods silent and dignified in grief, whereas the whites of the party were loud in their lamentations and "far more timid & far more selfish . . . . in scenes of danger & of affliction than the full blooded Indian. . . . ."[28]

In the end, the Cherokees saw their people sorely divided on the removal issue. Men who had lived as neighbors, men who had respected one another, men who had trusted one another, now came to hate one another. It was not merely a political question. It was a question which, as they saw it, was determinative of the fate of a people. One group, the Treaty Party, believed strongly that the only hope for the Cherokees was to move themselves beyond the reach of Georgia, beyond the intimate contact with a white society. The other group, the party of Chief John Ross, held relentlessly to the tenet that the Cherokee country was their land, that they had owned it since ancient times, that the United States did not wear the authority to divest them of their land, that the people of the United States would not permit their government to drive off the Cherokees. And in the midst of the contest, the Treaty Party signed away the Nation's eastern home in the Treaty of New Echota, a treaty which the Ross Party did not acknowledge until 1846. The bitterness gradually grew beyond all control. Something of the view of each side can be found in this extract from a pamphlet written by Elias Boudinot, of the Treaty Party, in answer to John Ross in 1837:[29]

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[28] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 255, 258-59.
[29] Quoted in Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot*, pp. 159-64.

You have indirectly charged me with hypocrisy, servility, duplicity, and the like, which, if true, must for ever degrade me in the eye of a virtuous community . . . . . In this controversy I am well aware of the disadvantages under which I labor. I am but an humble individual . . . . . You, on the other hand, have presented yourself, as the "Principal Chief." . . . .

And how is it possible that I can receive any extra pecuniary advantage under the present treaty?—To be sure I might have had the same opportunities, with some of my countrymen, to speculate upon the ignorance and credulity of our citizens—I could as easily have taken advantage of their weakness, and ingratiated myself into their good favor, by pretending to be a land lover, and deluding them with hopes and expectations, which I myself did not believe would be realized, and under that deep delusion into which our people have been thrown, I could have purchased their possessions and claims for a trifle, and thus have enriched myself upon the spoils of my countrymen. But I have detested that vile speculation.

It is with sincere regret that I notice you say little or nothing about the moral condition of this people, as affected by present circumstances. I have searched in vain, in all your late communications, for some indication of your sensibility upon this point. You seem to be absorbed altogether in the pecuniary aspect of this nation's affairs . . . . .

. . . . When applied to a portion of our people, confined mostly to whites intermarried among us, and the descendants of whites, your account [of Cherokee civilization] is probably correct, divesting it of all the exaggeration with which you have encircled it. But look at the mass—look at the entire population as it now is, and say, can you see any indication of a progressing improvement?—anything that can encourage a philanthropist? You know that it is almost a dreary waste . . . . . I say their condition is wretched. Look . . . . around you and see the progress that vice and immorality have already made!

Something of the same pessimism came from General Wool, who arrived with United States troops in 1837 to preserve order and to aid in evacuating the Cherokees. He found that many of the Cherokees would take nothing from the government for fear of compromising themselves, and that "thousands of them" lived on roots and tree sap during that summer rather than accept food from the United States Government. Finding the entire scene "heart-rending," Wool said he would remove the Indians immediately, if he could, as a humanitarian act, to place them "beyond the reach of the white men who, like vultures, are watching, ready to pounce upon their prey and strip them of everything they have." He predicted virtually all of the Cherokees would be penniless when they left for the West.[30]

Some of the opposition to the Treaty of New Echota was overcome through bribery. Indeed, United States commissioners said frankly: "The policy of making prudent advances to the wealthy and intelligent, has gone far to remove opposition to the treaty among the most influential."[31] They also reported in January 1837

[30] Quoted in Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883-1884 (Washington, 1887), p. 286. Hereafter cited as Royce, "Cherokee Nation."

[31] Commissioners Wilson Lumpkin and John Kennedy, "Cherokee File L," Office of Indian Affairs, quoted in Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 273.

that several hundred Cherokees had gathered at New Echota whence they were to remove themselves west by land. Six hundred had left a few weeks earlier by land.

As the first groups of Cherokees emigrated voluntarily under the terms of the treaty, they encountered hardships, danger, disease, and death, all of which would be multiplied several fold when the mass of the tribe followed the "Trail of Tears" in 1838. Their trip by water and land in 1837 took more than a month. They were made wet, cold and miserable while waiting for hours for the strange train at Decatur, Alabama. They suffered from colds, influenza, sore throat, pleurisy, measles, diarrhea, fevers, toothache, and, among the young men, gonorrhea. On the trip down the Tennessee River from Ross's Landing, near present Chattanooga, their steamboats had to traverse a series of hazardous rapids—The Suck, Boiling-Pot, Skillet, and the Frying Pan. Their trip by river and land took more than a month. Upon arrival at Fort Coffee, just inside the line of the Indian Country, they received cotton domestic for use in making temporary tents.[32]

But comparatively few of the sixteen thousand Cherokees left their homes voluntarily. The greater number were forced out at the point of General Scott's bayonets in 1838. After the initial summer shipments under duress, which brought suffering and death, John Ross gave in and asked Scott if the Cherokees could wait until October and move under their own direction. Scott agreed. Organized into about thirteen groups along family lines, each numbering close to a thousand persons, the Cherokee emigrants assembled at Rattlesnake Spring, near Charleston, Tennessee, and traveled overland. They crossed the Hiwassee River at Gunstocker Creek, went down river to Hiwassee Island where they crossed the Tennessee, and followed the Black Fox Trail, passing near Pikeville, McMinnville, and Nashville where they crossed the Cumberland. They crossed the Ohio on a ferry near the mouth of the Cumberland, then went through southern Illinois to the Mississippi where they halted opposite Cape Girardeau. The crossing was delayed by ice on the river, and the sick had to shiver in the cold in their wagons or on the frozen ground with a blanket to protect them.[33] A contemporary description of conditions encountered by Reverend Stephen Foreman's detachment follows:[34]

> Our company consists of Dr. Hodsden, myself, Mr. Blunt (Rev. Ainsworth E. Blunt, missionary at Brainerd), Mr. Hunter, clerk of the detachment, and our wagoner. Each individual draws daily one pound of beef or pork, or three-fourths pound of bacon; one pound of flour, or three half-pints of meal. There are issued to each hundred rations, four pounds of coffee, eight pounds of sugar, three pounds of soap, and four of salt.

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32 Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 274f.

33 Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," p. 132. Brown, *Old Frontiers*, pp. 513-14.

34 Letter from Henry Parker to Rev. John D. Wilson, of Maryville, Tenn., from Fredonia, Ky., November 27, 1838, from Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, quoted in Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 517.

We have 950 persons, 353 horses and steers, and 50 wagons. When we encamp for the night, we extend half a mile. We have had eight or ten births on the road, but it has not hindered us any from traveling.

The sickness in the detachment is considerably subsided. Most of the deaths of late have been relapses, or from over-eating and imprudence. The detachments which have gone before have suffered much more sickness than we have. I saw Susan Bushyhead yesterday. She said her brother Jesse lost two or three by death every night. Her brother Isaac, Dr. Powell, the physician of their detachment, and their commissary, were lying at the house . . . very dangerously sick of a fever. She also showed me a letter from Dr. Butler,[35] of the second detachment, stating that he had three hundred cases of sickness in that detachment.

Our detachment seems to be very well united. Several strangers have remarked that they did not believe as many white people could be collected and taken through the country with as little trouble as our Indians here are.

The detachments making the long, slow, tedious, tragic journey followed a pattern. The ill, the elderly, and the very young were placed in the wagons, along with the blankets, the cooking pots, and the personal belongings. The rest walked, or rode horseback. The wagons were in the center of the column, the officers along the line, and horsemen on the flanks and in the rear.[36] By the time the transplantation was completed in 1839, approximately four thousand Cherokees had died.[37]

But their sufferings were not over. Upon arriving in their new home in what is now northeastern Oklahoma, the Cherokees were fed by the government whose contractors, Glasgow and Harrison, issued rations at five places: Skin Bayou, ten or fifteen miles from Fort Smith; the home of W. A. Adair, near Stilwell; the home of Reverend Jesse Bushyhead, Pleasant Hill, near Westville, which became known at Breadtown; the Ridge home on Honey Creek; and Kesse's home on the Illinois River, near Park Hill.

The government agents, including dissipated ex-soldiers, abused and imposed upon the Indians, giving them worthless cattle and old oxen, some so poor they could hardly stand, at a fourth to a third more than the true weight. Issues were made to the common Indians before daybreak, before the arrival of the more intelligent Indians who were protesting the frauds. One Indian complained to an investigator that he had never seen an officer at an issue. The

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[35] This was Dr. Elizur Butler who was imprisoned with Worcester that led to the case of *Worcester vs. Georgia* before the United States Supreme Court, in which Chief Justice John Marshall gave his noted opinion that the Georgia statute under which the two men had been imprisoned was unconstitutional. (See reference. "Worcester vs. State of Georgia," in note by George H. Shirk, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), p. 109; also, Robert A. Rutland, "Political Background of the Cherokee Treaty of New Echota," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 389-406.).—Ed.

[36] Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," p. 132.

[37] Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 519.

Indians also were shorted in their corn rations, and were given unwholesome or unpalatable meat.[38]

Under such depressing and discouraging conditions, it would have been difficult enough for the Cherokees to reestablish themselves, to build homes, to clear farms, to stock ranches, to harvest their crops, to cut their timber, to re-order their society, to educate their children, to re-establish their government, to open their churches. But the task was made infinitely more difficult by fierce political feuds within the Nation.

By the time John Ross and the majority of the Cherokees reached the West, the Old Settlers and the Treaty Party were already established. The Old Settlers had a government and a society of their own, to which the Treaty Party adjusted itself. But John Ross expected to remain the despot of the Cherokees, and assumed his government would automatically supersede the existing Cherokee government in the West.

The result was that the two groups—the Old Settler-Treaty Party alliance on one hand, and the Ross Party on the other—contended for power. Ross's followers had suffered much—they had been forced to leave their old homes against their will, many had lost what fortunes they had, almost all of them had lost one or more loved ones on the exodus, and they were not in a mood to bow to the Treaty Party whose leaders were hated by the Ross followers. The Old Settlers and the Treaty Party could see no reason why John Ross should automatically assume the leadership of the Nation.

In the ensuing confusion and conflict there was much bloodshed —men on both sides were murdered in cold blood. Ross and his majority party seized power, and he was guarded by an armed band of five to six hundred men. At one time, in the bloody period of 1845 and 1846, many of the Old Settlers and Treaty Party fled the Nation in fear of their lives.

Losing initiative because of the unsettled conditions, the Cherokees were a while in re-establishing themselves. In a summary of unhealthy social conditions, the *Cherokee Advocate,* which reflected the Ross Party view, said in 1845:[39]

> The great mass of the Cherokees remained uncorrupted and incorruptible. But some were changed by glittering silver some became drunkards, some idlers, and others were seduced from the path of virtue and innocence. From among those last enumerated, may be found some of those depraved but unfortunate beings who, while indulging the habits and vices imbibed from the whites, commit the crimes that are occurring in our country.
>
> Other sources of crime may be found also, in the traffic in ardent spirits on the frontier, and in the reckless, infractory spirit diffused among certain classes by the singular importance that is permitted abroad, to

[38] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes,* p. 285.

[39] *Cherokee Advocate,* May 1, 1845, quoted in Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes,* p. 381.

attach to the restless, mercenary factionists that creep into existence as the Chiefs, Head-men, &c, of this and that party among the Cherokees.[40] The last mentioned, we consider indeed the most prolific of all other sources of crime amongst the Cherokees.

The murders, political strife, and general unrest did not cease until the treaty of 1846 was agreed to, under the supervision of the United States which had tired of sixteen years of difficult bickerings within the tribe. But in the meantime, the Cherokees had done much to organize a new society.

Reverend Worcester, who served the Cherokees just as faithfully in the West as he had in the East, led a temperance crusade which had some effect.[41] He also used the mission press to publish and distribute such pamphlets and books as a *Treatise on Marriage,* the *Cherokee Primer, Epistle to Timothy, Cherokee Hymns,* and the *Cherokee Almanac* which he first printed at Union Mission in 1836.[42]

Indicative of the slow changes that were coming about, there was a general increase in education, with an estimated nine hundred scholars in the Nation in 1845.[43] Several Cherokee schools stressed training in Latin. In 1841 the National Council had created the office of Superintendent of Education, and provided for eleven public schools.[44] In the same general line, the Cherokees re-established their national press in 1844, with the publication of the *Cherokee Advocate,* edited by William P. Ross.

Except for the bloody strife that was to come in 1845-46, the Cherokees had settled down considerably by 1844 when Agent P. M. Butler reported:[45]

> The Cherokees are a people fond of sports and social amusements. Many of them keep up the ancient custom of annual "ball plays," which usually take place after the crops are laid by. This is an amusement which, as a friend of their people, I would be far from discouraging or wishing discontinued, when not carried to an excess. It is above all others trying to their powers of endurance, and probably contributes largely to the development of their manly and athletic forms. It promotes social intercourse by drawing together, from all parts of the nation, the young men, when, with friendly rivalry, a contest of skill, strength, and endurance is often for maintained for hours . . . . Besides this sport, they pursue that of training and rearing blood-horses; are fond of dancing, and have an uncommon relish for music.
>
> The Cherokees are exceedingly fond of reading and have a very inquisitive mind. They seem to take great delight, too, at present, in the manual process of writing, and take every occasion to employ it in preference to oral communication—not so much among themselves, however, as with the

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[40] Intemperance among the Cherokees caused Reverend Samuel Worcester to form the "Cold Water Army" of Indian men, women and children who signed pledges against strong drink.

[41] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger,* pp. 227-28.

[42] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger,* pp. 212, 301-302.

[43] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1845, 509f.

[44] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger,* p. 300.

[45] Quoted in Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes,* pp. 368-69.

whites and agents of the government. Many of them have a taste for, and some acquirements in, general literature. Much benefit may be expected from their printing press, lately in operation. The more general diffusion of information will lead to further improvement. Although imaginative they have nothing that we can call poetry; but, as orators, they are conspicuous in some of the essential excellencies of the art. Bold, brief and earnest, they adapt their ideas and expressions with uniform tact to the nature of their subject and the character of their hearers, and *stop when they have done.* Their candidates for council follow our example of "taking the stump" upon all questions of public interest. They speak both in Cherokee and in English; the latter being necessary, from the large number of white men who have been adopted by the nation.

Although they are in some instances losing the native tongue, yet, as a written language, it has become in a measure fixed; and the tenacity with which they generally cling to it, as to many of their national characteristics, renders it improbable that it will ever be entirely abandoned. Although not entirely ignorant of painting, they have had heretofore no scope for the development of any talent in that art, or in sculpture. In music they have a decided taste, and many of them perform well on different instruments.

Essentially, then, the Cherokees retained the core of their ancient society, despite the transplantation of an entire nation from one geographic environment to another. But as they adapted themselves to new land, new homes, and a new relationship with their state neighbors, Arkansas and Missouri, and to the United States Government, they shed many of their old customs, many of the old thoughts. The old ways were gone. In their stead came new ways—Cherokee preachers came more and more to fill their pulpits, the *Advocate* in both English and Cherokee kept the well-read Cherokees informed, English became more the accustomed tongue, and they came into the habit of ordering their government much in the manner of the American constitutional method.

In short, Mooney says, the enforced evacuation of the Cherokees in 1838 "did more at a single stroke to obliterate Indian ideas than could have been accomplished by fifty years of slow development."[46]

[46] Mooney. "Myths of the Cherokees," pp. 11-12.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Plans for the Oklahoma Historical Tour, 1955.

The Oklahoma Historical Tour will be held on April 29th and 30th, 1955. This tour will follow the route traveled by Washington Irving in October and November, 1832. Reservations for this tour should be sent to the Oklahoma Historical Society as soon as possible. Every effort will be made to visit as nearly as possible the exact site of each of the Irving camps. This will mean that the caravan of buses and cars will have to leave the main traveled highway in some instances. However, the route will be surveyed ahead of time and only the best roads will be followed.

Washington Irving and his friends, Charles Joseph Latrobe of England, and Albert de Pourtales of Switzerland, were in the party that accompanied Commissioner Henry L. Ellsworth, recently appointed by President Jackson to examine the country west of Fort Gibson for possible settlement of the imigrating Indian tribes in the 1830's. This proved a noted expedition in the history of Oklahoma, the story of which will be of absorbing interest to those who accompany the Society's Historical Tour this year.

An Unmailed Letter from Senator Thomas P. Gore to Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

The introduction and notes for the following letter written by the late Senator Gore of Oklahoma to the late Chief Justice Hughes of the United States Supreme Court were contributed to *The Chronicles,* by Monroe Billington, instructor of history at Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Kentucky.

Introduction

Thomas P. Gore, Oklahoma's blind Senator who was sent to the Senate in 1907 along with Robert L. Owen, was defeated for re-election in 1920 but was returned to his old seat by the Oklahoma electorate in 1931. An advocate of Woodrow Wilson's progressive domestic legislation in the earlier period, the Senator had become quite conservative by the time he was returned to the Senate for his fourth term. Although supporting the candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, Gore soon turned his back on the New Deal program which he considered to be "going too far too fast." One of the first indications of this opposition to the New Deal came during the debates on the revolutionary National Industrial Recovery Act early in 1933. Declaring at the time that the act would be found unconstitutional, the Oklahoma Senator spoke vigorously against what

he considered infringements upon the Constitution by New Deal legislation.

When the Supreme Court upheld his prediction in 1935 by declaring the N.R.A. unconstitutional, then Senator Gore wrote a letter to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but it was never mailed. This letter was found by the writer in the Thomas Pryor Gore Collection in the University of Oklahoma Archives, while he was gathering information for a biography of the Oklahoma Senator. It is the only letter in the entire collection which the Senator himself actually laboriously signed, all the others bearing the mark of a rubber stamp traditionally used by his secretaries. The letter reveals nothing new concerning the colorful Oklahoma Senator, but its contents give an insight into his basic thinking and adequately expresses his philosophy. The letter, which the Senator evidently decided would be a breach of propriety if mailed, reads:

UNITED STATES SENATE

May 28, 1935.

The Chief Justice,
Charles Evans Hughes,
United States Supreme Court,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Chief Justice:

I do not know whether it is a breach of propriety for a Senator to signify to the Members of the Supreme Court that he "approves and affirms" their decision. If it is an impropriety, then I must own to the impeachment. But no matter how many the counts of the indictment, there is one that would be missing. I cannot be accused of "contempt of Court."

I think that in the calendar of free government, May the 27th[1] will take its place along side of July the 4th and the Surrender of Cornwalis at Yorktown.

My approval is not "after the fact." I opposed the passage of the N.R.A. Act[2] in the following language:

"The Constitution is the sheet anchor not only of our free institutions but of all our liberties. It is the sheet anchor of our Ship of State. If that anchor breaks, all is lost. The Supreme Court is our guardian under our Constitution, the guardian unswayed either by popular agitation on the one hand or by Executive power or Executive favor on the other. Under that narrow isthmus all our institutions, all our liberties "must stand or fall."[3]

Most respectfully,

(Signed) T. P. Gore.

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[1] The Supreme Court ruled on May 27, 1935, that the National Industrial Recovery Act was unconstitutional. Notice that Gore wrote this letter on the following day.

[2] Gore not only opposed the passage of the N.I.R.A. in word, he also opposed it by vote. The vote on the measure (H.R. 5755) was taken in the Senate on June 9, 1933. Gore joined twenty-three others to vote against it, while fifty-eight favored it. Four days later, with forty-six voting yea, he and thirty-nine others voted against the Senate-House conference report on the bill. See the *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 1 Sess., 5424-25, 5861.

Notes from a History of the Church of the Disciples of Christ in Oklahoma

A letter was recently received by the Editorial Department from Mr. David B. Hooten, of Idabel, Oklahoma, telling of his discovery of a history on the early church work of the Disciples of Christ in Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Mr. Hooten is a member of the First Christian Church of Idabel, and Director of Instrumental Music in the Idabel Public Schools. His letter of interesting notes follows:

Editor,

The Chronicles of Oklahoma:

I have before me a volume entitled *Churches of Christ, a Historical, Biographical, and practical History of the Churches of Christ in the United States, Australia, England and Canada,* by John T. Brown, M.A., with the introduction by John W. McGarvey, LL.D. The book is published by the John P. Morton and Company of Louisville, Kentucky, (1924).

The reason for this letter is to call the Historical Society's attention to the remarkable reports of the Churches of Christ in Oklahoma and in Oklahoma Territory in the year 1903. (The "Church of Christ" spoken of in these reports is the present day, "First Christian Church" or "Disciples of Christ" with their main college at Enid, namely Phillips University.)

To me, this book was a wonderful find, and providing this volume has not already been called to your attention, I hope you, too, will be interested in the reports.

The first report is on Oklahoma, dated 1903. It is by James M. Monroe, Oklahoma City, with a biographical sketch and picture. Here is the biography brief:

"Born, Mogadore, Ohio, November 25, 1843; farm life; Garfield Regiment; loss of limb at Vicksburg; College at Hiram and Alliance, Ohio, 1864-1870. Degree of A.B. at Butler University, 1871, and of A.M. 1874. Professor of Ancient languages at Christian College, California 1874-7; President Southern Pacific College, 1877-9, candidate for congress twice on the Prohibition ticket in Ohio in 1886, and in Kansas in 1890; Minister at Bellaire, Ohio, four years; Wichita, Kansas, two; Oakland, California, one; Honolulu, Hawian Islands, one; El Reno, Oklahoma, five; Revival held in El Reno, Oklahoma Territory, in 1898, with 132 converts, and in 1901 with 130 converts; corresponding secretary of the Churches of Christ of Oklahoma, in 1903."

In the report it was brought out that in 1903, Oklahoma had 16,000 members with 304 church organizations. Also, that "every city in Oklahoma with a population of a thousand has a church of Christ." In speaking of the many churches Mr. Monroe had this to say: "This condition of the cause in Oklahoma, in itself considered, might not be remarkable, but as the result of but eleven years history, it is phenomenal. Let it be remembered that Oklahoma has been opened to settlement in installments."

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[8] This quotation was taken from a speech the Senator made on the Senate floor on June 8, 1933. Gore did not quote himself verbatim, though the substance of the quotation was not changed. The middle sentence of the quote originally read: "The Supreme Court is the guardian of this ship of state, the guardian under our Constitution, the guardian unswayed either by popular agitation on the one hand or by Executive power or Executive favor on the other." See the *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 1 Sess., 5275.

In briefing the report herewith are quoted the strongest paragraphs:

"Americans are the incarnation of the strong elements of all the dominant nations of Europe. In like manner, Oklahoma combines the stalwart elements of the North, the South, The East and the West. Oklahoma is the one point on the continent where American elements coaleasce. . . . .

"Of course the most striking feature of this Union of divers elements, is that of making the North and South homogenous. What seems to be an element of weakness here has been demonstrated to be quite the reverse. Here the northern and southern farmers are side by side, the southern and northern merchants are partners. In the church, the bold soldier that wore the blue and the one that wore the grey preside at the same communion table; the sons of the abolitionists and the sons of the slaveholders sit side by side in the pews.

". . . . The first Church (of Christ) instituted in Oklahoma was in Guthrie, the capital city. And in this instance, we got in on the ground floor, for it was organized May 5, 1889, the second Lord's Day after the opening in a 12′ x 15′ cabin, without a roof and without a floor. M. M. Monroe organized this church with twenty-one members of which he and Dick T. Morgan were the first elders. The Guthrie Church now (1903) has 500 members and a $15,000 church building. J. T. Ogle is the popular minister. He and the church are a power in the city. . . . .

"The Lord's day following the organization of the Guthrie church, May 12, a church was organized in Oklahoma City with 19 members . . . . there is a church at Capitol Hill, a suburb of the metropolis. At Enid, a $10,000 church is now being built . . . . the third church in the territory in power and influence is at El Reno with a membership of 450."

There are also some fine paragraphs concerning the History of Oklahoma in the report of Indian Territory by Thomas Roland Dean, South McAlester, Indian Territory. His biographical brief reads as follows: "Born near Nicholasville, Kentucky, November 5, 1873; student at Kentucky State College, Lexington, 1891-6, valedictorian of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1896-9, degree of LL.B. Located in the practice of law at South McAlester, Indian Territory, February, 1900, in the firm of McKennon, Dean and Willmott."

In this report, Mr. Dean describes Indian Territory as being wrought where it is: "Consigned to wild beast and wandering savage till in 1830, by treaty with the United States, it became the home of the Five Civilized Tribes . . . ."

In the write-up, Mr. Dean very unselfishly reports that, "The Baptists have for many years done, and are still doing, a great missionary and educational work among these tribes."

In Indian Territory, it is stated, "That there are 125 churches, 10,000 members and 75 church houses." In this second section of the report is a catch at humor with this statement.

"The foregoing estimate does not include hundreds, it may be thousands, of Christians living here who are not identified with the church, either because there is no organization within reach of them, or because their membership was left with the church back in the old state whence they came, or because their church letters, or their membership, is on a moral vacation in the bottom of their trunk."

The closing paragraph of this report, I think, is significant of the pioneer spirit of the early day Oklahomans:

". . . . And yet this growth and condition is but an earnest of what we shall set in this land. There are now one half million of white people here, nearly everyone of whom has either moved into or been born in Indian Territory since 1880. The marvelous growth of this country has hardly begun, for the statistitian ten years from today will probably find here two millions of inhabitants. To gather into the fold thousands of this great multitude of hungering, dying souls and feed them spiritually is the duty and hope of the church of Indian Territory."

And to think that these are reports of but one group of religious people. Just think of the work the Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, and the many others were doing in those trying years. Don't you think the work of the Churches in the settling and developing of Oklahoma is most times underestimated and oft times completely overlooked?

I hope my efforts in writing this letter and revealing my "find" has not been in vain.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) David B. Hooten

A Cherokee Advocate of Statehood

Allotment of Cherokee lands in severalty which would eventually bring the close of the Cherokee government and statehood for the Indian Territory was bitterly opposed by most of the Cherokees. Yet the cause had its strong advocates among them six years before the Dawes Commission succeeded in securing an agreement for Cherokee allotments. W. J. Watts was one of these who was invited to speak before a great gathering of citizens at Pryor Creek (now Pryor), in 1896, at which time he plead for harmony and unity among all the Indians of the Territory in facing a new day. This speech delivered more than a half century ago has been preserved by his daughter, Mrs. Ed McDonald of Dallas, Texas, and is presented here for its historical significance, with some introductory notes on the life of her father as follows:

"W. J. Watts was born in Gibson County, Tennessee in year 1840, the son of Malachi and Susan Toler Watts. In 1853 he moved with his family to Arkansas near Clarksville, where he worked on a farm until the breaking out of the War between the States in 1861, when he volunteered, joining Company C of the Arkansas Mounted Rifles which was commanded by Colonel T. J. Churchill. He fought in many of the major battles of the Civil War under the commands of Generals Price, Kirby Smith, Pat Cleburne and Hood.

"After the war he returned home and in year 1866, was married to Kittie Blackard of Clarksville, Arkansas where they lived until the year of 1871, when they moved to the Cherokee Nation, in the district of Sequoyah, on the Arkansas River. Here Mr. Watts opened a large store and engaged in agricultural pursuits for six years. In 1877 he engaged in the mercantile business at Cottonwood where he remained till spring of 1888 when the railroad was being built through Cherokee Nation. At this time he moved to the site of the town of Muldrow which he had the honor of naming. Here he engaged in the mercantile business and practice of law, and was co-owner of its first newspaper.

"The Watts family was of Indian descent, and after the year of 1865, Mr. Watts was in almost constant litigation with Cherokee authorities over the question of Citizenship, representing not only his own but a number of other families, defending them before the Department of Interior and the Congress of the United States.

"At the advent of statehood there were chaotic conditions and much dissension among the Indians, some wanting to remain and live as they always had. Mr. Watts being an energetic and progressive type of person and one of great hopes and a deep vision for the future of the Nation, was a strong advocate of the cause for allotment of Cherokee lands in severalty preparatory to statehood, and tried to so reason with those about him. Thus he was chosen to make this speech to the Cherokees at this meeting in Pryor Creek.

"With the exception of about two years at Wagoner, Mr. Watts resided and reared his family of three sons and a daughter (Mrs. Ed McDonald) in the Cherokee Nation and loved every inch of it. His sons were prominent in the early political life of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, and were Jess W. Watts, Charles G. Watts, and Noah V. Watts. Judge Charles G. Watts of Wagoner and Mrs. Ed McDonald of Dallas, Texas are the surviving members of the family. Mr. Watts died at Muldrow November 7, 1904 and was buried there by the side of his wife at Camp Creek Cemetery."

Speech by W. J. Watts to the Cherokees

Pryor Creek, Indian Territory, June 27, 1896

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

To preface my remarks I wish to say it affords me much pleasure to meet you here today. When I received an invitation from your people to attend this grand annual picnic and speak to you on the past, present and future of the Indian Treritory, I felt highly complimented for several reasons—Pryor Creek being an enterprising town peopled by an enterprising people, with whom I am happy to become acquainted. Of course, friends, I do not feel as though I were a stranger in your midst, as it is known that my name has been a by-word in the Cherokee nation for the past twenty-five years, and on some occasions, to my discredit, which I am satisfied would have been quite different had I been personally acquainted with you, although I am proud to say to you today that the question over which we have so widely differed will soon be settled, and the great difficulties under which we all have suffered will be removed, whether satisfactory to us or not I cannot say.

Friends, it was my pleasure two years ago to meet you people and partake of your kind hospitality, at which time I made the acquaintance of quite a number of your business men, and visited the homes of a number of your people. The kindness I have received from your hands, I assure you will ever be highly appreciated.

At that time, if you remember, I advised you people of the approaching danger, realizing as I did, that the great government of the United States had fixed and adopted a policy for the government of the five civilized nations, and to carry out that policy a commission was sent to you people with a message and a request for you to negotiate with said commission for a plan of government for the people, also for the allotment of land in severalty.

I also advised you to accept the propositions offered, or at least to treat the commission with due respect and meet them upon half-way ground. You are perfectly familiar with the results of their mission. The commission

again returns to the Territory with additional authority and power, still extending to you people an opportunity for shaping your future destiny. The great question is, will you people be a party to the pending change, which is inevitable, or will you sit idly by and wait for coming results?

Ladies and gentlemen and fellow citizens: It always gives me pleasure to speak a word for my country and the people of the Indian Territory, a country in which I have cast my lot for weal or woe, in the keeping of her future and under the star of her destiny. Wither she goeth, I will go, her people shall be my people, and her God my God.

In approaching this old, but simple sentiment upon the love story of the Bible, I trust and feel that I am working the heart-beat of every true citizen who loves his people and his country. I use it as an expression of that natural love of our own home and community that should not be peculiar to us alone, but should exist among people in every state in our country, and which is but the corner stone of a wider love and allegiance that looks aloft to the Great Union and her star spangled banner.

I wish to confine myself today only to the Indian Territory; to tell of her past, to compliment her present and to predict the possibilites of her great future. Her past is not altogether a vision of imaginary thought, filled with fathomless existence and with infamous deeds of barbarians clustered in and remembrance and shielded with an armor of regretful reflection, but, thank God, who presides over the destiny of all nations, that we, as other states, have had some noble men and some grand deeds on which we can reflect with exquisite pleasure.

There are some who today lie beneath the cold and silent tomb, awaiting the sound of Gabriel's horn, who would do honor to any state in this broad union. Yes, there are some deeds registered on the annals of our Indian history to the credit of our heroes that will bear favorable comparison with the great Athenian generals of ancient Greece and Rome. We revere their memory and deeds as immortal; they have left impressions that will never fade from the memory of every true and patriotic citizen here today and in the Cherokee nation.

In looking over the vast cemetery, called the past, we must not forget to name some of those heroes, nor neglect to bestow a word upon those who, "though they sleep in dull, cold marble," still live in the thoughts of our people to inspire and lead them to loftier heights. Although we cannot speak of the number being so great and abundant as other states can do, whose state lives have been longer, and paths of opportunity broader and more lofty in the eyes of the world, yet we can speak with reverence of those around whose boughs we should decorate with the laurel and the palm, and we should hold them as dear to us as the more noted sons of more fortunate states, or to the people on whom they have conferred glory and renown.

From our history, though it may be short in length, I desire to invoke today the memory of a few of those to whom I have referred, whose services demand commemoration and love at the hands of the people, and serve as an example to the rising generation.

In this category of men we can name with pride, John Ross, a man noted for his integrity and ability, a man who labored for the upbuilding and advancement of his people and nation, a man whose name and fame will never be forgotten, and whose deeds will ever thrill the patriotic citizens of this country, regardless of party feeling.

Louis Downing, whose memory will be ever reverenced as a man of ability and integrity, who has left a living monument in the hearts of his

people and will be cherished as long as time shall last. It was my privilege to meet this honored gentleman in 1871, when I first moved into the territory, who extended to me special favors and advice as to how to proceed in regard to my claim for citizenship, which at that time no one doubted. Mr. Downing was a gentleman of broad views, though dearly loved his people, and had God—who rules the destiny of man—spared his life, the condition of affairs in the Cherokee Nation would, no doubt, have been different from what they are today.

Among other men whom I might mention was Robert Daniels, Wm. P. Ross, Hon. Henry Chambers, E. C. Boudinott, Sr., E. C. Boudinott, Jr., and last but not least, the lamented Joel B. Mayes, a man of strong character and true Indian.

These, fellow Citizens, are men whom we think could cope with the sons of any state in this broad Union. Then should we not feel proud of our noble sons who have hoisted the banner of honor and held it aloft amid the trials and struggles for National fame and honor?

Much more could be said of these grand heroes who devoted most of their lives for the good of their people, but I will not occupy your time further by refering to the past. The present is too fast passing away. The future looks to bright and promising to devote all our time to the glories of the past.

We are now undergoing a metamorphose. The times are rapidly changing. While the present conditions look flattering, and we view, with proud contemplation a glorious and prosperous future, we can not be content, we should not trust our treasures to the waves, nor cast our pearls before swine, nor believe the billows of time will bear us to ports of bliss; but should awake from our lethargy and remember there is something for us to do in shaping the destiny of our people.

The race of life is becoming intense, the runners are treading on each others heels, and woe unto him who stops to tie his shoe strings.

Friends, we comprehend what has been done in the past—bountiful is the harvest of the present; but the Alps are still beyond. Beyond us lie the decisive battle of victory for the Indian Territory.

Gird ye then your loins for the strife, blow a trumpet on the mountain top, and proclaim abroad our intention and fame in the name of the Indian Territory, without taxation or annexation to any other state or territory in the Union. Tis true, we are young in age, but our strength is as great as the senior Hercules, who stretched out his brawny arms and fought the enemy with vigorous attacks until victory was his spoil.

When we, fellow citizens, thus proclaim our situation and make known the many advantages we have, both natural and artificial, then will we see emigration from all over this Union coming to the Indian Territory with capital to invest and reap in her rich resources. Then will the forests give way to our civilization, to our growing agriculture and to our expanding commerce. The brightest stars of the west will then be placed in the constellation of this grand old Union, to guide and direct the wise men of the east to our manifest destiny. Then will this star, around whose border lies her sister, the "Lone Star State," shine and fortell, as did the Star of Bethlehem, the coming of something grand and supreme. Then will her true greatness and possibilities be developed—she will serve as an illuminator and reflect her rays far across the western plain.

Oh! I love to talk of the Indian Territory, although it has been said (and maybe today) that Watts is an intruder and has no interest here. Friends, that is a secondary matter to me today and one to which I am giving

but little attention. I love to tell of the beautiful corn fields, her productive potato grounds, her rich bottom lands and prolific prairies, where the cayote and bellowing buffalos, pollywog and hoot owls all join in the same tune with a whippoor-will solo, ringing and reverberating, all seemingly singing, "There's glory in the Land."

And now, ladies and gentlemen, after having considered in part the past and present, we arrive at the stage or upon that existence where we must predict. But, fellow citizens, it affords me great pleasure while standing here among the sacred memories of a once prosperous tribe, to expostulate to you a bright and successful future for the Indian Territory. Embarked and hedged, as we are, being given equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political belief. Our constitutional provisions are the grandest and broadest ever prompted by any government. With this assurance, and the great national resources of this great land, our wealth as a state can not be enumerated.

Through the instrumentality of statehood the wheels of commerce and industry will be made to revolve, the hum of labor will fill the air, and furnaces will blaze in hundreds of towns. The cling of the blacksmith will prevail everywhere, year by year the harvest yields will increase, our corn fields will grow more golden. New Instruments of mechanism will be invented to assault and surrender the hidden minerals and treasures of "this rich gift of the Nile."

Education will ascend the lofty hill until we shall have snuffed the breezes of all sister states. Our students will go from our colleges equipped and at par with those of any state in the Union.

Our religious progress will enlighten and Christianize this whole land. All is gratifying, and today the rainbow of hope hangs from heaven's blue vault beckoning us onward, and onward with the procession and tide of emigration.

It is true in part that clouds of dissension have darkened our existence, but they are going away, and through the silver lining crest, I can see written with indelible ink "peace on earth, good will to men."

A nobler and grander government will prevail on this land than was ever conceived by the most astute dreamer. America has been especially preserved for us, and the true, and time honored principles of Democracy should ever throb, beat and prevail in the hearts of all nations.

Ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, I must again repeat that our golden days are yet to come, and it shall be inscribed on the grateful hearts of untold thousands that our state, the Indian Territory, is one unsurpassed in the history of America, when the great and agitating questions of today have been settled, we shall have a country of which it can be said, "it is bounded on the North by the Aurora borealis; on the East by the rising sun; on the West by the setting stars, and on the South by manifest future destiny."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Reno Court of Inquiry. Edited by Colonel W. A. Graham. (The Stackpole Company, 1954. Pp. 303. $5.00)

Nothing in its generation captured the attention of the American people as did the "facts" surrounding the Custer Battle of June 25, 1876, on the Little Big Horn. Investigations and inquiries are not unique to our own times; and like the famous General Billy Mitchell trial of the 1920's, the Court of Inquiry convened to investigate the conduct of Major Marcus A. Reno, Custer's second in command, was its counterpart for that era.

As soon as the news of the fiasco broke upon the public, partisans rushed to the support of the various participants. Defenders of Custer were of course the most vociferous, and they lost little time in a concerted effort to fix the blame on someone other than their hero. At the time of the disaster, Custer's command had been divided by him into two segments. Custer assumed personal command of one and turned command of the other to Major Reno. Both elements were engaged simultaneously and the fact that Reno was unable to re-unite with Custer provided the excuse for the forthcoming din. At Major Reno's own request a Court of Inquiry was convened in January of 1879. Extended testimony was produced and 23 witnesses were heard. Many exhibits, charts and maps were received in evidence. The official transcript of the testimony remained confidential until it was turned to the National Archives in 1941.

Much credit must go to Colonel Graham for his work in editing and making this official document available. Now historians and amateur tacticians, through the means of verbatim testimony of the participants who survived, can live this debacle again. The interpolations by the editor are excellent and he has exercised great discretion in the difficult job of editing out of the transcript repetition and unessential details. Interest in the work is heightened by the discovery in May 1954 of a map hand drawn by Capt. F. W. Benteen, also an actual participant, which was added as the back end paper. One of the book's most unique features is its table of contents. Instead of using it to show the order of presentation of the material in the conventional manner, Colonel Graham has it arranged similar to a timetable, keyed to each word of testimony regardless of where in the book the same may appear. This "table of events" gives an instant guide to any portion of the testimony.

The volume belongs to the library shelf of every amateur historian and all students of American military history.

Oklahoma City

—W. R. Withington

Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State. By Edwin C. McReynolds. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, Norman, Oklahoma. Pp. 461. $4.95.)

Oliver Goldsmith once wrote: "One writer, for example, excels at a plan or a title page, another works away at the body of the book, and a third is a dab at an index". So it is also with the writer of a book of history. However, such is the author's prerogative and we should agree that the author of a story of Oklahoma may select those portions of its history at which he is a dab or to which his interest and fancy are more naturally directed. If he does, however, he must not expect or consider that the finished volume will be "A History of the Sooner State" in the sense that the sub-title would indicate.

Dr. McReynolds has given us an interesting and readable volume covering portions of the history of our state; and it is meet and good that the volume could be published at our own University of Oklahoma Press. It belongs in every library of Oklahoma material or reference.

Considerable prologue and background are included and some seventy pages elapse before the reader actually reaches the Sooner State. By and large the strongest aspect of the book and the greatest contribution made by Dr. McReynolds is his brilliant and detailed analysis of the social and economic conditions within each of the Five Tribes both prior to removal and immediately after the immigrants arrived at their new home. These chapters, roughly the middle third of the volume, are superior and they alone would make the volume worth while.

However, to assign approximately equal space to the entire history and survey of the various missions and the work of the many churches in establishing schools and missions as that used in recording a 1915 tank car explosion at Ardmore, would hardly appear as a balanced presentation of material. Likewise, author McReynolds is obviously not too interested in the contribution of the military, as the chronicle of the army's effort is rewarded with a total of two pages of text, yet a synopsis of Washington Irving's Journal of the 1832 expedition merits six.

Oklahoma City

—George H. Shirk

Commerce of the Prairies. Edited by Max L. Moorhead. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1954. Pp. 469. Ill. Index. $7.50.)

Since most historians are acquainted with the importance of Josiah Gregg's contribution in the field of western Americana, the Moorhead edition of *Commerce of the Prairies* is most welcome from

the standpoints of readability and availability. Earlier editions have become collector's items and as such make their use by laymen or in classrooms almost impossible. Now every school and amateur historian have the opportunity of keeping this informative classic on a near-by bookshelf for easy and interesting reference.

Josiah Gregg, doctor, teacher, and lawyer, began his prairie experience in 1831 when he was advised that a sojourn in the great out-of-doors might provide the cure for his physical infirmities. Such proved to be the case for within a few weeks time Gregg was no longer traveling as an invalid, but riding a pony, standing watch, and relishing the buffalo meat and other game that was an essential part of the westerners' diet. Until 1849 Josiah Gregg traversed the trails of the southwest all the while continuing a fortunate habit that he had developed as a lad—jotting down locations and landmarks, personal observations and comments upon fauna and flora of a region. Those notes became the basis for his book, the first authentic account of life and conditions in an almost unknown territory. His last venture, ending with his death in February of 1850, began in 1848 when he joined an expedition for botanical research in Mexico and California. Though the trip was a tragic one for Gregg it was rewarding to posterity for it provided field notes, letters, and two herbariums to be used in future study.

The book is one of those rare combinations of information and description that leaves one impatient to continue the next chapter. Perhaps it is the wholly personal approach to writing, the ability to narrate his adventures in a way that makes the reader imagine himself sitting at grandfather's knee and hearing first hand the exciting stories of the "old west", that makes *Commerce of the Prairies an* adventure in itself. It is a detailed adventure, yes, but each small incident becomes a vital part of the whole rather than a mass of burdensome trivialities.

Beginning with the organization of a Santa Fe trade caravan and its departure from the rendevouz point we are introduced to a continually changing scene in which traders, Mexicans and Indians play their respective roles. When Gregg's party is endangered by a prairie fire, we can almost feel the heat of the flames; when Josiah buys mules from the Comanches, we practically see the brilliance of the vermillion beads included as payment; when he visits the mining districts of northern Mexico, we are there in Chihuahua admiring the classic elegance of the adobe buildings. The spirit of the west, the excitement of prairie life, the beauty of nature are all here, and the Moorhead edition makes it possible for us to sit back in a favorite armchair and enjoy them all.

Oklahoma City

—Lucyl Shirk

Rendezvous With Chance. By Walter Hart Blumenthal. (Exposition Press, New York, 1954. Pp. 154.)

One would not need to know that the author of this volume is a distinguished collector of unusual books to appreciate his dexterity and familiarity in dealing with the elusive caprices of Lady Luck, but it is perhaps no chance in the light of this knowledge that he, of all people, should undertake a venture such as the history of Fortune through the ages. Mr. Blumenthal, whose library swells with oddities as books bound in human skin, is indeed qualified to invade that other worldly region, that mysterious and inexplicable fringe of Destiny where speculation is as powerful as fact.

One of the most delightful features of *Rendezvous With Chance* is the free use of quotation. Although Walter Blumenthal's analysis of "the qualifying If", as he defines Fortune, would be treat enough for his readers, he gives more than his own opinion on the subject. In the course of this history, we hear from Anatole France: "Chance is perhaps the pseudonym of God when He did not want to sign"; and from Napoleon: " . . . . Chance plays a leading part in all the affairs of men"; and even from Shakespeare: "There's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow" and, again, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will". These testimonials to the dominance of Chance enliven the text in a fortunate blend of historical event and literary surmise.

But is there really a case for Chance, or is this a frivolous device to stem the current fashion for free will? This question is left entirely up to you, the reader and the judge. It is for you to decide whether the famous Chicago fire would have raged if the hobos in Mrs. O'Leery's barn had not wanted cream for their coffee. The option is yours whether George Washington would have attained heights politically had his brother lived, since the laws of Virginia at that time provided that the second son had no voice in state affairs. Similarly, is it chance that Robert Lincoln, son of the assassinated President, was absent from his theatre box the night his Father was killed, for if he had been in his place at the rear of the box, Booth would have had no clear opportunity to fire the fatal shot. Mr. Blumenthal calls it Chance. Deem it coincidence if you will.

The fact remains that this is an exceedingly informative and imaginative study, fluently written, historically intact and whimsically contrived. The author states in his Foreword that "this trifling book was written to be entertaining". In the judgment of this critic he has succeeded. Whether or not he has gone beyond that aim to prove the role of Destiny conclusively is left, like the whole question of Chance, up to the individual.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

—M. G. Denison

MINUTES OF THE THIRD QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY HELD IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL BUILDING OCTOBER 28, 1954.

With General Wm. S. Key presiding, the following members were present: Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Colonel George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, together with Miss Muriel H. Wright, Secretary. Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. Ethel P. Buell, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. E. E. Dale and Judge Edgar S. Vaught were excused for good and sufficient reasons.

A special guest at this meeting, Dr. O. B. Jacobson, retired, Art Department of the Graduate School, the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, gave a short talk recommending the repair of the Indian Murals on the fourth floor corridor of the Museum in the Historical Building. His suggestions for the repair work were approved and the Secretary was advised to call in an artist and report to the Building Improvement Committee the cost of repair.

The President then called upon Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, for her report for the period July 29—October 28, 1954, which was received with much commendation and approval. Judge Bowman moved that the Report be approved, motion was seconded by Mr. Harrison and carried unanimously.

Since the last Board Meeting, 38 Life Membership and 104 Annual Membership applications have been received, as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS

Mr. Merritt C. Mason	Alva, Oklahoma
Mr. William Heward Suthers	Arnett, Oklahoma
Mr. Orie Alva Barto	Buffalo, Oklahoma
Miss Marion Severance	Durant, Oklahoma
Mr. B. L. Jennings	Healdton, Oklahoma
Mr. Lon Kile	Hugo, Oklahoma
Mr. George Wallace	Jay, Oklahoma
Mr. Howard N. Kenyon	Kaw, Oklahoma
Mr. Exall English	Lawton, Oklahoma
Hon. Victor Wickersham	Mangum, Oklahoma
Mrs. L. A. Edwards	Marlow, Oklahoma
Mr. Elmer Hale, Jr.	McAlester, Oklahoma
Mr. H. O. Crider	Mountain View, Oklahoma
Mr. Gene Aldrich	Norman, Oklahoma
Mr. V. C. Bratton	"
Mr. O. E. Carter, Jr.	"
Mr. William Henry Brown	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dr. Arthur W. Buswell	"
Mr. John Martin Carroll	"
Rt. Rev. Gustave Depreitere	"
Mr. J. I. Gibson	"
Mrs. Hazel K. Jennings	"

Mr. Thomas Doyle Martin	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Joe S. Scott	"
Mr. Charles M. Suttle	"
Mr. Curtis E. Turney	"
Mr. Paul L. Washington	"
Mr. W. D. Hart	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Mr. Guy L. Berry, Jr.	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Mrs. C. H. Hixson	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Mrs. C. I. Hannis	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. Hugh R. Humphreys	"
Mr. Frank K. Janson	"
Mr. Nathan R. Patterson	"
Mr. Eric M. White, Jr.	"
Mr. Charles A. Ball	Arvada, Colorado
Mr. Roy Guffey	Dallas, Texas
Mr. Paul M. Niebell	Washington, D. C.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Mr. B. W. Hammert	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Mr. W. Vernon Price	Arnett, Oklahoma
Mr. C. A. McCall	Atoka, Oklahoma
Mr. G. W. Cafky	Beaver, Oklahoma
Mrs. Eleanor Tracy	"
Mr. J. P. "Kit" Carson	Blair, Oklahoma
Mr. John C. Johnson	Boise City, Oklahoma
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Mr. T. E. Bennett	Broken Bow, Oklahoma
Mr. Joe W. Meadows	Caddo, Oklahoma
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Mr. Hinman Stuart	Chelsea, Oklahoma
Mrs. Mary E. Lawrence	Claremore, Oklahoma
Mr. Ralph Sears	Commerce, Oklahoma
Mrs. Anna Davis	Dewey, Oklahoma
Mr. Bryan W. Nolen	Edmond, Oklahoma
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Mr. C. S. Borin	Erick, Oklahoma
Dr. Marvin Eugene McKee	Goodwell, Oklahoma
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Mr. J. Fred Latham	"
Mrs. Hattie Moore	Guymon, Oklahoma
Mr. Benjamin A. Troutman	Henryetta, Oklahoma
Mrs. Harry D. Crews	Hugo, Oklahoma
Mr. Clark L. Thompson	Hunter, Oklahoma
Mr. Louis J. Maynard	Kenton, Oklahoma
Dr. and Mrs. O. L. Parsons	Lawton, Oklahoma
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Mr. John H. Snider	Maud, Oklahoma
Miss Mildred S. Pezzetti	McAlester, Oklahoma
Mrs. Turner Bagg	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mr. Roland S. Bailey	"
Mrs. Elizabeth Hale	"
Mrs. O. R. Hisel	"
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Mr. Neil R. Johnson	"
Mr. Ross Raymond	Nowata, Oklahoma
Mr. Harold E. Staten	Okarche, Oklahoma
Mr. Obie E. Durham	Okeene, Oklahoma
Mr. John F. Davis	Okemah, Oklahoma

Mr. Leonard H. Bailey	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Roy R. Blackwood	"
Mr. John F. Booth, Jr.	"
Mrs. Charles E. Brace	"
Mr. B. H. Carey	"
Mr. Banks Worth Clark	"
Mr. Arnold R. Curtis	"
Mr. John W. Delaney	"
Rev. and Mrs. Fred Dennis	"
Mr. Theron D. Elder	"
Mr. Charles Futor	"
Mr. E. G. Green	"
Dr. Charles William Hoshall	"
Mr. Anthony G. Meyers, Jr.	"
Mr. Robb W. Moore	"
Mr. G. R. Pulley	"
Mrs. Vermelle U. Robberson	"
Miss Esther A. Robinson	"
Mr. James L. Snell	"
Mrs. Rosa C. Tomberlin	"
Mr. Fay F. Wade	"
Mr. Vincent Watts	"
Mr. W. R. Withington	"
Mr. N. D. Woods	"
Mr. James K. Wright	"
Mrs. Maude E. Long	Perry, Oklahoma
Mr. Emmett V. Rosser, Jr.	"
Mr. Ralph M. Chambers	Picher, Oklahoma
Mr. C. L. Armstrong	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Mr. William R. Brown	"
Mr. Greely E. Veal	"
Miss Garner Moore	Poteau, Oklahoma
Mrs. Mildred B. Heuston	Ripley, Oklahoma
Mr. Fred Bunch	Rocky, Oklahoma
Mr. Jennings B. Newman	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Mr. Paul Wilson	Stroud, Oklahoma
Mr. J. T. Adams	Temple, Oklahoma
Miss Viola Trout Malone	Terral, Oklahoma
Mr. V. M. Thompson	Thomas, Oklahoma
Mr. Leslie Ray Barto	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. C. Faye Bennett	"
Mr. Caswell L. Carter	"
Mr. W. Alva Fry	"
Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Joslin	"
Dr. Roscoe Walker	"
Mr. Fay Allen Whiteside	"
Mr. J. V. Bowling	Vian, Oklahoma
Mrs. Mary E. Lamon	Wagoner, Oklahoma
Mr. A. E. Robertson	"
Mr. Edward A. Summers	"
Mr. Gorman Kelly	Wardville, Oklahoma
Mr. Lloyd D. McNeal, Jr.	Watonga, Oklahoma
Mr. E. S. Beard	Covelo, California
Mr. and Mrs. Jess Sutton	Brighton, Colorado
Colonel John W. Primrose	Park View, New Mexico
Mrs. John Williams Skinner	Denison, Texas
Mr. German Justice Hollandsworth	Longview, Texas
Rev. James E. Mack	Mathis, Texas
Miss Margaret Wheeler	Sherman, Texas
Mrs. Thelma Heatwold	Staunton, Virginia

Also the following gifts have been given:

LIBRARY:

506 volumes, bound, of the *New York Times*, dating from January 1926 to January 1947; Copy, bound volume, *Trench and Camp*, 1918-1919, special edition of the Oklahoman printed for the service men at Fort Sill during World War 1. Donor: Mr. Louis D. Abney, Jr.

Memorandum—County No. 1, District Court Vol. 1, First District Territory of Oklahoma. Donor: Mr. Fred L. Wenner.

Oklahoma Session Laws, 1921-1933. Donor: Colonel George H. Shirk.

The Carl Williams Papers, containing 10 large volumes of manuscripts, photographs and other items covering the period 1912-1932.

The Mabel Bassett Collection, containing more than ten thousand items of historical value.

The L. V. Orton Papers representing fifty years of public service, 1822 items in the collection.

Nine volumes of legal documents; Laws of the Cherokee Nation, 1892; Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation, 1875; Laws of the Cherokee Nation, passed during the years 1839-1867; Laws of the Cherokee Nation enacted during regular and special sessions of the National Council in 1881; 2 volumes of the Laws of the Cherokee Nation in the Cherokee language; Constitution of the Cherokee Nation 1808-1824-1839 and 1849, published in the Cherokee language in 1850. Donor: Mrs. Harry Rasle.

Four volumes of legal documents of the Five Civilized Tribes. Donor: Mr. Eck E. Brook.

The Speed Collection. Donors: Mr. and Mrs. Horace Speed, covering early pioneer history.

Valuable historical material, containing 47 items of manuscripts, letters, pictures. Donor: Mrs. Garfield Buell.

Reprint of the William A. Smith painting of Will Rogers, the original being a part of the Gilcrease Foundation. Donor: Mr. Allen Rock.

Pocket Map of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama showing census of these three states as of 1830. Donor: Mr. H. S. Judy.

Memorial Resolutions by Ardmore Rotary Club memoralizing Dr. Walter Hardy. Donor: Ardmore Rotary Club.

Letter dated April 14, 1889 written to Mr. Wm. H. Prince, Manchester, England, father of the Donor: Mr. J. Allen Prince.

Correspondence, maps, etc, relative to building of the Canton Dam. Donor: Mr. Thomas J. Cook.

Report submitted by M. Robinson of Utah, providing for Commemoration of Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Ackia, Miss., and the establishment of the Ackia Battleground National Monument; The White Bead Church History and Early Methodism in Chickasaw Nation by Alvin Powell. Donor: Mrs. Jessie E. Moore.

W. R. McGeorge Papers, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Collection of early banking and business connections in both Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory, Stillwater, Claremore and Vinita. Donor: Mrs. W. R. McGeorge.

MUSEUM:

United States Flag with 46 stars. Donor: Mrs. Mae Lewis.

Chair and footstool made of horns. Donor: Mr. W. H. Dancy.

Bronze bust of Mr. Lew Wentz. Donor: Mrs. Dorothy Wentz Sparks.

Microscope, over 100 years old, used by father of Dr. Lea Riley; Donor: Mr. Lea Riley.

Pictures received:

Photograph of W. H. Dancy, presented by his son, W. H. Dancy, Jr.

Group photograph of the William Garrison Family. Donor: Mrs. Fred Garrison.

Two photographs of Dr. Divonis Worten. Donor: Dr. Worten.

Folder of pictures and clippings about the Douglas Johnston family. Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith.

Judge Taylor moved that the applications be accepted and applicants admitted to membership, and letters of thanks be sent to the donors of the gifts. Motion was seconded by Mr. T. J. Harrison and carried unanimously.

Colonel George Shirk moved and the motion was seconded by Mr. H. Milt Phillips, that Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour be especially thanked for her contribution of the *New York Tribune*, of December 4, 1872, containing the editorial on the death of Horace Greeley, and the *New York Tribune* of September 21, 1881 with notice of the death of President Garfield. Special attention was called to the bust of Lew Wentz, in bronze, sculped by Miss Frances Rich, Hollywood, California and presented to the Historical Society by Mrs. Dorothy Wentz Sparks, niece of Mr. Wentz. Also, a vote of appreciation was given the Treasurer, Mrs. Jessie Moore for her contribution of the history of "Early Methodism" in the Chickasaw Nation.

At this time, President Key read the following letter from Mr. John S. Dickey, President of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire:

October 8, 1954

"Dear Mr. Key:

"The article, "Dartmouth Alumni in the Indian Territory" by Kathleen Garrett published in the Summer, 1954 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* has recently been brought to my attention and several copies have been sent to the College.

"Dartmouth's historical contribution to the education of Indians from far corners of the land, and indeed many other aspects in the adventurous and tenacious forging of the College's character throughout her early years, are sometimes forgotten by her living alumni and are often unknown to others.

"It is particularly gratifying, therefore, to learn that the Oklahoma Historical Society has deemed these memorabilia worthy of recording in its annals.

Sincerely,

/s/ John S. Dickey"

President Key then called attention to the United States Savings Bonds in the amount of $1200.00 maturing on November 1, 1954, and suggested reinvestment in bonds of like amount bearing interest at the rate of 2.76%. Judge Bowman moved that the funds be reinvested, seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, and carried unanimously.

The installation of asphalt tile in the Union and Confederate Rooms on recommendation of the Improvement Committee, in place of the badly worn rugs, was brought before the Board. This met with unanimous approval, and the Chairman was authorized to proceed with this installation. Other matters of improvement for the Auditorium and other departments of the Society were referred to the Improvement Committee for study and report.

Mr. Miller stated that he thought one flourescent light should be installed over the desk of the receptionist in the Executive Offices. Motion to this effect was made by Judge Hefner and seconded by Judge Bowman. Motion carried unanimously.

The purchase of display cases for the Library was then presented and after full discussion, this matter was also referred to the Improvement Committee for study and recommendation. The matter of a new piano for the Auditorium was also referred to the Committee for recommendation after a study of the need.

President Key then presented the question of air-conditioning the fourth floor Museum on which a bid has been submitted amounting to $10,000.00. Mr. H. Milt Phillips discussed this need and moved the matter be deferred to a future meeting of the Board when funds are available. Judge Hefner seconded this motion which carried unanimously. President Key suggested the matter of new lights in the offices be turned to the Committee for study and further recommendation.

Colonel Shirk took the floor and moved that the Board note with regret the passing on June 18, 1954 at Washington, D. C., of John Henry Cowles, 33°, Sovereign Grand Inspector General in Kentucky and Past Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the Inspectors General Knights Commanders of the House of the Temple of Solomon of the Thirty-third Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, and that a permanent record be made by including a brief review of Commander Cowles' life in Notes and Documents in *The Chronicles*. The motion was seconded by Judge Hefner and was passed unanimously.

In the Minutes of a previous meeting, the matter of paying Mr. Nealy Tilly, the Building Guide, for the use of his car in taking mail and errands for the office, was approved by the Board with no specific amount allowed. Judge Bowman moved that the Secretary be instructed to pay Mr. Tilly an amount not to exceed $20.00 per month for this service; motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and carried unanimously.

President Key then presented the matter of electing a Director to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. T. T. Montgomery of Durant, Oklahoma. After discussion by Mr. Harrison, Judge Cole, Judge Taylor, Mrs. Korn, Mr. Phillips, Judge Bowman, Colonel Shirk, Mrs. Moore, Mr. Mountcastle and Dr. Harbour, Judge Hefner moved as follows: When an interim vacancy occurs on the Board, the attention of the Board be called to this at the next meeting after the vacancy occurs, and nominations to fill the interim vacancy be received at that meeting or any time thereafter until a period of thirty days before the next meeting; and it will be the duty of the Secretary to send to members of the Board, the names of those who have been nominated and this information should be marked "Confidential." The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously.

Mr. R. G. Miller who is arranging for the 1955 Tour along the old Washington Irving Trail as closely as possible, then spoke at length as to the need for contacts with business men and organizations in those towns and cities to be visited and asked for a Committee to assist in this work and in making a visit to the route of this proposed Tour in the early Spring or as soon after January 1, 1955 as feasible. The following members were appointed on this Tour Committee, with Mr. Miller as Chairman: Colonel George Shirk, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. T. J. Harrison and Dr. B. B. Chapman.

Mr. Miller then brought out the request that Miss Muriel H. Wright be sent to New York in January for the purpose of meeting with the Westchester Historical Society at White Plains, N. Y., in connection with the Tour. There was discussion at length on the worth of such a trip. A motion was made by Judge Taylor that Miss Wright be sent as a representative of the Oklahoma Historical Society to the Westchester Historical Society to present the historical value of this trip to them and to this State, the expense to be paid by the Society. Motion was seconded by Mr. Miller and carried, with objections from three members of the Board. Further action on this matter was deferred until the January meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:40 p.m.

WM. S. KEY, President

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, Secretary

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $2.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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